Latino Politics: A Growing and Evolving Political Community (A Reference Guide)

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Latino Politics:
A Growing and Evolving
Political Community
(A Reference Guide)

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Preface: Moving from LNPS '89 to the LNS '06 – Major Latino Political Science Surveys

Latinos or Hispanics now constitute the largest "minority" ethnic/racial group in the United States, and are forecast to be the primary catalyst for this nation's population growth for the foreseeable future. If current trends continue, conservative projections are that Latinos may be 25 percent of the U.S. population by 2050 and 33 percent by 2100. The recent growth of this population presents unique challenges to American society, and especially to the nation's capacity to successfully accommodate the needs and interests of Latinos as governmental institutions are called upon to educate, provide health care, employ, and politically incorporate this group.

Less obvious, perhaps, are the challenges confronting Latinos themselves, who must define their own communities, as well as their roles and responsibilities as an increasingly integral members of the larger American polity. What it means to be Latino, and how Latinos relate to the rest of American society, varies across geographic location, reflecting differences in the size, national origin mix, and time of arrival of local Latino populations as well as differences in the social, political and institutional contexts in which they reside. Each of these differences alters the experience of "being Latino," even as the presence of Latinos alters the society in which they live

If in earlier generations, single-national origin groups living in geographically and linguistically isolated and concentrated enclaves—in the Southwest, South Florida, or New York—predominantly characterized the Latino experience, but that is no longer the case. New narratives of Latino populations mixed by generation, language dominance, and national origin, to say nothing of Latinos living in areas like the rural South and Midwest, are creating new complexities to the Latino experience in America. It is to these new "common" experiences of Latinos that we identify and document the systematic research done on the growing and evolving Latino community in America. The volume of research and the examination of the complexities associated Latino civic and political life reflect the development of this maturing field of inquiry. It is the purpose of this collection to chronicle these developments and facilitate active and curious "students" of Latino political life and broader exposure to this literature.

An Initial Inquiry

In the summer of 1984, a group of four Latino political scientists flew to New York City to meet with officers of the Lou Harris survey firm. Their purpose was to explore the possibility of augmenting their 1984 Presidential election panel that was tracking public opinion and voters' preferences with a reasonable number of Latino respondents. Even at that time, there was a perspective that this growing population would be playing an increasing, important role in electoral politics. During the course of this conversation, it became abundantly clear to this research group that an expanded sample would not be sufficient to explore the breadth and depth of this emerging community.

Over the next four plus years, this group was involved in a research study group to identify major conceptual and analytical issues and themes necessary to incorporate in any systematic study of Latinos. Eventually, planning funds from the Ford Foundation were appropriated to explore sampling issues related to the Latino population, inventory and assessment of the extant research literature on Latinos, and development of a survey instrument on Latino political life. The most visible product of that endeavor was the completion of the Latino National Political Survey, 1989-1990. At the same time, that search for the extant research literature also produced a reference book- Latinos and Politics: A Select Research

Bibliography published by the University of Texas Press.

Now, almost twenty years later, an almost new set of Latino Political Science researchers embarked on a similar process as the Latino National Survey (LNS) group. In 2003, a small group talked among themselves about the long gap since a major social science survey of Latinos. The concern was not only based on datedness of information, but that many demographic changes that had occurred. These changes has included incredible population growth, rise of the diversity of Latino sub-groups (i.e. Central and South Americans and Dominicans), even larger segment of Latino immigrants than before, geographic dispersion nationally, and greater national awareness and issues around this group. In addition, political developments had resulted in the growth of national advocacy organizations, increased numbers of elected officials at all levels of government, gains economically as entrepreneurs, consumers, and members of organized labor.

So over the next three years, funding was secured for planning and designing a major social science survey through the Hewlett Foundation. The planning phase re-examined important sampling issues and approaches, use of focus groups to explore the more salient issues and ways to develop survey items, and update the extant research literature. It is the latter charge that served as the basis for this book project. The Latino National Survey is the noteworthy product of this past effort as 8634 Latinos were interviewed in 2005-2006 in seventeen states and the District of Colombia. At the same time, the knowledge base of smaller scaled surveys and published research since 1990 was the foundation that guided the LNS project.

Chapter 1

Latino Politics: Both a Growing and Evolving Political Community (Retrospective Essay)

Almost two decades ago, I was part of research group effort to explore more systematically the public worlds of the Mexican origin, Cuban and Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. More specifically, the scope of the research endeavored to identify the underlying bases for community among these Latinos and how that interfaces with their civic and political engagement on behalf of that community. Part of this endeavor entailed a detailed inventory of the extant social science research on the growing Latino communities. While the general mantra of researchers then was a paucity of available research, the end product- Latino Politics: A Research Bibliography produced an extensive compilation of research articles. Now, in conjunction with a new generation of Latino scholars (Profs. Sanchez and Peralta), we have undertaken to review the growth of the substantive field of Latino Political Studies. This introductory essay serves three purposes: a) to identify what have been the primary foci of this systematic research on Latinos; b) the extent and bases from which research has been conducted to understand the Latino communities; and c) persistent challenges confronting contemporary scholars for future research efforts.

If any consistent characterization has accompanied the discussions of Latinos, the primary one has been the incredible growth and national presence of this population. By Latinos, we are referring to those individuals whose ancestral origins come from Latin America (south of the U.S.–Mexico border) and the countries of the Iberian Peninsula. We are already noting dimensions of national origin, language, culture and its manifestations, and experiences living in America. The growth factor has resulted in Latinos having the highest population growth rates when compared to other racial/ethnic groups such that Latinos now exceed fourteen percent of the total U.S. population. By mid –decade, Latinos are accounting for more than two-fifths of the national population increase. At the same time, the nationalization reference deals with the geographical dispersion of Latinos throughout all of the fifty states (Census, 2004).Earlier works on Latinos focus on specific national origin groups (i.e. Mexican origin, Puerto Ricans or Cubans) focused upon their "traditional" areas of settlement. Now the variation and size of many more Latino national origin groups can be found in newer areas of settlement in the South, New England, upper regions of the Midwest, Rocky Mountain states, and suburban and rural communities in every region. The seemingly pervasiveness of Latinos has both accentuated their adaptation, adjustments, and maintenance of some forms of community. In addition there have been more visible societal responses to such an influx of people and traditions. So what are and have been the primary foci of research conducted on Latinos in the U.S.?

Who Are They and Where Are They Going?

One of the persistent themes and research queries has been defining this population. Historically, this query was concentrated on the Mexican origin population, largely residing in the Southwest and their political development. Structural approaches such as internal colonialism, cultural nationalism, and political liberation became the theoretical frameworks to understand the bases for Chicano politics and ultimate aims of political advancement and empowerment. The nature and strength of a critical community lied with strong sense of group affinity and attachment and collectivist orientations toward social change. A Chicano ideology included a sense of political and personal efficacy, political cynicism toward

entrenched power structures, and orientation toward circumventing cooptation via direct action/confrontation to produce social change. Political institutions and official political representatives were part of the oppressive forces limiting Chicanos' opportunities and maintenance of community was a survival response from assimilation, conquest, and colonialization.

Research on the Mexican origin community continues into the present, with many of the similar themes pursued in both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Thus our contemporary examination of the extant research since the 1990's and before, continues to focus upon the bases of community for Latinos. The most prevalent development, in this regard, lies with the expanding boundaries of community. Whereas national origin groupings served more of a primordial connection among Latinos, the development of a pan-ethnic concept of community has gone beyond a symbolic and media-driven idea. The concept of pan-ethnicity entails a sense of commonalities (i.e. culturally, linguistically, experientially, status and circumstances, etc.) among persons of Latin American ancestry living in the U.S. Part of the current work emphasizes that this phenomenon is an American one and represents Latinos' responses to life in the U.S.

Pan-Ethnicity and Community

An extensive research literature on the Latino communities has explored the concept of pan-ethnicity and its components. To what extent do individuals have or develop an affinity and/or attachment with other Latinos of different and, even, of the same national origin? How much of this process is affected by individuals' experiences, sense of self in relation to social categories, and pre-dispositions? How do contextual factors such as place of residence, demographic compositions of the communities in which they reside and societal stereotypes affect the Latinos' self-perceptions and associations? What is the role of public policies and political actors and institutions in defining community or treating the aggregation of Latinos as if they constituted a dynamic community? An examination of the social science articles identified in this collection addresses many aspects of these general questions with a variety of approaches and theoretical frameworks. Central to this growing body of research lies with the public effects of the broader community configuration. Clearly, the accounting of an emerging pan-ethnicity among Latinos prior to 1990 reflected more of a nominal sense of community. The extant literature points more to its pervasiveness both among a wider array of Latinos and its structural incorporation of this larger grouping (i.e. via political parties, public policies, public opinion, etc.).

In addition to the expansion of the notion of community beyond national origin boundaries, societal effects (i.e. anti-Latino ballot initiatives, restrictive immigrant policies, organizational efforts to limit Latino advancement, etc.) have had their impact on Latinos by affecting the extent and strategies of their mobilization, lobbying/protesting governmental policy initiatives, and pursuing greater political incorporation into American institutions. What are the bases for community and how does that affect the public life of Latinos? By bases of community, we are referring to "connectors" that bridge individual Latinos to others and enhance as sense of commonality and affinity. The research literature indicates it is a combination of individual factors, experiential occurrences, and structural conditions/events that impact the community-based actions and attitudes of Latinos. For example, a number of statewide referenda/propositions directed toward Latinos (primarily immigrants) had a catalytic effect of politically mobilizing that community and raising political awareness.

Group Identification and Public Life

Concomitant with our previous discussion, the presence of a community is reflected by members of that community identifying with it. The heading for this section included the identification and "definition" of who are Latinos. A major theme of research in this area focuses upon the social construction of group identification. It is the cognitive process by which an individual develops a sense of group affinity and affiliation that has been one of the mainstays of Latino oriented research. Concepts of group identity, group identification and consciousness have been integral in understanding the development of community and responses to differential treatment, limited access and participation, political incorporation, and representation. A significant amount of work, both in volume and theoretical advancement has been made in the past twenty years. In addition, with the substantial portion of this community that is foreign/immigrant, part of that adaptive process entails racial and ethnic identification within the American societal context. The latter segment maneuvers from the racial and ethnic systems of their countries of origin to a predominantly black-white paradigm. As a result, a research focus on the inter-sectionality of race and ethnicity constitutes a theoretical and measurement challenge for researchers. Given the social construction of both of these concepts, raises the question whether they become inter-changeable, or are they still distinct, or, now, the result of a blending of phenotypical and cultural components that is situationally influenced? Certainly, the rubric of social identity, its manifestations among Latinos, and linkages for collective activities continues to receive considerable research attention.

Assimilation and Acculturation

The question about what does Latinos want from American society and its institutions can take one along many different paths. The concepts of assimilation and acculturation are usually applied in this context. That is, how do Latinos fit into American society and if they are changing it, is consistent with foundational principles of the American polity? Long before Samuel Huntington raised major reservations about the capabilities of Latinos, especially Mexican origin persons, to fit into the American social-cultural fabric, the extent and patterns of group members' assimilation into American society has been a major focus of study. The contemporary public and "intellectual" discourse deal more with the possible detrimental impact of Mexican values and practices that undermine core American values and principles. Thus, while the earlier discussions tended to concentrate on cultural, marital, and linguistic assimilation, today's queries focus upon the extent of political incorporation and integration possible for Latinos, and whether that is desirable. As a result, developing bodies of research has been manifested by examining and defining national identity, patriotism, divided allegiances, and bonded social capital investments.

In terms of the general concept of assimilation, there is a substantial literature that confirms that Latinos have and are assimilating with such indicators of English language proficiency, increased rates of exogamy, affinity and identification with the U.S., and religious affiliation. At the same time, Latinos reflect the nature of a pluralistic society such that acculturation is more the "norm". That is, retention of ancestral practices and traditions as well as integrating American values and mores is the modal response for Latinos. Similarly, research indicates that Latinos inculcate the core values of egalitarianism, civil liberties, and freedoms as other Americans. These patterns are more evident the longer Latinos live in the U.S. and with the succeeding generations. Thus, the contemporary research literature reflects extensive examination of the adaptive and integrative process that Latinos experience as well as the structural factors that affect that process.

Finally, a growing body of research literature has directed its attention to the "societal and political consequences of less than expected levels of assimilation by Latinos. Our earlier references to works by Samuel Huntington, which have posited that fundamental American societal principles and values are in direct contradiction with those embedded in Latinos' value system. Most of these queries center on national identity, American nationalism and political chauvinism. What are the forms and scope of American national identity? Are there multiple components involved with being an American and how does that interface with political attitudes and behaviors? How do the notions of global citizenship and transnationalism affect Latinos' national identities, political engagement and direction of political interest? What is reflected in the continuing development of research on Latinos is the integration of more general social science concepts and theories which not only includes the application of such concepts and theories to Latinos; but adds to the theoretical development of political behavior, political incorporation and other facets of public life.

What do Latinos Want? - Opinions and Policies

While much attention has been directed toward the assimilation – acculturation processes, a different path of what Latinos want deals more with their views about government, levels of trusts and efficacy regarding political engagement and the public policies. The world of Latino public opinion and systematic research seek to replicate the established predictors of public opinion (i.e. socioeconomic status, partisan affiliation, ideology, etc.) and their applicability for Latinos. As a result, the extant research has broadened the scope on contributing factors to incorporate nativity, national origin group, language use, generational distance from the immigration experience, and cultural indicators. In addition, the concepts of group identification and levels of perceived discrimination serve to mediate the predispositions of Latinos. The objects of Latino public opinion range from the role of government to governmental responsiveness to specific policy preferences. In the case of the latter, the characterization of many Latinos as being socially and morally traditional is factored as a contributing element to a policy agenda that is more conservative.

Specific policy areas such as immigration reform, bilingual education, job training, school vouchers, and English only initiatives are focused upon to a greater extent. In a way, the comparison of Latino public opinion serves to compare or contrast their views with other segments of American society, as well as assessing the extent of consensus or commonality among Latinos themselves. The latter aspect relates to the development of a possible Latino agenda. Given our previous comments about the nature and extent of community among Latinos, the presence of a common political agenda is viewed as crucial indicator of a developing political community. To the extent, that a political community exists for Latinos, research on the bases and modes of political involvement represent a major development of research.

Organizations, Mobilization, and Representation

While a greater degree of focus has been placed upon the individual experiences and attributes among Latinos, the political process, which entails political sentiments, preferences, and concerns, is mediated by collective actions and organizations. Thus, another corpus of research examines the development and roles of Latino-based organizations and their interface with political institutions and representatives. What are Latinos' proclivity to be part of voluntary associations, and those with objectives for the betterment of the Latino community? Do varying levels of social capital or socio-economic status, or cultural practice facilitate or impede this communal orientation and activities? What are the positive

linkages between Latinos and these organizations and the congruence of a political agenda and strategies? The leadership –member relationship is a primary linkage that impacts organizational effectiveness, longevity, and resource development. Finally, the effect of organizational efforts regarding the selection of policy-makers and adoption (or perhaps prevention) of policy serve as benchmarks for Latino political development.

In addition, the greater degree of under-representation of Latinos as policy-makers furnishes researchers with a substantial research agenda to pursue. Concepts of representation, responsiveness, access, system support, descriptive and substantive representation, political trust and efficacy, and political incorporation embody the central relationships examined between Latinos and the U.S. political system. Legal and structural reforms such as the creation of minority– majority electoral districts can affect what kinds of candidates present themselves, the development of ethnically oriented campaigns, patterns of racial voter polarization, formulating de-racialization and/or coalitional efforts, and devising voter mobilization strategies. All of these dimensions constitute the scope of more contemporary research. As with more research, some debates occur as to differing interpretations of political developments. For example, besides legal interpretations of the constitutionality of majority-minority districts, a debate exists as to the participatory benefits of such jurisdictions. One body of work identifies characteristics of a safe district for Latino elected officials and declining voter turnout rates, and immeasurable policy changes. On the other hand, other researchers gauge the effects of increasing numbers of Latino elected officials as stimulating more Latinos to be politically engaged and supportive of the political system. One of the consequences of a more active Latino politics research agenda is the challenges to long held conventional "wisdoms" and more systematic research analysis.

Clearly this expanding realm of Latino politics research encompasses the many facets of political participation. How Latinos try to influence what government does and who serves as decision-makers is most heavily dominated by electorally oriented research. Latino voting is examined in terms of their comparability to other segments of the electorate and explanations for lower rates of registration and turnout. Whereas socio-economic status serve as good predictors of levels of participation overall; it is less of a factor among Latinos as education is the better forecaster than the other aspects of social status. Additional contributors such as nativity, naturalized status, language use/proficiency, generational distance from the immigration experienced, and group consciousness have now become a fuller complement of estimating Latino registration and turnout.

In addition to these aspects of electoral activity, Latino vote choice and stimuli used by organized efforts constitute a major corpus of participatory oriented research. Are Latinos more inclined to support the candidacy of fellow co-ethnics and be more electorally engaged (i. e. higher registration levels, more interested, involved in campaigns and other organizations, etc.)? Do candidates, irrespective of ethnic background, who make direct appeals to Latino issues and/or use cultural cues, prove to be more successful in receiving Latino voter support? In terms of partisanship, the traditional characterization has been a relatively weak association with the Democratic Party. More recently directed research has differentiated both tendency for specific partisan affiliation and saliency of that identification as impacted by critical political orientations, political ideologies, association with voluntary organizations, and cultural measures. Appeals by political parties have either been targeted to perceived group values and policy positions (i.e. abortion, same sex marriage, less or more government, civil rights, etc.) and/or partisan inclusiveness and responsiveness. Partially due to the rapidly growing segment of voting age Latinos and their geographic location in key electoral states, there has been more attention by political parties to gain the support of the Latino electorate. At the same time, the extant research indicates that it may be more portions or segments of the Latino electorate that is the strategic object of partisan endeavors rather than wholesale

support of the entire Latino electorate. In this regard, factors such as national origin, partisan contextual settings, size of the naturalized segment, and acculturation are viewed key profiles to activate Latinos in particular partisan directions.

One of the more challenging research queries lies with the connection of increased Latino political participation and resultant public policies and substantive representation. That is, what are the indicators of system responsiveness and influence as a result of greater Latino political involvement? Has increased participation resulted in fuller access to the political process, and receptive lines of communication of Latino policy preferences to policy-makers? One of the challenges is establishing direct patterns of influence. Whereas, influencing the policy-making process is more commonly viewed as pursing the adoption of a specific policy proposal, much work has been focused upon Latinos' efforts to block policy initiatives. Immigration reform proposals for the past twenty–five plus years have seen Latino organizations and activists oppose perceived punitive measures that were disproportionately impacting Latinos, especially its foreign-born segment. Research on the 1980's Immigration and Reform Control Act and more contemporary immigration reform initiatives demonstrate the range of Latino participation, strategies, and organizational efforts. Interestingly, in 2006, massive public demonstrations occurred throughout American cities, largely comprised of Latino and other immigrants (both undocumented and legal residents) to protest what they considered very punitive and unfair policies. The more visible participation by a relatively unheard and unseen segment of the Latino community marked a broadening of the Latino political community. By mentioning the foreign-segment of the Latino community, we are opening up a very key dimension of who are Latinos—the foreign-born.

Foreign-born Latinos and Politics

The more recent population counts and characteristics of Latinos reaffirm the significant portion that is born outside the U.S. Among Latinos adults that percentage approaches fifty-five to sixty percent. As a result, more research has been directed toward Latino immigrants in a wider variety of substantive areas. The conventional queries regarding their political incorporation/integration, degrees of acculturation/assimilation and political knowledge/information are part of the growing research literature. Both experiences in their country of origin (i.e. regarding political socialization, participatory value systems, regime characteristics, etc.) and experiences in the U.S. (i.e. isolation or integration, stereotypes and discrimination, ethnic enclaves, etc.) shape the political life of Latinos. To some extent, the extant literature would place the socio-economic adaptation of immigrants as taking priority over matters political. Nevertheless, events and examination of societal responses to immigrants have assisted the politicization of this Latino segment. Research on a number of California initiatives in the mid to late 1990's has demonstrated a level of activism not previously seen. Similarly, local and state governments' responses to undocumented immigration have provided Latino organizations and activists the impetus to organize and activate this segment. Thus the research now focuses upon the political participatory patterns of the Latino immigrant community.

Other realms of research deal with the formal attachment to the American political system via naturalization for Latino non-citizens. While previous studies of naturalization have dealt with individual attributes and orientations, the contemporary research efforts have integrated contextual and event related data to explain the naturalization decision. In addition, the political consequences of an expanding naturalized segment of the Latino population are examined in terms of partisanship, voting and registration, and overall political activism. This has resulted in differentiating the Latino population along a number of vital dimensions- native vs. foreign-born, English vs. Spanish speakers, residential areas of concentration and national origin groups. Given the migration histories of the various groups falling

under the Latino umbrella, variations as to periods of migration, U.S. foreign policies to the countries of origin and extent of continued contact with their home countries are key considerations necessary to be familiar with Latino immigrants.

In the case of the latter factor, a whole area known as transnationalism has evolved in the past ten years. The extent of globalism, interactions and relations between the immigrant communities and formal and informal sectors of their home countries has become quite important. For example, the extent and amount of remittances sent to one's home country has not only major financial impacts on economic growth and development, but also on the support for families and hometowns of immigrants. Institutional facilitation is supported by major financial institutions and governments. This economic tie has political ramifications. For example, émigrés have lobbied political institutions in their home country to insure representation there as well as adopting dual citizenship options to protect rights in their homeland and pursue U.S. citizenship. The concepts of globalism have incorporated broader notions of global citizenship and multi-countries of citizenship and affinity. While Latinos are not unique in these kinds of relationships, scholarship in this area is making major contributions to this emerging field.

Another realm of transnationalism deals with the development of hometown associations that engage, primarily, with assistance to family members and their communities. These efforts require organizational skills and coordination, as well as knowledge bases (i.e. of financial transactions, purchasing, etc.) to accomplish organizational objectives. Some research has examined these efforts as the acquisition of political resources that has utility in both one's country of origin and residence. Continued interest and contact with one's country of origin also can have implications with foreign policy advocacy in the U.S. Congress. This is truer of expatriates pursuing policies of regime change, or economic policies (i.e. trade embargoes, free trade zones, etc.), or security pacts. What is the role of Latinos as specific foreign policy advocates and how does country of origin affect this area?

Context Matters for Latinos

Whereas, most of the research efforts have use the individual or actions of societal institutions as the unit of analysis, the adage of "place matters" emphasize the inclusion of contextual factors into the political equation of Latino politics. Unmistakably, the inclusion of context as a major force affecting the political life of Latinos is becoming more reflected in the more contemporary research literature. Examples of such factors would the characteristics of the communities of residence, contextual policy climates, the content of public opinion, mass media's reporting and characterization of Latinos, as well as more punitively oriented public policies help to frame the public directions of a more visible and operable Latino community. A wider range of political engagement by Latinos is reflected by the contemporary research, as well as more complex analyses. As far as the settings for Latino political behaviors, the contemporary research has augmented regional or more localized studies, with the availability of national surveys and studies. While the paucity of substantial data sources was a mantra for persons trying to study Latino sub-groups as well as the pan-ethnic grouping, there is a much wider array of national surveys, public opinion polls, census/governmental data sources, and exit polls on hand.

Future Latino Research and Challenges

Our discussion of who Latinos are and what do they want has tried to establish the scope of contemporary research on Latinos, especially since the 1990's. The resultant sections of this book document the extensiveness of the expanding Latino research. Yet with its remarkable growth, challenges

still remain for researchers in this area to where Latinos are going. While the aggregation of the many Latino national origin groups has become the dominant mode of analysis, there are necessary substantive questions that can determine what are the appropriate units of analysis and bases for comparisons. Or, in other words, what is the focus and objective of the research inquiry and what aggregation is best suited. When should research efforts be directed toward particular national origin groupings and their political "realities" as opposed to the combination of all elements of Latino communities as research question(s) are posed? Comparisons have been commonly made between Latinos and non-Latinos (i.e. Anglos, African Americans, other minorities, etc.). This pattern of research will continue; yet intra-group comparative studies are also warranted to understand the dynamics of their political development and how common or different circumstances can affect political orientations, participation, and behaviors. Comparative based research has been a trademark of Latino politics research, but the comparative context will vary.

As we mention context, the recent directions of Latino research has sought to incorporate contextual factors as bases for political behaviors and mobilizations. Characteristics about the Latino community itself (i.e. socioeconomic status, national origin mix, immigrant segment, etc.) and that of the larger community (i.e. population mix, partisan climate, inter-group contact, political representation and responsiveness, etc.) provide the setting for any number of political activities and developments. Thus, there is a broadening of the participatory schema to extend beyond the individual. This approach will require also analytical techniques to take into account these different types of contributory factors.

Our earlier discussion of community and the identification process would suggest a dynamic process such that multiple bases of community can exist and manifest themselves in a variety of political modes and expressions. At the same time, the long-standing research on group identity needs to take into consideration a multiplicity of identities within the Latino community. Thus research needs to take into account situational factors, linkages across different social and political statuses, overlapping communities and the like for a fuller compilation of the makeup of Latinos and their community. For example, there is a large extant literature on the inter-sectionality of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. In consideration of both conceptual and methodological concerns, what are the processes involved with the acquisition of multiple group identifications and how are they utilized. If multiplicity is present, does this facilitate the bridging of distinctive, yet inter-related communities to engage in cooperative political actions? How does one measure these multiple identities and the capture their individual and interactive effects on political phenomena?

The more active immigrant segment of the Latino community presents some important challenges in the conceptualization of political incorporation and integration. We are living in a much more inter-related world where traditional national boundaries that have defined political citizenship is undergoing marked changes. Nationalism, national identities, political allegiances, and political involvement are not dichotomous phenomena, nor mutually exclusive conditions.

The traditional queries of identifying a "common" Latino political agenda, the extent of political responsiveness, impact of greater political representation on the well-being of this community, and impact on the American political system as a minority group or more recognized interest group will be developed with greater sophistication and complexities. In the case of the latter area (i.e. as a minority), the distinction of a racialized minority or marginalized group in American politics is part of the evolving nature of Latino politics. The intersection of racial and ethnic identification is a complex and interesting process in light of the longstanding black-white racial classification system in America. Again, will Latinos restructure the racial system to a more multi-racial society and what does this mean for group politics in the future?

Ultimately, the development of research on Latinos and the American political system is an examination of the nature and dynamics of U.S. politics. The scope of Latinos is bi-directional in terms of understanding the changes occurring within the Latino community itself and the changes that take place with the American socio-political system. It has been the intent of this introductory essay and for this contemporary research collection more generally, to characterize the breadth and scope of systematic queries into the public life of Latinos in the U.S. This compilation can benefit the most "seasoned" researcher, as well as the intellectually curious scholar as to the diversity of scholarly outlets, content, analyses, and theoretical foundations of Latino orientated research.

Chapter Two: Methodology and User Guide

Our previous discussion of the development of the field of Latino politics notes the growing scope of topics and issues researched, and their placement in a variety of journal publications and publishers. Since Garcia et al. (1991) identified the extant literature in this area no other comprehensive bibliography has been published. As a result, this project has been more ambitious and expansive than its precursor. In this brief methodological section we discuss the process we followed to collect and organize the article and book citations included in the annotated bibliography. Specifically, in this section we answer three questions about this process: First, how did we arrive at the selection of conceptual categories utilized to organize citations? Second, how did we locate relevant journal articles and books for the bibliography? And third, how did we determine whether specific citations should be included in the annotated bibliography? Finally, at the end of the section we provide some suggestions to help readers use this bibliography more effectively.

Selection and Organization of Relevant Conceptual Categories

To arrive at a coherent and comprehensive, though not exhaustive, set of categories necessary to organize the citations we relied on three criteria: the primary focus of the article or book, the theoretical importance of the citation's main concepts within the political science literature, and the policy content within the article or book. These criteria allowed us to identify as major categories: (a) concepts that are part of the theoretical toolkit available to political scientists in general and Latino politics scholars in particular; (b) policy areas of scholarly interest; and (c) historical and demographic works that describe the growth and change of the Latino population in the U.S. We were also open to the possibility that new categories might emerge as the collection effort progressed. In fact, we found that it was often necessary to create sub-categories within many of the larger categories. For example, within Political Attitudes and Behavior we created sub-categories for works dealing with public opinion, partisanship and party identification, and political participation.

These procedures to arrive at a set of conceptual categories have at least two potential limitations. First, the final set of categories is not exhaustive, which means that the literature could be further categorized based on other criteria. Second, we relied on a careful reading of the abstracts or book descriptions to determine the extent to which citations fit within each category. However, if authors left out important information, such as the research question, the dependent variable or both, then some citations could be placed in the wrong category. Many works deal with several concepts and do not fall neatly within any one category, so it was often difficult to determine in which category some citations belong. We believe, however, that the adoption of a majority rule, careful reading of the abstract, and our collective knowledge of the literature limited the number of potential errors.

The next stage in the process was to organize the categories coherently, paying particular attention to orderly continuity. We begin the bibliographical citations with historical, demographic, and media related works. The decision to begin with history is rooted in the belief that students wishing to understand Latinos ought to become familiar with Latino political history, migration and demographic patterns, struggles for inclusion and civil rights, etc. This historical and contextual understanding of Latinos is necessary to raise important questions about identity formation, political participation, and descriptive representation among others. This category also includes works related to the growth of La-

tino scholars, and how Latinos are portrayed in the mass media. In combination, all three sub-categories provide a rich context and historical background to help students understand where Latinos come from.

From history we move on to identity and ethnic studies. Ethnicity plays a central role in explanations of Latino attitudes, behavior, and policy preferences. As a result, ethnicity continually appears in the literature, as both a dependent and an independent variable, and in terms of identity, race, or national origin. As dependent variable, scholars try to explain its sources and how it varies. As independent variable, it is used to explain its impact on attitudes and behavior, representation, coalition formation, etc. Whether discussing ethnic identity, racial identity, cultural identity, political identity or any other dimension of identity, scholars depend on this concept to help them explain who Latinos are, and how their self perceptions shape their attitudes and behavior in the political arena.

The next three categories contain citations related to political attitudes and behavior; elites, institutions, and representation; and inter-group relations. The behaviors under consideration range from voter turnout to participation in community politics to participation in church activities and their impact on political outcomes. Ethnicity and identity also figure prominently in these categories as independent variables that help to explain variation in levels of participation across a range of political activities. The number of citations in these categories attests to the prominence of political participation in the research agendas of Latino scholars.

We then move on to public policy and policy issues. Policy oriented research is very important because governments at all levels of the federal system have implemented a series of policies designed to deal with the growing visibility of Latinos in the U.S. Whether these policies respond effectively to the concerns of the Latino community is an important area of research. So, we identified the most prominent policy areas in the literature and created separate categories for each: immigration, education, and employment, among others. Given the history of discrimination against Latinos, their immigrant roots, and their struggles to assimilate, these are prominent areas of policy for government in general and for Latinos in particular; and the literature reflects their importance and prominence. In an effort to make this segment of the annotated bibliography user-friendly, we decided to organize the public policy sub-categories alphabetically. It is interesting to highlight that immigration and education have garnered a much greater level of attention than other policy areas. These two policy areas combined make up nearly two thirds of all public policy and issues citations, and one fourth of all citations.

Once all major historical, theoretical, or policy categories have been covered, we move on to methodology and references. Methodological contributions are very important because many of the central concepts in the literature are disputed and difficult to measure. For example, a dimension of ethnicity is ethnic group consciousness. While some researchers have operationalized the concept as a single-item measure, others treat is as a multi-item measure; but what is the optimal indicator? This section is particularly relevant because of the need to move from conceptualization to measurement of important concepts such as consciousness, acculturation, etc. However, this is an area of research that is underrepresented and emerged as a glaring gap in the literature.

The necessity to include a "References" category became apparent as the collection process developed. As we collected our citations based on the primary criteria, we realized the need to include other bibliographical and/or reference materials that are not theoretically, methodologically, or policy relevant, but are important sources of empirical data. We therefore organized a series of entries under the major category of "References". Here we grouped entries that provide historical background, statistical sources, datasets, or any resources that can help researchers find sources of data to test their theories.

The number of citations included under each category underscores the relative importance of these concepts in the field. Figure 1 below is a graphic depicting the number of citations related to each category by book and articles. The graph illustrates the major conceptual categories and sub-categories

we employed to organize the literature, it also shows the areas of research that have received most attention (public policy, political attitudes and behavior, identity, and history), as well as areas of research that have not received as much attention (ethnic studies, inter-group relations, and methodology).

Figure 1: Book and Article Count by Source.
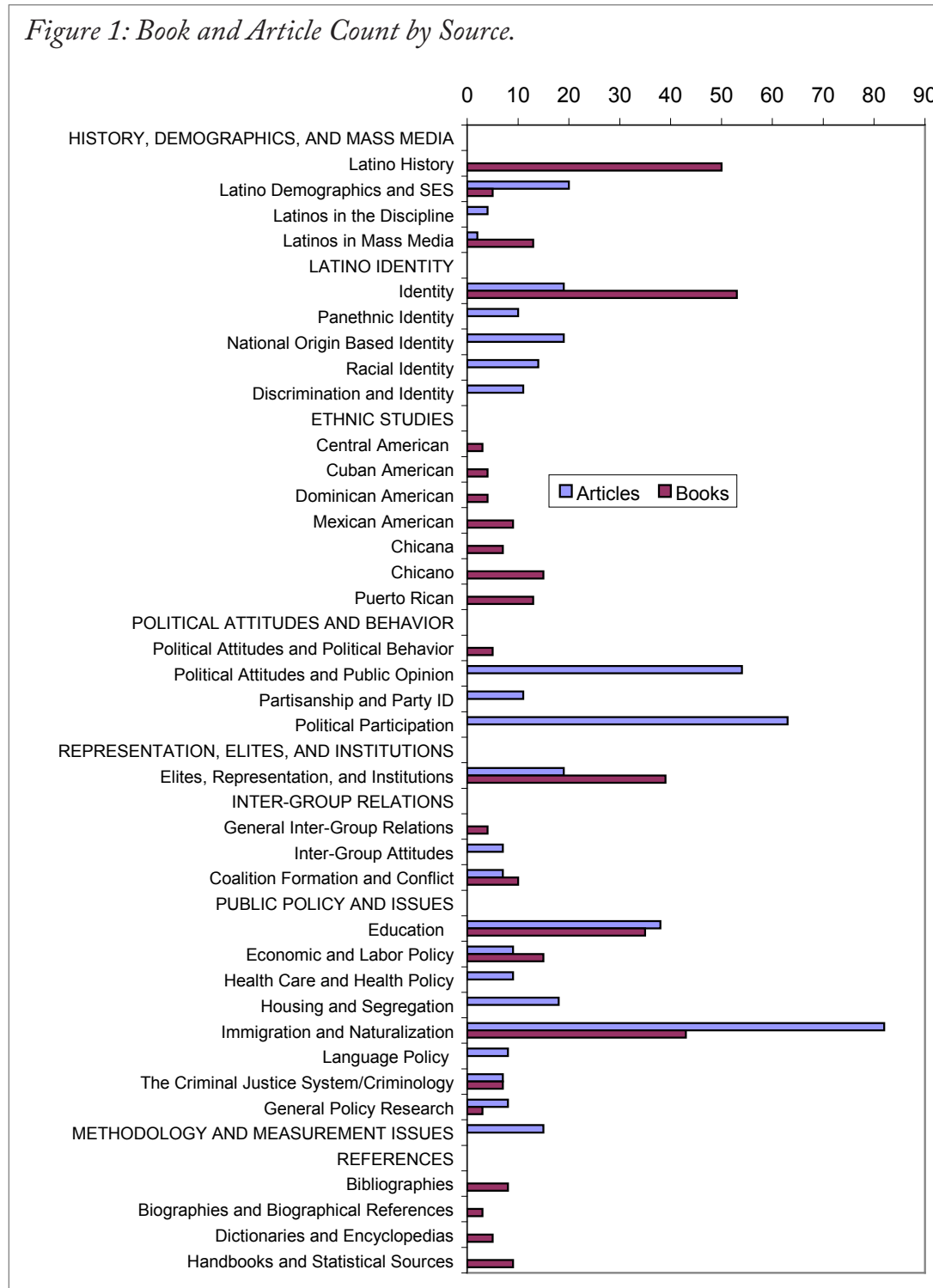
Data Collection

In addition to substantive considerations, we decided to collect citations from 1990 to 2008. The rationale for this time frame was simple: we wanted to present the most current Latino politics literature, and to trace the development of Latino politics literature since Garcia et al. (1991) published their annotated bibliography associated with the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS).

It was our intent to be as exhaustive as possible in our search for literature focused on Latino politics. As scholars in the field of Latino politics, we often find it necessary to read works published outside of political science to fully understand and analyze issues related to Latinos. Therefore, in our search for journal articles, although we relied primarily on political science journals, we also searched for relevant research in journals dedicated to racial and ethnic populations, those from other social science disciplines, and some of the most important policy research institutes such as Pew Hispanic Center. We believe that looking beyond political science was a critically important step to take with the bibliography.

The most time consuming component of this process was searching for relevant articles and books to include in the bibliography for the time frame identified above. Although we considered including manuscripts under review and conference papers in the bibliography, we ultimately decided to exclude because many appear in print eventually; or if they are never published, then they would be very difficult to locate.

We followed a similar process for the identification of relevant books, and relied primarily on three sources: (1) Book publishers, which provide a comprehensive catalog of publications and their respective book descriptions for the period of interest; (2) Amazon.com, which contains a comprehensive database of books in print along with their respective abstracts or book descriptions; and (3) The Chronicle of Higher Education, which contains a database of major publishers, identifies the most recent publications, and provides short book descriptions. Similar to the journal articles, only those books that fit within one of the conceptual categories were included in the bibliography.

In the interest of full disclosure, we did not write the abstracts contained in this bibliography. This strategy helped us to avoid two problems: (a) significantly delaying the completion of the project, and (b) potentially misrepresenting the core theme(s) of the articles and the books by imposing our own interpretation of the works. The abstracts, therefore, come from the authors themselves (more likely in the case of journal articles); from book publishers; or from Amazon.com, which make them available to the public through their websites. In the case of some bibliographies, however, we do not provide book descriptions because we believe that the title is self-explanatory. Appendices B and C contain a complete list of all the sources consulted including journals, book publishers, policy institutes, etc.

How did we decide on what citations belong in the annotated bibliography, as well as within each category? At the outset we agreed on a procedure to insure inter-coder reliability. For a citation to be accepted for inclusion in the bibliography and within a particular category we decided on a majority rule: at least two out of three votes were necessary for a citation to be included in the bibliography, and subsequently to be placed in a particular conceptual category. Citations that received unanimous support for inclusion in the bibliography and in a particular category are included; citations that received two votes for inclusion in the bibliography and in a particular category are included as well; citations that received only one vote were discussed in detail and were ultimately excluded.

What was excluded and why? At the end of this process, we also had to exclude some works based on their lack of relevance, contribution, and usefulness toward advancing our understanding of Latino politics. We collectively decided on a set of exclusion rules to guide our efforts. First, based on the title and abstract, the article or book had to primarily address issues, questions, quandaries, or concerns related to Latinos. Secondly, we based our decision to retain a citation based on the following question:

does the article or book inform readers as to Latinos and their intersection with the political system or public policy? Works that focus primarily on the internal life of Latinos without connection to political activities were excluded.

Based on the above criteria, we decided to exclude works that were primarily biographical, literary, artistic, or otherwise did not inform us about Latinos and their political public life. Biographies of Latinos in general were omitted; but biographies that deal with political personalities, such as social movement leaders, prominent political pioneers, leaders of important political organizations, and works that can shed some light on central research concerns were included. Works of literature were also excluded. For example, although we recognize that Chicano/Latino literature is an important area of research, assessing its contribution to political science literature would require a separate analysis that is beyond the scope of this project. As a result, we decided to exclude such works. Finally, we excluded book chapters, anthologies, and conference paper because either they only deal with Latinos tangentially or they had appeared in article format elsewhere.

Using this Bibliography Effectively

One of the central goals of this project is to provide scholars and students of Latino politics a useful guide to the most current and relevant literature to support the continued research of this population. The most direct method of locating literature within a specific topic is to begin by perusing the theoretical category of interest in the table of contents - i.e. identity, political behavior, political participation, etc. Second, within each category, the citations are organized in alphabetical order by author, but some authors' works appear in different categories. So, it is important to keep in mind authors' diverse research agendas throughout the research process. Third we separated journal articles and books in each category and sub-category because we noticed that in some areas of research the primary medium of publication has been either books or articles. This is useful information because it can guide researchers toward the appropriate medium.

Scholars wishing to embark on research of understudied concepts, policy issues, ethnic groups, etc., need only look at the areas that have received the least attention (see Figure 1 above). For example, questions about the importance of institutions and how they affect attitudes, behavior, and policies have been severely understudied. Given the growth of the Latino population, research related to healthcare and the elderly also need scholarly attention. Latino representation remains low in proportion to other groups, currently at about 6% in the U.S. Congress and slightly higher at the state level, yet this very important aspect of Latino politics has not received enough attention. Thus understanding what are the causes and consequences of underrepresentation for Latinos at the local, state, and national level is also an interesting and timely research program.

This annotated bibliography should provide interested "students" of Latino politics a resource to familiarize themselves with the extant literature and develop their own research agendas. Ultimately, it can help to raise three important questions: what questions have not been posed? What puzzles have not been explored? What policy issues have not been researched sufficiently? Hopefully this annotated bibliography can point students and seasoned scholars alike in new directions and toward interesting research agendas.

Chapter Three: History, Demographics, and Mass Media

Latino History - Books

Acosta, Frank de Jesús. 2007. *The History of Barrios Unidos: Healing Community Violence*. Houston: Arte Público Press.

> This is the compelling story of Barrios Unidos, the Santa Cruz-based organization founded to prevent gang violence amongst inner-city ethnic youth. An evolving grass-roots organization that grew out of the Mexican-American civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s and 1970s, Barrios Unidos harnessed the power of culture and spirituality to rescue at-risk young people, provide avenues to quell gang warfare, and offer a promising model for building healthy and vibrant multicultural communities. Co-founder Daniel "Nane" Alejándrez spent his childhood following the crops from state to state with his family. His earliest recollection of "home" was a tent in a labor camp. Later, he was drafted in to the Army and sent to Vietnam. "Flying bullets, cries of anguish and being surrounded by death have a way of giving fuel to epiphany. This war made as little sense to me as the war raging on the streets of the barrios back home." He decided that when he returned home, he would dedicate himself to peace. Nane Alejándrez's story of personal transformation, from heroin-addicted gang banger to social activist and youth advocate, is closely tied to that of Barrios Unidos. Through interviews, written testimonies, and documents, Frank de Jesús Acosta re-constructs the development of Barrios Unidos – or literally, united neighborhoods – from its early influences and guiding principles to its larger connection to the on-going struggle to achieve civil rights in America. Today, Barrios Unidos chapters exist in several cities around the country, including San Francisco; Venice-Los Angeles; Salinas; San Diego; Washington, DC; Yakima; San Antonio; Phoenix; and Chicago. With a foreword by Luis Rodríguez, former gang member and author of *La Vida Loca: Always Running*, the book also includes historical photos and commentaries by leading civil rights activists Harry Belafonte, Dolores Huerta, Tom Hayden, Manuel Pastor, and Constance Rice. Mandatory reading for anyone interested in peace and social justice, *The History of Barrios Unidos* gives voice to contemporary inter-generational leaders of color and will lead to the continuation of necessary public dialogue about racism, poverty, and violence.

Arredondo, Gabriela F. 2007. *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity and Nation, 1916–39*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

> Mexican Chicago builds on previous studies of Mexicans in the United States while challenging static definitions of "American" and underlying assumptions of assimilation. Gabriela F. Arredondo contends that because of the revolutionary context from which they came, Mexicans in Chi-

cago between 1916 and 1939 were not just another ethnic group working to be assimilated into a city that has a long history of incorporating newcomers. Suggesting a new understanding of identity formation, she argues that Mexicans wielded tools of identification forged in revolutionary Mexico to collectively battle the prejudices of ethnic groups that included Poles, Italians, and the Irish, as well as African Americans. By turning inward, however, Mexicans also highlighted tremendous differences among themselves, such as gender and class. In discussing this distinctive process of becoming "Mexican" in Chicago during the early twentieth century, Arredondo not only explores how that identity was constructed but also provides telling insight into the repercussions of that identity formation process.

Badillo, David. 2002. *Latinos in Michigan.* East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

The history of Latinos in Michigan is one of cultural diversity, institutional formation, and an ongoing search for leadership in the midst of unique, often intractable circumstances. Latinos have shared a vision of the American Dream – made all the more difficult by the contemporary challenge of cultural assimilation. The complexity of their local struggles, moreover, reflects far-reaching developments on the national stage, and suggests the outlines of a common identity. While facing adversity as rural and urban immigrants, exiles, and citizens, Latinos have contributed culturally, economically, and socially to many important developments in Michigan's history.

Cárdenas, Gilberto, ed. 2004. *La Causa: Civil Rights, Social Justice and the Struggle for Equality in the Midwest.* Houston: Arte Público Press.

Accepted notions of demographics in the United States often contend that Latinos have traditionally been confined to the Southwest and urban centers of the East Coast, but Latinos have been living in the Midwest since the late nineteenth century. Their presence has rarely been documented and studied, in spite of their widespread participation in the industrial development of the Midwest, its communications infrastructure and labor movements. The populations of Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban and other Hispanic origins living in the region have often been seen as removed not only from mainstream America but also from the movements for human and civil rights that dominated Latino public discourse in the Southwest and Northeast during the 1960s and 1970s. In the first text examining Latinos in this region, historians and social science scholars have come together to document and evaluate the efforts and progress toward social justice. Distinguished scholars examine such diverse topics as advocacy efforts, civil rights and community organizations, Latina Civil Rights efforts, ethnic diversity and political identity, effects of legislation for Homeland Security, and political empowerment.

Cruz, Wilfredo. 2007. *City of Dreams: Latino Immigration to Chicago*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

> *City of Dreams: Latino Immigration to Chicago* uses extensive oral interviews combined with scholarly documentation to richly describe the social history of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Cuban groups in Chicago. Drawing on the stories of one hundred diverse Latinos, this work attempts to give the largest minority population in America a voice, showing how they view themselves and their immigration experiences. This book, while discussing the reasons for immigration, focuses on the adjustments and adaptations of each Latino group; their aspirations; obstacles; relations with other ethnic groups; and overall survival in a new and sometimes hostile American city.

Cunningham, Hilary. 1996. *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: Sanctuary and the Politics of Religion*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

> The Sanctuary Movement began in 1981 when a collection of mostly church-related people decided to assist the wave of Central Americans migrating to the United States. The movement was transformed in the following years into a highly volatile church-state confrontation. It established an underground railroad to help Central Americans enter the United States and then provided sanctuary for them within churches and synagogues. In *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande*, Hilary Cunningham offers a fascinating account of the history and growth of the Sanctuary Movement, as she demonstrates how religion shapes and is shaped by political culture. Focusing on the Sanctuary located in Tucson, Arizona, Cunningham explores the movement primarily through the experiences of everyday participants conveyed through interviews with Sanctuary workers as well as reproductions of documents from her stays in Arizona, Mexico, and Guatemala. She includes a discussion of the role of sanctuaries within the Judeo-Christian tradition in ancient times, and elaborates on the prominence of women in the Sanctuary network today. One of few books to document the culture of the religious left in the United States, *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande* illustrates how a particular group of people used religious beliefs and practices to interpret and respond to state authority. Cunningham looks at such diverse subjects as U.S. church-state relations, the social construction of power, and international refugee policy. This book will be of interest to individuals wishing to explore the relationship of religion to power and social change.

Darder, Antonia, ed. 1995. *Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States*. Westport: Bergin & Garvey Paperback.

> The yearning to remember who we are is not easily detected in the qualitative dimensions of focus groups and ethnographic research methods; nor is it easily measured in standard quantified scientific inquiry. It is deeply rooted, obscured by layer upon layer of human efforts to survive the impact of historical amnesia induced by the dominant policies and practices of advanced capitalism and postmodern culture. Darder's introduction sets the tone by describing the formation of "Warriors for Gringostroika" and "The New Mestizas." In the words of Anzaldúa, "those who cross over, pass over… the confines of the 'normal.'" Critical essays follow by Mexicanas, poets, activists, and educators of all colors and persuasions. The collection coming out of the good work

of the Southern California University system relates to all locales and spectrums of the human condition and will no doubt inspire excellent creativity of knowing and remembering among all who chance to read any part thereof.

Davis, Marilyn. 1990. *Mexican Voices/American Dreams: An Oral History of Mexican Immigration to the United States*. New York: H. Holt.

Introduction; PART I: PUSH-PULL – Bad of the Immigrant: The Long History of Mexican Migration; I Will Buy You the Moon: The Reasons for Going; Two Dollars an Hour: She Employers. PART II: PASSGE – To Cross Is to Die a Little: Crossing the Border; The White Man and the Chicken Keeper Win: El Coyote; How They Have Suffered for Me Those They Left Behind. PART III: EL NORTE – Breathless: Dreams Versus Reality; Those Who Come to Immigrate: Life in the United States; Up with the Raza: The Best and the Brightest. PART IV: TH FUTU RE – When You Sing There Are No Borders: The Artists; Those They Call Chicano: The Children - Part I; The Children's Children - Part II; El Corrido Nuevo: A New Verse.

De Leon, Arnoldo, and Richard Griswold del Castillo. 2006. *North to Aztlán: A History of Mexican Americans in the United States*. 2nd ed. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.

Contemporary observers often quip that the American Southwest has become "Mexicanized," but this view ignores the history of the region as well as the social reality. Mexican people and their culture have been continuously present in the territory for the past four hundred years, and Mexican Americans were actors in United States history long before the national media began to focus on them – even long before an international border existed between the United States and Mexico. *North to Aztlán*, an inclusive, readable, and affordable survey history, explores the Indian roots, culture, society, lifestyles, politics, and art of Mexican Americans and the contributions of the people to and their influence on American history and the mainstream culture. Though cognizant of changing interpretations that divide scholars, Drs. De León and Griswold del Castillo provide a holistic vision of the development of Mexican American society, one that attributes great importance to immigration (before and after 1900) and the ongoing influence of new arrivals on the evolving identity of Mexican Americans. Also showcased is the role of gender in shaping the cultural and political history of La Raza, as exemplified by the stories of outstanding Mexicana and Chicana leaders as well as those of largely unsung female heroes, among them ranch and business owners and managers, labor leaders, community activists, and artists and writers. In short, readers will come away from this extensively revised and completely up-to-date second edition with a new understanding of the lives of a people who currently compose the largest minority in the nation.

Enciso, Carmen E., and Tracy North. 1995. *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822-1995*. Darby, PA: Diane Publishing Company.

> A collection of biographies of Hispanic Americans who have served in the U.S. Congress between 1822-1995. It includes a portrait of each individual along with a summary of their life & contributions to Congress. The biographies include: Herman Badillo, Dennis Chávez, Anthony Lee Coelho, Eligio de la Garza II, Antonio Manuel Fernandez, Robert García, Henry B. Gonzalez, Manuel Lujan, Jr., Matthew G. Martinez, Joseph Manuel Montoya, Solomon P. Ortiz, William B. Richardson, Edward R. Roybal, Esteban Torres & many more in both the U.S. House & U.S. Senate.

García, Alma M., ed. 1997. *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*. New York: Routledge.

> *Chicana Feminist Thought* brings together the voices of Chicana poets, writers, and activists who reflect upon the Chicana Feminist Movement that began in the late 1960s. With energy and passion, this anthology of writings documents the personal and collective political struggles of Chicana feminists.

García, Jerry, and Gilberto Garcia, eds. 2005. *Memory, Community, and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

> *Memory, Community, and Activism* is the first book-length study to critically examine the Mexican experience in the U.S. Pacific Northwest. Many books deal with Chicano history, but few ever attempt to interpret or analyze it beyond the confines of the American Southwest. Eleven essays by leading scholars on the Mexican experience in the Northwest shed new light on immigration/migration, the Bracero program, the Catholic Church, race and race relations, Mexican culture, unionization, and Chicana feminism. This collection analyzes the Mexican experience from the early twentieth century to the present.

Ganster, Paul, and David E. Lorey. 2007. *The U.S.-Mexican Border into the Twenty-First Century*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

> Systematically exploring the dynamic interface between Mexico and the United States, this comprehensive survey considers the historical development, current politics, society, economy, and daily life of the border region. Now fully updated and revised, the book traces the economic cycles and social movements from the 1880s through the beginning of the twenty-first century that created the modern border region, showing how the border shares characteristics of both nations while maintaining an internal coherence that transcends its divisive international boundary. The authors conclude with an in-depth analysis of the key issues of the contemporary borderlands: industrial development and maquiladoras, the North American Free Trade Agreement, rapid urbanization, border culture, demographic and migration issues, the environmental crisis, the border Native Americans, U.S. and Mexican cooperation and conflict at the border, drug trafficking, and the security crisis brought by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. They also

place the border in its global context, examining it as a region caught between the developed and developing world and highlighting the continued importance of borders in a rapidly globalizing world. Richly illustrated with photographs and maps and enhanced by up-to-date and accessible statistical tables, this book will be an invaluable resource for all those interested in borderlands and U.S.-Mexican relations.

Gómez-Quiñones, Juan. 1990. *Chicano Politics: Realities and Promise*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

> This political history of Mexican Americans analyzes and interprets the last fifty years in the *movimiento*. This book was written by a leading Chicano historian who spent many years as an activist, this study evolved from Juan Gómez-Quiñones's participation and reflection. Examined are the leaders and organizations that waged struggles for political rights as well as the evolution of their goals and strategies. Beginning in the 1940s, Mexican Americans viewed the advocacy process in party politics, coupled with the selected use of the courts, as effective means to redress problems. But by the mid-1930s, the persistence of discrimination, inequality, and poverty led many to question the so-called gains make through piecemeal reform. A new style of politics, based on wide mobilization and an insistence upon democratic rights, coalesced into an ethnic populism known as the Chicano movement. Today, the Mexican American community in the United States remains committed to securing a more socially just life, But, its political expression is often confused because, in the jumble of competing voices and self-serving conservatism, the true majority of the Mexican American community – the workers – are often overlooked and unheeded.

González, Gilbert G. 1999. *Mexican Consuls and Labor Organizing: Imperial Politics in the American Southwest*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> Chicano history, from the early decades of the twentieth century up to the present, cannot be explained without reference to the determined interventions of the Mexican government, asserts Gilbert G. González. In this path finding study, he offers convincing evidence that Mexico aimed at nothing less than developing a loyal and politically dependent emigrant community among Mexican Americans, which would serve and replicate Mexico's political and economic subordination to the United States. González centers his study around four major agricultural workers' strikes in Depression-era California. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, he documents how Mexican consuls worked with U.S. growers to break the strikes, undermining militants within union ranks and, in one case, successfully setting up a grower-approved union. Moreover, González demonstrates that the Mexican government's intervention in the Chicano community did not end after the New Deal; rather, it continued as the Bracero Program of the 1940s and 1950s, as a patron of Chicano civil rights causes in the 1960s and 1970s, and as a prominent voice in the debates over NAFTA in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

González, Manuel G. 1999. *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

> Rather than studying Mexican American history from the militant perspective so popular in recent decades, this book offers a fresh reassessment of that past which paints a more nuanced portrait of Mexican American life. Victimization and resistance are not the only themes that thread their way through this complex history. Gonzales's narrative embraces all segments of a heterogeneous community, not just the heroes who loom so large in movement portrayals. Moreover, in contrast to older studies, Gonzales's book probes the failures as well as the successes of the community. The result is a timely and valuable new history that is both fair and balanced.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. 2007. *Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Justice*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> The Mexican and Chicana/o residents of San Diego have a long, complicated, and rich history that has been largely ignored. This collection of essays shows how the Spanish-speaking people of this border city have created their own cultural spaces. Sensitive to issues of gender – and paying special attention to political, economic, and cultural figures and events – the contributors explore what is unique about San Diego's Mexican American history. In chronologically ordered chapters, scholars discuss how Mexican and Chicana/o people have resisted and accommodated the increasingly Anglo-oriented culture of the region. The book's early chapters recount the historical origins of San Diego and its development through the mid-nineteenth century, describe the "American colonization" that followed, and include examples of Latino resistance that span the twentieth century – from early workers' strikes to the United Farm Workers movement of the 1960s. Later chapters trace the Chicana/o Movement in the community and in the arts; the struggle against the gentrification of the barrio; and the growth of community organizing (especially around immigrants' rights) from the perspective of a community organizer.

Gutiérrez, José. 2005. *Making of Civil Rights Leader*. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press.

> Born in 1944, José Angel Gutiérrez grew up in a time when Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Texas and the Southwest attended separate schools and avoided public facilities and restaurants that were designated "Whites Only." Despite the limits of segregation and rural culture in Texas, the passion to learn and to educate others, as well as to undo injustice, burned in his belly from an early age. Gutiérrez offers portraits of his early influences, from his father's own pursuit of knowledge and political involvement, to his Mexican pre-school teacher's dedication to bilingual-bicultural education which did not exist in public schools at that time, and to his mother's courage and persistence, taking up migrant field work to provide for her family after the death of young Gutiérrez's father. In this intensely narrated memoir, Gutiérrez details his rise from being beaten down by racist political and agricultural interests in South Texas to his leadership role in the Chicano civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Complemented by photos from his personal archives, Gutiérrez recalls his struggle for education, his early baptism in grassroots political organizing, and his success in creating one of history's most successful third party movements, La Raza Unida Party. Along the way, Gutiérrez earned college and law degrees, as well as a Ph. D. in Political Science. He was elected or appointed to school boards, commissions, judgeships and party chairmanships, all with the single-minded purpose of extending equality

to Mexican Americans and other minorities in the United States. Through his tireless efforts, he crossed paths with African American and Native American civil rights leaders, Mexican presidents, and other international figures.

Heidenreich, Linda. 2007. *"This Land was Mexican Once": Histories of Resistance from Northern California*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

The territory of Napa County, California, contains more than grapevines. The deepest roots belong to Wappo-speaking peoples, a group whose history has since been buried by the stories of Spanish colonizers, Californios (today's Latinos), African Americans, Chinese immigrants, and Euro Americans. Napa's history clearly is one of co-existence; yet, its schoolbooks tell a linear story that climaxes with the arrival of Euro Americans. In *"This Land was Mexican Once,"* Linda Heidenreich excavates Napa's subaltern voices and histories to tell a complex, textured local history with important implications for the larger American West, as well. Heidenreich is part of a new generation of scholars who are challenging not only the old, Euro-American depiction of California, but also the linear method of historical storytelling – a method that inevitably favors the last man writing. She first maps the overlapping histories that comprise Napa's past, then examines how the current version came to dominate – or even erase – earlier events. So while history, in Heidenreich's words, may be "the stuff of nation-building," it can also be "the stuff of resistance." Chapters are interspersed with "source breaks" – raw primary sources that speak for themselves and interrupt the linear, Euro-American telling of Napa's history. Such an inclusive approach inherently acknowledges the connections Napa's peoples have to the rest of the region, for the linear history that marginalizes minorities is not unique to Napa. Latinos, for instance, have populated the American West for centuries, and are still shaping its future. In the end, "This Land was Mexican Once" is more than the story of Napa, it is a multidimensional model for reflecting a multicultural past.

Jiménez, Francisco, Alma M. García, and Richard A. García. 2007. *Ethnic Community Builders: Mexican-Americans in Search of Justice and Power*. Lanham: 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.

Maldonado, Carlos. 2000. *Colegio Cesar Chavez, 1973-1983: A Chicano Struggle for Educational Self-Determination*. New York: Routledge.

> This work illuminates the founding and brief existence of Colegio Cesar Chavez , founded in the Pacific Northwest in 1973. The work is set within a national and regional context. Colegio Cesar Chavez holds a unique niche in Chicano social and educational history, due to its strong Chicano philosophical roots, alternative educational model, and geographical location. The work highlights the socio-political milieu and issues contributing to the rise and demise of this bold Chicano educational experiment. The history of Colegio Cesar Chavez tells the story of a Chicano struggle for educational and self determination.

Martínez, Oscar J. 2001. *Mexican-Origin People in the United States: A Topical History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> The history of the United States in the twentieth century is inextricably entwined with that of people of Mexican origin. The twenty million Mexicans and Mexican Americans living in the U.S. today are predominantly a product of post-1900 growth, and their numbers give them an increasingly meaningful voice in the political process. Oscar Martínez here recounts the struggle of a people who have scraped and grappled to make a place for themselves in the American mainstream. Focusing on social, economic, and political change during the twentieth century – particularly in the American West – Martínez provides a survey of long-term trends among Mexican Americans and shows that many of the difficult conditions they have experienced have changed decidedly for the better. Organized thematically, the book addresses population dynamics, immigration, interaction with the mainstream, assimilation into the labor force, and growth of the Mexican American middle class. Martínez then examines the various forms by which people of Mexican descent have expressed themselves politically: becoming involved in community organizations, participating as voters, and standing for elective office. Finally he summarizes salient historical points and offers reflections on issues of future significance.

Medina, Lara. 2004. *Las Hermanas: Chicana/Latina Religious-Political Activism in the U.S. Catholic Church*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> In this historical study, Lara Medina examines the early development and continuing influence of Las Hermanas, a feminist organization established in 1971 to counter the patriarchy and Eurocentrism of the U.S. Catholic Church. Lara Medina weaves archival research and oral interviews into a cohesive narrative that highlights the keen ethnic and political awareness among the movement's leaders and participants. Medina also illuminates the strides made by Las Hermanas in undermining and reorienting the male-dominated structure of both the Catholic ministry and the Chicano civil rights movement. By showing how the group has engaged such issues as moral authority, sexuality, and domestic abuse through its religiously informed efforts in grassroots community organizing and education, Lara Medina showcases the crucial role played by Las Hermanas in the articulation of a spiritually and politically grounded Latina/Chicana identity.

Meeks, Eric V. 2007. *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> Borders cut through not just places but also relationships, politics, economics, and cultures. Eric V. Meeks examines how ethno-racial categories and identities such as Indian, Mexican, and Anglo crystallized in Arizona's borderlands between 1880 and 1980. South-central Arizona is home to many ethnic groups, including Mexican Americans, Mexican immigrants, and semi-Hispanicized indigenous groups such as Yaquis and Tohono O'odham. Kinship and cultural ties between these diverse groups were altered and ethnic boundaries were deepened by the influx of Euro-Americans, the development of an industrial economy, and incorporation into the U.S. nation-state. Old ethnic and interethnic ties changed and became more difficult to sustain when Euro-Americans arrived in the region and imposed ideologies and government policies that constructed starker racial boundaries. As Arizona began to take its place in the national economy of the United States, primarily through mining and industrial agriculture, ethnic Mexican and Native American communities struggled to define their own identities. They sometimes stressed their status as the region's original inhabitants, sometimes as workers, sometimes as U.S. citizens, and sometimes as members of their own separate nations. In the process, they often challenged the racial order imposed on them by the dominant class. Appealing to broad audiences, this book links the construction of racial categories and ethnic identities to the larger process of nation-state building along the U.S.-Mexico border, and illustrates how ethnicity can both bring people together and drive them apart.

Menchaca, Martha. 1995. *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> People of Mexican descent and Anglo Americans have lived together in the U.S. Southwest for over a hundred years, yet relations between them remain strained, as shown by recent controversies over social services for undocumented aliens in California. In this study, covering the Spanish colonial period to the present day, Martha Menchaca delves deeply into interethnic relations in Santa Paula, California, to document how the residential, social, and school segregation of Mexican-origin people became institutionalized in a representative California town. Menchaca lived in Santa Paula during the 1980s, and interviews with residents add a vivid human dimension to her book. She argues that social segregation in Santa Paula has evolved into a system of social apartness – that is, a cultural system controlled by Anglo Americans that designates the proper times and places where Mexican-origin people can socially interact with Anglos. This first historical ethnographic case study of a Mexican-origin community will be important reading across a spectrum of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, race and ethnicity, Latino studies, and American culture.

Mora, Carlos. 2007. *Latinos in the West: The Student Movement and Academic Labor in Los Angeles*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

> The book focuses on the struggle by Latin Americans to open and maintain Chicano/a Studies programs in institutions of higher education in California. It raises critical questions for social theory about multicultural democracy, dealing with topics such as immigration, affirmative action and civil rights. Mora explains the links between this social movement and the needs of the

Chicano/a people, the changes taking place in higher education, and the trends in the overall ethnic-nationalist movements in the U.S. where Latinos have been playing an increasingly leading role.

Navarro, Armando. 1998. *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle for Community Control*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Amidst the turbulence and militancy of the 1960s and early 1970s, the Mexicano population of the dusty agricultural town of Crystal City, Texas (Cristal in Spanish) staged two electoral revolts, each time winning control of the city council and school board. The landmark city council victory in 1963 was a first for Mexican Americans in South Texas, and Cristal the spinach capital of the world became for a time the political capital of the Chicano Movement. In The Cristal Experiment, Armando Navarro presents the most comprehensive examination to date of the rise of the Chicano political movement in Cristal, its successes and conflicts (both internal and external), and its eventual decline. He looks particularly at the larger and more successful Second Revolt in 1970 and its aftermath up to 1981, examining the political, economic, educational, and social changes for Mexicanos that resulted. Drawing upon nearly 100 interviews, a wealth of secondary materials, and his own experiences as a political organizer in the Chicano Movement, Navarro offers a shrewd and insightful analysis not only of the events in Cristal, but also of the workings of local politics generally, the politics of community control, and the factors inherent in the American political system that lead to the self-destruction of political movements. As both a political scientist and an organizer, he outlines important lessons to be learned from what happened in Cristal and to the Chicano Movement. Navarro extends the story of Cristal, the Mecca of Chicanismo, beyond where others have left off. It will be important to scholars interested in the Chicano Movement, Chicano history in general, community studies, politics and ethnic nationalism.

Navarro, Armando. 2004. *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two-Party Dictatorship*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Over the years, third parties have arisen sporadically to challenge the hegemony of the United States' two major political parties. But not until the emergence of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) in 1970, did an ethnic group organize to fight for political control at the country's ballot boxes. La Raza Unida Party traces the party from its beginnings in 1970 to its demise in 1981 – the events, leaders, ideology, structure, strategy and tactics, successes and problems, and electoral campaigns that marked its trajectory. The book covers political organizing in California, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and the Midwest, as well as RUP's national and international politics and its party profile. In addition, it suggests options for future political action. Based on 161 interviews, access to numerous documents, letters, minutes, diaries, and position papers, as well as such published sources as contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts and campaign literature, the study is enriched by Professor Navarro's accounts of his own experiences as one of the organizers of the RUP in California. La Raza Unida Party represents the culmination of the story of Chicano militancy that Professor Navarro has related in his earlier books. It goes beyond mere history-telling to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of ethnic-identity political parties and the perils of challenging the two-party dictatorship that characterizes U.S. electoral politics.

Olivas, Michael A. ed. 2006. *"Colored Men and Hombres Aqui": Hernandez v. Texas and the Rise of Mexican American Lawyering*. Houston: Arte Público Press.

> This collection of ten essays commemorates the 50th anniversary of an important but almost forgotten U.S. Supreme court case, *Hernandez v. Texas*, 347 US 475 (1954), the major case involving Mexican Americans and jury selection, published just before *Brown v. Board of Education* in the 1954 Supreme Court reporter. This landmark case, the first to be tried by Mexican American lawyers before the U.S. Supreme Court, held that Mexican Americans were a discrete group for purposes of applying Equal Protection. Although the case was about discriminatory state jury selection and trial practices, it has been cited for many other civil rights precedents in the intervening 50 years. Even so, it has not been given the prominence it deserves, in part because it lives in the shadow of the more compelling *Brown v. Board* case. There had been earlier efforts to diversify juries, reaching back at least to the trial of Gregorio Cortez in 1901 and continuing with efforts by the legendary Oscar Zeta Acosta in Los Angeles in the 1960s. Even as recently as 2005 there has been clear evidence that Latino participation in the Texas jury system is still substantially unrepresentative of the growing population. But in a brief and shining moment in 1954, Mexican-American lawyers prevailed in a system that accorded their community no legal status and no respect. Through sheer tenacity, brilliance, and some luck, they showed that it is possible to tilt against windmills and slay the dragon.

Pedraza, Sylvia, and Rubén Rumbault, eds. 1995. *Origin and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity*. Farmington Hills, MI: Wadsworth Publishing.

> *Origins and Destinies* is a collection of thirty-six specially commissioned essays by prominent scholars, which explore immigration, race, and ethnicity in America in historical and contemporary contexts. These engagingly written, highly accessible essays combine different disciplines, approaches, methods, and perspectives to bring to life some central themes of the American experience. This rich anthology depicts the myriad ways in which the unequal destinies of the American racial and ethnic groups reflect their diverse origins – from the conquest of indigenous peoples to massive waves of both voluntary and involuntary immigration from Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. It seeks to grasp the extraordinary diversity and the complexity of issues posed by immigration, race, and ethnicity in American life, past and present, in a way that is at once comprehensive and comprehensible. And it show shows the dynamics of immigration, racialization, and ethnic stratification, continue today, as the United States undergoes its most profound demographic transformation in a century. At a time when immigration, race, and ethnicity have risen to the top of the policy agenda – and become the subject of acrimonious debates on issues from California's Proposition 187 to affirmative action to multiculturalism and the politics of identity – *Origins and Destinies* is a timely study of the tumultuous histories, struggles, and ongoing social processes that have transformed the United States into one of the world's most ethnically diverse societies.

Pitti, Stephen J. 2002. *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Northern California, Race, and Mexican Americans.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

> This sweeping history explores the growing Latino presence in the United States over the past 200 years. It also debunks common myths about Silicon Valley, one of the world's influential but least-understood places. The Devil in Silicon Valley is a beautiful piece of work – sweeping narrative, compelling argumentation, and crisp writing throughout. Pitti demonstrates how San José is simultaneously central and peripheral to the main currents of Chicano/Mexicano history. He helps readers make sense of why Mexicans were racialized in specific ways at specific times. And he adds new insight into the variety of ways ethnic Mexicans identify themselves and organize. Pitti weaves together the experiences of disparate residents – early Spanish-Mexican settlers, Gold Rush miners, farmworkers transplanted from Texas, Chicano movement activists, and late-twentieth-century musicians – to offer a broad reevaluation of the American West. Based on dozens of oral histories as well as unprecedented archival research, *The Devil in Silicon Valley* shows how San José, Santa Clara, and other northern California locales played a critical role in the ongoing development of Latino politics. This is a transnational history. In addition to considering the past efforts of immigrant and U.S.-born miners, fruit cannery workers, and janitors at high-tech firms – many of whom retained strong ties to Mexico – Pitti describes the work of such well-known Valley residents as César Chavez. He also chronicles the violent opposition ethnic Mexicans have faced in Santa Clara Valley. In the process, he reinterprets not only California history but the Latino political tradition and the story of American labor.

Phillips, Michael. 2005. *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841–2001.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

> From the nineteenth century until today, the power brokers of Dallas have always portrayed their city as a progressive, pro-business, racially harmonious community that has avoided the racial, ethnic, and class strife that roiled other Southern cities. But does this image of Dallas match the historical reality? In this book, Michael Phillips delves deeply into Dallas's racial and religious past and uncovers a complicated history of resistance, collaboration, and assimilation between the city's African American, Mexican American, and Jewish communities and its white power elite. Exploring more than 150 years of Dallas history, Phillips reveals how white business leaders created both a white racial identity and a Southwestern regional identity that excluded African Americans from power and required Mexican Americans and Jews to adopt Anglo-Saxon norms to achieve what limited positions of power they held. He also demonstrates how the concept of whiteness kept these groups from allying with each other, and with working- and middle-class whites, to build a greater power base and end elite control of the city. Comparing the Dallas racial experience with that of Houston and Atlanta, Phillips identifies how Dallas fits into regional patterns of race relations and illuminates the unique forces that have kept its racial history hidden until the publication of this book.

Ramirez, Catherine. 2009. *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism and the Cultural Politics of Memory.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

> The Mexican American woman zoot suiter, or pachuca, often wore a V-neck sweater or a long, broad-shouldered coat, a knee-length pleated skirt, fishnet stockings or bobby socks, platform

heels or saddle shoes, dark lipstick, and a bouffant. Or she donned the same style of zoot suit that her male counterparts wore. With their striking attire, pachucos and pachucas represented a new generation of Mexican American youth, which arrived on the public scene in the 1940s. Yet while pachucos have often been the subject of literature, visual art, and scholarship, The Woman in the Zoot Suit is the first book focused on pachucas. Two events in wartime Los Angeles thrust young Mexican American zoot suiters into the media spotlight. In the Sleepy Lagoon incident, a man was murdered during a mass brawl in August 1942. Twenty-two young men, all but one of Mexican descent, were tried and convicted of the crime. In the Zoot Suit Riots of June 1943, white servicemen attacked young zoot suiters, particularly Mexican Americans, throughout Los Angeles. The Chicano movement of the 1960s–1980s cast these events as key moments in the political awakening of Mexican Americans and pachucos as exemplars of Chicano identity, resistance, and style. While pachucas and other Mexican American women figured in the two incidents, they were barely acknowledged in later Chicano movement narratives. Catherine S. Ramírez draws on interviews she conducted with Mexican American women who came of age in Los Angeles in the late 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s as she recovers the neglected stories of pachucas. Investigating their relative absence in scholarly and artistic works, she argues that both wartime U.S. culture and the Chicano movement rejected pachucas because they threatened traditional gender roles. Ramírez reveals how pachucas challenged dominant notions of Mexican American and Chicano identity, how feminists have reinterpreted la pachuca, and how attention to an overlooked figure can disclose much about history making, nationalism, and resistant identities.

Riley, Nano, and Davida Johns. 2003. *Florida's Farmworkers in 21st Century*. Gainesville, FA: Florida University Press.

In a book that combines both oral history and documentary photography, Nano Riley and Davida Johns tell the story of Florida's farmworkers in the 21st century. Largely ignored by mainstream America, migrant laborers often toil under adverse labor and living conditions to provide the nation's food supply. Intimate photographs and lucid text offer a look not only into the difficulties faced by these laborers but also into the rich cultural heritages of their communities and the close ties of their family life. Until now, most publications on migrant farm labor focused on California or the Southeast in general, offering little information on conditions particular to farmworkers in Florida. *Florida's Farmworkers* focuses on the history of Florida agriculture, the unique climate, ecology, crops, and working conditions that distinguish the situation of Florida's farm laborers from those in other states. Organized thematically, the book explores the issues facing these migrant workers, who are largely Hispanic, Haitian, and from other regions of the Caribbean. Among the issues addressed are low wages, children's problems, education, substandard living conditions, health, pesticide exposure, and immigrant smuggling. Riley and Johns draw attention to a labor system greatly in need of reform.

Rodriguez, Joseph A., and Walter Sava. 2006. *Latinos in Milwaukee*. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing.

"I didn't know there were Latinos in Wisconsin" is one of the more frequently heard comments when visiting outside of the state. In fact, more than 100,000 Latinos live in Milwaukee, and the continued growth of this community is visible in every segment of the city. Milwaukee's Latino

community began humbly as a "Colonia Mexicana" in the 1920s, when Mexicans were recruited to work in the city's tanneries. Subsequent waves of workers came from Texas to work in Wisconsin's agricultural fields. In the early 1950s, Puerto Ricans began arriving to the area, and the population doubled in the 1990s.

Romero, Mary, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Vilma Ortiz, eds. 1997. *Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives in the U.S.: An Anthology of Readings*. New York: Routledge.

The editors have assembled a group of essays that resist the stereotypes that frame Americans' perceptions of race, moving beyond superficial treatments of Latinos as a monolithic group. It offers a comprehensive introduction to the diversity of Latino cultures and experiences in the United States. Sections cover topics such as immigration, concepts and theories of ethnicity, identity, work and family life, and political and economic restructuring. Each section contains articles about several Latin groups. Tracing the intersection of race, class, gender, ethnicity and citizenship, the contributors expose the constraints that shape the lives of Latinos and explore the possibilities ahead.

Rosales, Francisco A. 2006. *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History*. Houston: Arte Público Press.

From the Alianza Hispano-Americana, a mutual aid society founded in Tucson, Arizona in 1894, to the Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles in 1943, this first-ever dictionary of important issues in the U.S. Latino struggle for civil rights defines a wide-ranging list of key terms. With over 922 entries on significant events, figures, laws, and other historical items, this ground-breaking reference work covers the fight for equality from the mid-nineteenth century to the present by the various Hispanic groups in the U.S. Rosales chronicles such landmark events as the development of farm worker unions and immigrant rights groups to the forces behind bilingual-bicultural education, feminist activities, and protests over discrimination, segregation, and police brutality. In this volume, he provides a comprehensive look at the history of the Latino civil rights movement. In addition to covering all of the major events in labor, politics, land reclamation, and education, this pioneering work includes never-before-published biographies of the major players in the history of America's largest minority group. An array of historical photos and entries outline the activities of all Hispanic populations in the United States, including citizens and immigrants, men and women. A complete subject index, timeline, and bibliographic documentation complement this definitive reference work compiled by the most respected authority on Latino civil rights.

Ruiz, Vicki L., and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds. 2006. *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia records the contribution of women of Latin American birth or heritage to the economic and cultural development of the United States. The encyclopedia, edited by Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sanchez Korrol, is the first comprehensive gathering of scholarship on Latinas. This encyclopedia will serve as an essential reference for decades to come. In more than 580 entries, the historical and cultural narratives of Latinas come to life. From mestizo settlement, pioneer life, and diasporic communities, the encyclopedia details

the contributions of women as settlers, comadres, and landowners, as organizers and nuns. More than 200 scholars explore the experiences of Latinas during and after Euro-American colonization and conquest; the early-19th-century migration of Puerto Ricans and Cubans; 20th-century issues of migration, cultural tradition, labor, gender roles, community organization, and politics; and much more. Individual biographical entries profile women who have left their mark on the historical and cultural landscape. With more than 300 photographs, this three-volume encyclopedia offers a mosaic of historical experiences, detailing how Latinas have shaped their own lives, cultures, and communities through mutual assistance and collective action, while confronting the pressures of colonialism, racism, discrimination, sexism, and poverty.

Sánchez, George J. 1993. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Twentieth-century Los Angeles has been the locus of one of the most profound and complex interactions between variant cultures in American history. Yet this study is among the first to examine the relationship between ethnicity and identity among the largest immigrant group to that city. By focusing on Mexican immigrants to Los Angeles from 1900 to 1945, George J. Sanchez explores the process by which temporary sojourners altered their orientation to that of permanent residents, thereby laying the foundation for a new Mexican-American culture. Analyzing not only formal programs aimed at these newcomers by the United States and Mexico, but also the world created by these immigrants through family networks, religious practice, musical entertainment, and work and consumption patterns, Sanchez uncovers the creative ways Mexicans adapted their culture to life in the United States. When a formal repatriation campaign pushed thousands to return to Mexico, those remaining in Los Angeles launched new campaigns to gain civil rights as ethnic Americans through labor unions and New Deal politics. The immigrant generation, therefore, laid the groundwork for the emerging Mexican-American identity of their children.

Sava, Walter, and Anselmo Villarreal. 2007. *Latinos in Waukesha*. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing.

Waukesha's Latino community continues to keep pace with the growth that has characterized Latino demographics in the last 20 years. About 15,000 Latinos are now Waukesha County residents, and there are very unique qualities ascribed to this community. A significant number of Latinos can trace their Waukesha roots to the early 1920s and 1930s. The vast majority of Latinos who came to Waukesha ended up working in foundries, and a significant number retired from those jobs. There are now many families who are third- and fourth-generation Latinos, and new arrivals continue to join friends and relatives already established in Waukesha.

Sedillo López, Antoinette, ed. 1995. *Historical Themes and Identity: Mestizaje and Labels*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.

> The first part of this volume traces some of the historical themes of Latino peoples. Articles about Spanish colonization, the Mexican American War, the Cuban revolution, and the Puerto Rican situation appear in chronological order. The volume also explores questions of ethnicity and identity, focusing on historical, political, and social reasons for selecting a self-identifying label.

Treviño, Roberto R. 2006. *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

> In a story that spans from the founding of immigrant parishes in the early twentieth century to the rise of the Chicano civil rights movement in the early 1970s, Roberto R. Treviño discusses how an intertwining of ethnic identity and Catholic faith equipped Mexican Americans in Houston to overcome adversity and find a place for themselves in the Bayou City. Houston's native-born and immigrant Mexicans alike found solidarity and sustenance in their Catholicism, a distinctive style that evolved from the blending of the religious sensibilities and practices of Spanish Christians and New World indigenous peoples. Employing church records, newspapers, family letters, mementos, and oral histories, Treviño reconstructs the history of several predominately Mexican American parishes in Houston. He explores Mexican American Catholic life from the most private and mundane, such as home altar worship and everyday speech and behavior, to the most public and dramatic, such as neighborhood processions and civil rights marches. He demonstrates how Mexican Americans' religious faith helped to mold and preserve their identity, structured family and community relationships as well as institutions, provided both spiritual and material sustenance, and girded their long quest for social justice.

Vargas, Zaragoza. 1993. *Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917–1933*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> Between the end of World War I and the Great Depression, over 58,000 Mexicans journeyed to the Midwest in search of employment. Many found work in agriculture, but thousands more joined the growing ranks of the industrial proletariat. Throughout the northern Midwest, and especially in Detroit, Mexican workers entered steel mills, packing houses, and auto plants, becoming part of the modern American working class. Zaragosa Vargas's work focuses on this little-known feature in the history of Chicanos and American labor. In relating the experiences of Mexicans in workplace and neighborhood, and in showing the roles of Mexican women, the Catholic Church, and labor unions, Vargas enriches our knowledge of immigrant urban life. His is an important work that will be welcomed by historians of Chicano Studies and American.

Velez-Ibañez, Carlos (Dean). 1996. *Border Visions: Mexican Cultures of the Southwest*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> The U.S.-Mexico border region is home to anthropologist Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez. Into these pages he pours nearly half a century of searching and finding answers to the Mexican experience in the

southwestern United States. He describes and analyzes the process, as generation upon genera-
tion of Mexicans moved north and attempted to create an identity or sense of cultural space and
place. In today's border fences he also sees barriers to how Mexicans understand themselves and
how they are fundamentally understood. From prehistory to the present, Vélez-Ibáñez traces the
intense bumping among Native Americans, Spaniards, and Mexicans, as Mesoamerican popula-
tions and ideas moved northward. He demonstrates how cultural glue is constantly replenished
by strengthening family ties that reach across both sides of the border. The author describes ways
in which Mexicans have resisted and accommodated the dominant culture by creating communi-
ties and by forming labor unions, voluntary associations, and cultural movements. He analyzes
the distribution of sadness, or overrepresentation of Mexicans in poverty, crime, illness, and war,
and shows how that sadness is balanced by creative expressions of literature and art, especially
mural art, in the ongoing search for space and place. Here is a book for the nineties and beyond, a
book that relates to NAFTA, to complex questions of immigration, and to the expanding popula-
tion of Mexicans in the U.S.-Mexico border region and other parts of the country. An important
new volume for social science, humanities, and Latin American scholars, Border Visions will also
attract general readers for its robust narrative and autobiographical edge. For all readers, the book
points to new ways of seeing borders, whether they are visible walls of brick and stone or less vis-
ible, infinitely more powerful barriers of the mind.

Vigil, Ernesto B. 1999. *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent.*
Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

This definitive account of the Chicano movement in 1960s Denver reveals the intolerance and
brutality that inspired and accompanied the urban Chicano organization known as the Crusade
for Justice. Ernesto Vigil, an expert in the discourse of radical movements of this time, joined
the Crusade as a young draft resistor where he met Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the founder of
the CFJ. Vigil follows the movement chronologically from Gonzales's early attempts to fight
discrimination as a participant in local democratic politics to his radical stance as an organizer
outside mainstream politics. Drawing extensively upon FBI documentation that became avail-
able under the Freedom of Information Act, Vigil exposes massive surveillance of the Crusade
for Justice by federal agents and local police and the damaging effects of such methods on ethnic
liberation movements. Vigil complements these documents and the story of Gonzales's develop-
ment as a radical with the story of his personal involvement in the movement. The Crusade for
Justice describes one of the most important Chicano organizations against prejudice.

Vigil, Maurilio E. 1996. *Hispanics in Congress: A Historical and Political Survey.* Lanham, MD: Univer-
sity Press of America, Inc.

This book chronicles the history of Hispanics in the United States Congress. Beginning with
an historical overview of Congress, the author provides biographical sketches of the Hispanic
members of Congress, the circumstances that made them Congressmen and their roles, activities
and accomplishments in that body. The sketches are integrated into the historical context of the
Congress in which they served. Special attention is given to the three Hispanics who served in

the United States Senate. The book provides a comprehensive narrative on the creation, composition, role and impact of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC). Compliance with provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1970, amendments and the federal court decisions that contributed to redistricting that was favorable for Hispanics is also discussed. While the history and role of Hispanics is but a footnote in the history of the U.S. Congress, it has been a major chapter in the history of the Hispanic people in the United States.

Ybarra, Lea. 2004. *Vietnam Veteranos: Chicanos Recall the War.* Austin, TX: U.T. Press.

One of the most decorated groups that served in the Vietnam War, Chicanos fought and died in numbers well out of proportion to their percentage of the United States' population. Yet despite this, their wartime experiences have never received much attention in either popular media or scholarly studies. To spotlight and preserve some of their stories, this book presents substantial interviews with Chicano Vietnam veterans and their families that explore the men's experiences in combat, the war's effects on the Chicano community, and the veterans' postwar lives. Lea Ybarra groups the interviews topically to bring out different aspects of the Chicano vets' experiences. In addition to discussing their involvement in and views on the Vietnam War, the veterans also reflect on their place in American society, American foreign policy, and the value of war. Veterans from several states and different socioeconomic classes give the book a broad-based perspective, which Ybarra frames with sociological material on the war and its impact on Chicanos.

Weber, Devra. 1994. *Dark Sweat, White Gold; California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

In her incisive analysis of the shaping of California's agricultural work force, Devra Weber shows how the cultural background of Mexican and, later, Anglo-American workers, combined with the structure of capitalist cotton production and New Deal politics, forging a new form of labor relations. She pays particular attention to Mexican field workers and their organized struggles, including the famous strikes of 1933. Weber's perceptive examination of the relationships between economic structure, human agency, and the state, as well as her discussions of the crucial role of women in both Mexican and Anglo working-class life, make her book a valuable contribution to labor, agriculture, Chicano, Mexican, and California history.

Latino History - Articles

Note: The authors could not locate any articles within this category.

Latino Demographics and SES Trends - Books

Falconi, José Luis, and José Antonio Mazzotti, eds. 2007. *The Other Latinos.* Cambridge: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.

> *The Other Latinos* addresses an important topic: the presence in the United States of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants from countries other than Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Focusing on the Andes, Central America, and Brazil, the book brings together essays by a number of accomplished scholars. Michael Jones-Correa's chapter is a lucid study of the complex issues in posing "established" and "other," and "old" and "new" in the discussion of Latino immigrant groups. Helen B. Marrow follows with general observations that bring out the many facets of race, ethnicity, and identity. Claret Vargas analyzes the poetry of Eduardo Mitre, followed by Edmundo Paz Soldán's reflections on Bolivians' "obsessive signs of identity." Nestor Rodriguez discusses the tensions between Mexican and Central American immigrants, while Arturo Arias's piece on Central Americans moves brilliantly between the literary (and the cinematic), the historical, and the material. Four Brazilian chapters complete the work. The editors hope that this introductory work will inspire others to continue these initial inquiries so as to construct a more complete understanding of the realities of Latin American migration into the United States.

Hayes-Bautista, David. 2004. *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

> Since late 2001 more than fifty percent of the babies born in California have been Latino. When these babies reach adulthood, they will, by sheer force of numbers, influence the course of the Golden State. This essential study, based on decades of data, paints a vivid and energetic portrait of Latino society in California by providing a wealth of details about work ethic, family strengths, business establishments, and the surprisingly robust health profile that yields an average life expectancy for Latinos five years longer than that of the general population. Spanning one hundred years, this complex, fascinating analysis suggests that the future of Latinos in California will be neither complete assimilation nor unyielding separatism. Instead, the development of a distinctive regional identity will be based on Latino definitions of what it means to be American.

Tienda, Marta, and Faith Mitchell, eds. 2006. *Hispanics and the Future of America.* Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

> *Hispanics and the Future of America* presents details of the complex story of a population that varies in many dimensions, including national origin, immigration status, and generation. The papers in this volume draw on a wide variety of data sources to describe the contours of this population, from the perspectives of history, demography, geography, education, family, employment, economic well-being, health, and political engagement. They provide a rich source of information for researchers, policy makers, and others who want to better understand the fast-growing and diverse population that we call Hispanic. The current period is a critical one for getting a better understanding of how Hispanics are being shaped by the U.S. experience. This will, in turn, affect

the United States and the contours of the Hispanic future remain uncertain. The uncertainties include such issues as whether Hispanics, especially immigrants, improve their educational attainment and fluency in English and thereby improve their economic position; whether growing numbers of foreign-born Hispanics become citizens and achieve empowerment at the ballot box and through elected office; whether impending health problems are successfully averted; and whether Hispanics geographic dispersal accelerates their spatial and social integration. The papers in this volume provide invaluable information to explore these issues.

Torres, Andres, ed. 2006. *Latinos in New England*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

More than one million Latinos now live in New England. This is the first book to examine their impact on the region's culture, politics, and economics. At the same time, it investigates the effects of the locale on Latino residents' lives, traditions, and institutions. Employing methodologies from a variety of disciplines, twenty-one contributors explore topics in three broad areas: demographic trends, migration and community formation, and identity and politics. They utilize a wide range of approaches, including oral histories, case studies, ethnographic inquiries, focus group research, surveys, and statistical analyses. From the "Dominicanization" of the Latino community in Waterbury, Connecticut, to the immigration experiences of Brazilians in Massachusetts, from the influence of Latino Catholics on New England's Catholic churches to the growth of a Latino community in Providence, Rhode Island, the essays included here contribute to a new and multifaceted view of the growing Pan-Latino presence in the birthplace of the United States.

Waldinger, Roger, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, eds. 1996. *Ethnic Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Publications.

Since 1965 more immigrants have come to Los Angeles than anywhere else in the United States. These newcomers have rapidly and profoundly transformed the city's ethnic makeup and sparked heated debate over their impact on the region's troubled economy. *Ethnic Los Angeles* presents a multi-investigator study of L.A.'s immigrant population, exploring the scope, characteristics, and consequences of ethnic transition in the nation's second most populous urban center. Using the wealth of information contained in the U.S. censuses of 1970, 1980, and 1990, essays on each of L.A.'s major ethnic groups tell who the immigrants are, where they come from, the skills they bring and their sources of employment, and the nature of their families and social networks. The contributors explain the history of legislation and economic change that made the city a magnet for immigration, and compare the progress of new immigrants to those of previous eras. Recent immigrants to Los Angeles follow no uniform course of adaptation, nor do they simply assimilate into the mainstream society. Instead, they have entered into distinct niches at both the high and low ends of the economic spectrum. While Asians and Middle Easterners have thrived within the medical and technical professions, low-skill newcomers from Central America provide cheap labor in light manufacturing industries.

Latino Demographics and SES Trends - Articles

Alon, Sigal, and Marta Tienda. 2005. "Job Mobility and Early Career Wage Growth of White, African-American, and Hispanic Women." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(1): 1196–1217.

> **Objective:** This article examines whether and how young women's job mobility influences racial and ethnic wage-growth differentials during the first eight years after leaving school. **Methods:** We use the NLSY-79 Work History File to simulate the influence of job mobility on the wages of skilled and unskilled workers. **Results:** African-American and Hispanic women average less job mobility than white women, especially if they did not attend college. Unskilled women who experience frequent job changes during the first four post-school years reap positive wage returns, but turnover beyond the shopping period incurs wage penalties. Job mobility does not appear to boost wage growth for college-educated women. **Conclusions:** Among unskilled women, race and ethnic wage disparities partly derive from group differences in the frequency of job changes, but unequal returns to job mobility drive the wage gaps for skilled women. We discuss several explanations for these disparities.

Fischer, Mary J. 2003. "The Relative Importance of Income and Race in Determining Residential Outcomes in U.S. Urban Areas, 1970-2000." *Urban Affairs Review* 38(5): 669-696.

> The author uses the unique properties of the entropy index to explore trends in segregation by race/ethnicity and income class for families from 1970 to 2000. Declines in segregation by race and increases in segregation by income class were found until the 1990s, when segregation by income declined. Segregation among certain subgroups was then examined; some groups remain more segregated, even as segregation in general has declined. In particular, the poor families experience greater segregation from others than do families in other income groups from each other. Blacks experience higher levels of segregation from other groups than those other groups do from each other. Finally, the segregation of poor, black families compared to the poor of other race/ethnic groups was examined. The author finds that poor black families are uniquely segregated and that this segregation declines only slightly with time.

Hamilton, Darrick, Arthur H. Goldsmith, and William Darity, Jr. 2008. "Measuring the Wage Costs of Limited English: Issues With Using Interviewer Versus Self-Reports in Determining Latino Wages." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(3): 257-279.

> Scholars have found that poor English proficiency is negatively associated with wages using self-reported measures. However, these estimates may suffer from misclassification bias. Interviewer ratings are likely to more accurately proxy employer assessment of worker language ability. Using self-reported and interviewer ratings from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, the authors estimate the impact of English proficiency on wages for men (*n* = 267) and women (*n* = 178) with Mexican ancestry residing in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Use of interviewer proficiency ratings suggests a larger and more gradational language penalty as fluency falls, and women

face a stronger penalty than their male counterparts. Moreover, controlling for worker accent and skin shade does little to alter these effects.

Iceland, John, and Kyle Anne Nelson. 2008. "Hispanic Segregation in Metropolitan America: Exploring the Multiple Forms of Spatial Assimilation." *American Sociological Review* 73(5):741–765.

> This article investigates patterns of spatial assimilation of Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas. Using restricted-use data from the 2000 Census, we calculate Hispanics' levels of residential segregation by race and nativity and then estimate multivariate models to examine the association of group characteristics with these patterns. To obtain a more nuanced view of spatial assimilation, we use alternative reference groups in the segregation calculations – Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics not of the same race. We find that Hispanics experience multiple and concurrent forms of spatial assimilation across generations: U.S.-born White, Black, and other-race Hispanics tend to be less segregated from Anglos, African Americans, and U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race than are the foreign-born of the respective groups. We find some exceptions, suggesting that race continues to influence segregation despite the general strength of assimilation-related factors: Black Hispanics display high levels of segregation from Anglos, and U.S.-born Black Hispanics are no less segregated from other Hispanic groups than are their foreign-born counterparts.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2004. "The Wealth of Hispanic Households: 1996 to 2002." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. October 18. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=34 (February 13, 2009).

> According to the study, the median net worth of Hispanic households in 2002 was $7,932. This was only nine percent of $88,651, the median wealth of non-Hispanic White households at the same time. The net worth of Non-Hispanic Blacks was only $5,988. Thus, the wealth of Latino and Black households is less than one-tenth the wealth of White households even though Census data show their income is two-thirds as much.

Kochlar, Rackesh. 2005. "The Occupational Status and Mobility of Hispanics." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. December 15. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=59(February 13, 2009).

> A research report sponsored by the Pew Hispanic Center finds a worsening in the occupational status of Hispanics and a growing gap with respect to whites during the 1990s. That is surprising because the decade was witness to the longest economic expansion in recent U.S. history. But even as unemployment was on the decline for all racial and ethnic groups, structural shifts in employment across industries contributed to a greater division in the occupational status of Hispanics and whites. The occupations in which Hispanics are concentrated rank low in wages, educational requirements and other indicators of socioeconomic status.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2008. "Latino Labor Report, 2008: Construction Reverses Job Growth for Latinos."
Pew Hispanic Center.

> Due mainly to a slump in the construction industry, the unemployment rate for Hispanics in the U.S. rose to 6.5% in the first quarter of 2008, well above the 4.7% rate for all non-Hispanics. As recently as the end of 2006, the gap between those two rates had shrunk to an historic low of 0.5 percentage points – 4.9% for Latinos compared with 4.4% for non-Latinos, on a seasonally adjusted basis.[1] The spike in Hispanic unemployment has hit immigrants especially hard. Their unemployment rate was 7.5% in the first quarter of this year,[2] marking the first time since 2003 that a higher percentage of foreign-born Latinos was unemployed than native-born Latinos. Some 52.5% of working age Latinos (ages 16 and older) are immigrants. Latinos make up 14.2% of the U.S. labor force. Despite the disproportionate impact that the economic slowdown has had on immigrant Latino workers, there are no signs that they are leaving the U.S. labor market. Their labor force participation rate – that is, the percentage of the immigrant working-age Latino population either employed or actively seeking employment – has remained steady. However, they now play a smaller role in the growth of the Hispanic workforce than in recent years.

> The latest trends in the labor market represent a dramatic reversal for Latino workers. Hispanics lost nearly 250,000 jobs over the past year because of the recent slump in the construction sector. For several years, construction was the mainstay of job growth for Hispanic workers, especially those who are immigrants. Even as home building stumbled in 2006, Hispanics found nearly 300,000 new jobs in the construction industry from the first quarter of 2006 to the first quarter of 2007. The ongoing slump in construction over the past year has wiped out those gains, virtually in their entirety.

Kochhar, Rakesh, Roberto Suro, and Sonya Tafoya. 2005. "The New Latino South: The Context and Consequences of Rapid Population Growth." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. July 26. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=50 (February 13, 2009).

> The Pew Hispanic Center released a new report that examines the rapid growth of the Hispanic population in the South. The study details the distinctive characteristics of the Latinos moving to new settlement areas, the very successful economic development models that prompted the Hispanic influx and the consequences for local policymakers. The report provides detailed demographic and economic data on six states: Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Krueger, Alan B., and Jonathan M. Orszag. 2002. "Hispanics and the Current Economic Downturn: Will The Receding Tide Sink Hispanics?" *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. January 24. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=3 (February 13, 2009).

> The purpose of this paper is to examine the potential impact of the current economic downturn on Hispanic workers and families, and analyze how prepared Hispanics are for the economic recession. The paper is divided into four sections: The first section briefly explores the progress made by Hispanics during the economic boom of the 1990s. The second section uses the ex-

perience of Hispanics in past economic downturns to predict how they will fare in the current economic slowdown. The third section analyzes how well prepared Hispanic workers are for the economic slowdown. The final section draws conclusions based on the first three sections.

Logan, John. 2001. "The New Latinos: Who They Are, Where They Are." *Lewis Mumford Center.* September10. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/HispanicPop/HspReport/HspReportPage1.html (February 13, 2009).

> The fastest growing Hispanic groups in the U.S. are people from the Dominican Republic, Central America, and South America. Many were misclassified as Other Hispanic in Census 2000. The Mumford Center offers adjusted counts showing that there are now over 1 million Dominicans and Salvadorans in the country. This report compares social and economic characteristics of the many Hispanic national-origin groups and shows in which states and metro areas they are located.

Marotta, Silvia A., and Jorge G. Garcia. 2003. "Latinos in the United States in 2000." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(1): 13-22.

> This population study, based on the 2000 decennial census in the United States, characterizes the Latino population in terms of those sociodemographic variables that have been identified as integral to researchers and practitioners working with diverse populations. A number of dimensions of the Latino experience in the United States are presented, including family and household information, socioeconomic status, educational attainment, health, and disability descriptors. Perhaps the most interesting of the variables examined is the dramatic growth rate of Latinos in the United States, who now represent 13% of the total population. Moreover, Latinos increasingly can be found in states where there have been little or no Latinos in the past, presenting both challenges and opportunities to service delivery systems and to policy makers.

Rivera-Batiz, Francisco L. 2002. "The Socioeconomic Status of Hispanic New Yorkers: Current Trends and Future Prospects." *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* January 24. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=5 (February 13, 2009).

> This research report presents data showing the major demographic and socioeconomic changes in the Hispanic population of New York in the 1990s. It shows that despite gains in some areas, on average, Hispanics in New York were not significantly better-off in 2000 than in 1990. The household income per capita of Hispanic New Yorkers increased only slightly in the 1990s, compared to a much stronger expansion among White New Yorkers. By 2000, Hispanics displayed per-capita income of about one-third that of the non-Hispanic White population.

> The roots of the lack of change in Hispanic overall socioeconomic status in the 1990s lie, first, in the major demographic changes in the city, as reflected in an influx of relatively unskilled immigrants and an exodus of relatively skilled, high-income Hispanic New Yorkers; it also responds to the sluggish economic recovery of the city from one of its most severe recessions this century.

Sung-Chang Chun. 2007. "The "Other Hispanics"—What Are Their National Origins? Estimating the Latino-Origin Populations in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 29(2):133-155.

> This population study examines possible reasons for a severe underestimation of Latino-origin group populations in 2000 and introduces several alternative methods for estimating these Latino subgroup populations. The new simulated estimates for the Latino subgroups, based on the 2000 Public Use Microdata Sample from the 2000 U.S. Census, are presented at the national level and for selected states and cities. The figures included here represent some of the first alternative estimates for Latino-origin groups at the sub-national level. Differences between official 2000 enumerations and estimated counts were larger for smaller Latino subgroups. The 2000 population of Dominicans should have been nearly 1 million rather than the approximately 799,768 the Census recorded. The estimates also gave 42.6% more Salvadorans, 47% more Central Americans, and 41.3% more South Americans.

Sung-Chang, Chun. 2005. *Latino-Origin Populations Revisited: Estimating the Latin-Origin Group Populations at the National Level and for Selected States, Counties, Cities, and Metro Chicago*. Inter-University Program for Latino Research, University of Notre Dame.

> Since the release of Latino subgroup population data by the Census Bureau in 2001, many Latino advocacy and community organizations, planners, and scholars have suspected that the official census enumeration represents a severe underestimate of Latino-origin group populations in all parts of the country.

Suro, Roberto, and B. Lindsay Lowell. 2002. "New Lows From New Highs: Latino Economic Losses In The Current Recession." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. January 24. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=1 (February 13, 2009).

> The long-term effects of the recession will likely depress employment and incomes in Hispanic communities at least through the end of 2004, and judging from historical experience that time span will be longer than for any other major population group. Even if predictions of a turn-around later this summer prove valid, pocketbook issues will vex Latinos for several years after the national economy recovers. Second-generation Latinos – U.S.-born children of an immigrant parent – are now experiencing high job losses. In recent recessions Hispanic unemployment has fallen hardest on low-skilled immigrants. This time, young people who are the products of U.S. schools are experiencing the highest unemployment rates among Latinos. Many work in skilled occupations, including managers, technicians and professionals, and many are in the early years of household formation. Prolonged joblessness could prove a historic setback for them, their communities and the nation.

Suro, Roberto. 2002. "Counting the 'Other Hispanics': How Many Colombians, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans And Salvadorans Are There In The United States?" *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* May 9. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=8 (February 13, 2009).

> This study reports on an alternative estimate of the breakdown of the Hispanic population according to national origin groups. Based on recently released Census Bureau data, the estimate reduces the "other" category by more than half. This estimate does not change the overall size of the Hispanic population, but it does offer a new calculation of how national groups are distributed within that population.

Suro, Roberto, and Audrey Singer. 2002. "Latino Growth In Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations." *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* July 30. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=10 (February 13, 2009).

> The Latino population is rapidly evolving and that its demographic impact on the nation is changing quickly. Significant concentrations of Hispanics are no longer confined to a few regions such as Southern California or the Southwest, or only to a few cities like New York and Miami. Instead, in the coming years Hispanic population growth will most impact communities that had relatively few Latinos a decade ago.

Sun,Wei. and Teresa Ghilarducci. 2004. "Latinos' Low Pension Coverage and Disenfranchisement from the US Financial System." Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.

> Since the release of Latino subgroup population data by the Census Bureau in 2001, many Latino advocacy and community organizations, planners, and scholars have suspected that the official census enumeration represents a severe underestimate of Latino-origin group populations in all parts of the country.

Latinos in the Discipline - Books

> Note: The authors could not locate any books within this category.

Latinos in the Discipline - Articles

Cabán, Pedro A. 2003. "Moving from the Margins to Where? Three Decades of Latino/a Studies." *Latino Studies* 1(1): 5-35.

> In the US higher education system Latino/a Studies is primarily practiced in three types of settings. As Enclaves Latino/a Studies are marginalized, under funded academic units that are politically tolerated, but disparaged within their respective institutions. In the transgressive setting, the units have acquired a degree of intellectual authority and political standing within their respective institutions. The third setting, Absorption, is characterized by an effort to absorb Latino Studies

into American Studies or centers on race and ethnicity. The progression from Enclave to Absorption is not uni-linear, and all three states of Latino Studies can be found in universities throughout the United States. However, the progression also denotes the academic evolution of Latino Studies, its continued relevance for students and the recognition that this emerging academic field has a role in the university's mission. How Latino/a Studies are positioned in the university will figure prominently in the future development of the field.

Fraga, Luis R., John A. Garcia, Rodney E. Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary M. Segura. 2006. "Su Casa Es Nuestra Casa: Latino Politics Research and the Development of American Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 100(4): 515-521.

Since the 1970s, Latino politics research has evolved; alternately responding to real-world political events and demographic changes, embracing new and emerging trends in the broader discipline and offering new insights of its own that contribute to the development of political science. In so doing, there have emerged both an intellectual foundation and a growing body of empirical results, each of which challenges long-held theories and findings in the discipline more broadly. Thus, Latino politics research is central in refining and broadening our understanding of American politics. Immigration, social marginality, and their uncertain status as a racial or ethnic minority make this population unique and raise important obstacles in applying existing interpretations and orthodoxies from the discipline's other traditions to this emerging and rapidly growing segment of American society. The major contributions of this line of inquiry are identified in five key areas: pluralism, group identity and mobilization, political participation, institutions and representation, and assimilation. We conclude with some thoughts regarding how the evolution of American society and its Latino population will pose important questions for future generations of political scientists.

Martinez-Ebers, Valerie, Manuel Avalos, Carol Hardy-Fanta, Linda Lopez, Gary Segura, and Ronald Schmidt, Sr. 2000. "An Update on the Status of Latinos Y Latinas in Political Science: What the Profession Should Be Doing." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(4): 899-903.

This is a report by the Status Committee of the American Political Association (APSA) on the status of Latinos and Latinas in political science. The Latino community continues to be underrepresented in all areas of the political science profession. Advancement in the status of Latinos has occurred, but this is overshadowed by the imbalance between demographic changes in the U.S. population and changes in the profession. College political science departments should establish ways to recruit and retain more Latino/a students. There is a need for the APSA to introduce reforms and initiatives to promote Latino participation in political science, especially by expanding assistance programs, increasing staff time on these programs, and incorporating the goal of diversifying the discipline into APSA's mission statement.

Monforti, Jessica Lavariega, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2008. "Diagnosing the Leaky Pipeline: Continuing Barriers to the Retention of Latinas and Latinos in Political Science." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 41(1):161-166.

Despite comprising a large and increasing proportion of the United States population – about 14.7%, according to March 2006 Census Bureau estimates – Latinos continue to be severely underrepresented in political science, and today comprise less than 2% of the academy (Census Bureau 2006; Michelson 2007). Increased recent attention to the issues of recruitment and retention of Latino political scientists by professional associations such as the American Political Science Association (APSA) notwithstanding, the number of Latino scholars in the field continues to lag behind that of other racial and ethnic groups. But just where in the pipeline does the problem exist? Are not enough Latinos being recruited for graduate study? Are Latinos being successfully recruited but then not finishing their degrees? Or is the leak occurring later in scholars' careers, perhaps between graduation and tenure? Avalos (1991) noted that Latinas were particularly underrepresented, with few women entering or completing Ph.D. programs. More than 16 years later, does a gender gap persist among Latino political scientists? Do leaks in the pipeline differ for Latinos and Latinas? These are the questions that drive this research.

Latinos in the Mass Media – Books

Bender, Steven W. 2005. *Greasers and Gringos: Latinos, Law, and the American Imagination*. New York: New York University Press.

Although the origin of the term "greaser" is debated, its derogatory meaning never has been. From silent movies like *The Greaser's Revenge* (1914) and *The Girl and the Greaser* (1913) with villainous title characters, to John Steinbeck's portrayals of Latinos as lazy, drunken, and shiftless in his 1935 novel *Tortilla Flat*, to the image of violent, criminal, drug-using gang members of East LA, negative stereotypes of Latinos/as have been plentiful in American popular culture far before Latinos/as became the most populous minority group in the U.S. In *Greasers and Gringos*, Steven W. Bender examines and surveys these stereotypes and their evolution, paying close attention to the role of mass media in their perpetuation. Focusing on the intersection between stereotypes and the law, Bender reveals how these negative images have contributed significantly to the often unfair treatment of Latino/as under American law by the American legal system. He looks at the way demeaning constructions of Latinos/as influence their legal treatment by police, prosecutors, juries, teachers, voters, and vigilantes. He also shows how, by internalizing negative social images, Latinos/as and other subordinated groups view themselves and each other as inferior. Although fighting against cultural stereotypes can be a daunting task, Bender reminds us that, while hard to break, they do not have to be permanent. *Greasers and Gringos* begins the charge of debunking existing stereotypes and implores all Americans to re-imagine Latinos/as as legal and social equals.

Davila, Arlene. 2001. *Latinos, Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

> Both Hollywood and corporate America are taking note of the marketing power of the grow-ing Latino population in the United States. And as salsa takes over both the dance floor and the condiment shelf, the influence of Latin culture is gaining momentum in American society as a whole. Yet the increasing visibility of Latinos in mainstream culture has not been accompanied by a similar level of economic parity or political enfranchisement. In this important, original, and entertaining book, Arlene Dávila provides a critical examination of the Hispanic marketing industry and of its role in the making and marketing of U.S. Latinos. Dávila finds that Latinos' increased popularity in the marketplace is simultaneously accompanied by their growing exo-tification and invisibility. She scrutinizes the complex interests that are involved in the public representation of Latinos as a generic and culturally distinct people and questions the homogene-ity of the different Latino sub-nationalities that supposedly comprise the same people and group of consumers. In a fascinating discussion of how populations have become reconfigured as market segments, she shows that the market and marketing discourse become important terrains where Latinos debate their social identities and public standing.

Greco Larson, Stephanie. 2005. *Media & Minorities: The Politics of Race in News and Entertainment.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

> Media & Minorities looks at all these tendencies with an eye to identifying the "system-sup-portive" messages conveyed and offering challenges to them. The book covers all major media – including television, film, newspapers, radio, and magazines – and systematically analyzes their representation of the four largest minority groups in the United States: African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans. Entertainment media are compared and contrasted with news media, and special attention is devoted to coverage of social movements for racial justice and politicians of color. Political communication scholar Stephanie Greco Larson brings sharp insight into how the white-dominated media do a disservice to all their audiences when it comes to their representation of racial and ethnic minorities. She gives us ammunition for decoding the dominant messages and then combating them, whether through political activ-ism, "culture jamming," or the creation and patronage of alternative media.

Maciel, David R., and María Herrera-Sobek. 1998. *Culture Across Borders: Mexican Immigration and Popular Culture.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> For as long as Mexicans have emigrated to the United States they have responded creatively to the challenges of making a new home. But although historical, sociological, and other aspects of Mexican immigration have been widely studied, its cultural and artistic manifestations have been largely overlooked by scholars – even though Mexico has produced the greatest number of cul-tural works inspired by the immigration process. And recently Chicana/o artists have addressed immigration as a central theme in their cultural productions and motifs. *Culture across Borders* is the first and only book-length study to analyze a wide range of cultural manifestations of the im-migration experience, including art, literature, cinema, *corridos*, and humor. It shows how Mexi-can immigrants have been depicted in popular culture both in Mexico and the United States – and how Mexican and Chicano/Chicana artists, intellectuals, and others have used artistic means

to protest the unjust treatment of immigrants by U.S. authorities. Established and upcoming scholars from both sides of the border contribute their expertise in art history, literary criticism, history, cultural studies, and other fields, capturing the many facets of the immigrant experience in popular culture. Topics include the difference between Chicano/a and Mexican representation of immigration; how films dealing with immigrants are treated differently by Mexican, Chicano, and Hollywood producers; the rich literary and artistic production on immigration themes; and the significance of immigration in Chicano jokes. As a first step in addressing the cultural dimensions of Mexican immigration to the United States, this book captures how the immigration process has inspired powerful creative responses on both sides of the border.

Mayer, Vicki. 2003. *Producing Dreams, Consuming Youth: Mexican Americans and Mass Media*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Producing Dreams, Consuming Youth takes us behind the scenes in San Antonio, Texas, a major market for Mexican American popular culture. Through the voices of those who produce and consume mass media, we see how the media brings together communities of Mexican Americans as they pursue cultural dreams, identification, and empowerment. At the heart of this book is a debate about the future of Mexican American media, and thus of the youth market. How do media professionals imagine ethnic youths? How do young Mexican Americans accept, negotiate, and resist these images of themselves? Producing Dreams, Consuming Youth emphasizes the paradoxes of media industries that seek to include youths of color while profiting from their creative energies.

Nericcio, William Anthony. 2006. *Tex[t]-Mex: Seductive Hallucinations of the "Mexican" in America*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

A rogues' gallery of Mexican bandits, bombshells, lotharios, and thieves saturates American popular culture. Remember Speedy Gonzalez? "Mexican Spitfire" Lupe Vélez? The Frito Bandito? Familiar and reassuring – at least to Anglos – these Mexican stereotypes are not a people but a text, a carefully woven, articulated, and consumer-ready commodity. In this original, provocative, and highly entertaining book, William Anthony Nericcio deconstructs Tex[t]-Mexicans in films, television, advertising, comic books, toys, literature, and even critical theory, revealing them to be less flesh-and-blood than "seductive hallucinations," less reality than consumer products, a kind of "digital crack." Nericcio engages in close readings of rogue/icons Rita Hayworth, Speedy Gonzalez, Lupe Vélez, and Frida Kahlo, as well as Orson Welles' film *Touch of Evil* and the comic artistry of Gilbert Hernandez. He playfully yet devastatingly discloses how American cultural creators have invented and used these and other Tex[t]-Mexicans since the Mexican Revolution of 1910, thereby exposing the stereotypes, agendas, phobias, and intellectual deceits that drive American popular culture. This sophisticated, innovative history of celebrity Latina/o mannequins in the American marketplace takes a quantum leap toward a constructive and deconstructive next-generation figuration/adoration of Latinos in America.

Noriega, Chon. 2000. *The Future of Latino Independent Media: A NALIP Sourcebook*. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center.

> Latinos Lack Media Access. Despite the growth of the Latino community in the United States, Latinos have entered the twenty-first century with lower levels of media representation than when protests first raised the issue in the 1960s. Hispanics are the most underrepresented of all minority groups in film and television (less than 5 percent of acting, directing, and producing positions went to Latinos in 1999). Although the U.S. Latino community has doubled since 1970, media employment for Latinos has declined by nearly two-thirds. This pattern persists, even though the commercial film and television industry is located in cities where Latinos make up almost 50 percent of the population. This edited volume addresses this dire situation by collecting information from the landmark 1999 Latino Producers Conference, held to renew the fight to improve Latino media access. Sponsored by concerned Latino groups, the conference was the first national gathering on Hispanic independent media since the 1970s.

Portales, Marco. 2000. *Crowding Out Latinos: Mexican Americans in the Public Consciousness*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> In this groundbreaking analysis, Marco Portales examines the way in which education and the media act as immobilizing social forces to shape the Latino world that exists despite the best efforts of many Mexican Americans and other Latinos. The delicate relationships between what Latinos are and what they seem to be, as perceived both by the larger society and by Latinos themselves, create and craft a culture that students of American culture have not sufficiently studied or understood. As bandidos or gigolos, drug users or unwed mothers, Latinos continue to figure in the public consciousness primarily as undesirables. Despite decades of effort by Spanish-speaking Americans to improve their image in the United States, Mexican Americans and other resident Latinos are still largely perceived by other Americans as poverty-stricken immigrants and second-class citizens. Accordingly, the great majority of Latino citizens receive substandard educations, equipping them for substandard jobs in substandard living environments. The lives of Mexican Americans and other Latinos, Portales contends, can best be illuminated by looking at the history of Chicanos and particularly Chicano literature, which dramatizes the impact of education and the media on Latinos. Like Irish literature, Chicano literature has sought to articulate and to establish itself as a postcolonial voice that has struggled for national attention. Through psychological and sociopolitical representations, Chicano writers have variously used anger, indifference, fear, accommodation, and other conflicting emotions and attitudes to express how it feels to be seen as an immigrant or a foreigner in one's own country. Portales looks at four Chicano literary works to focus attention on social issues that impede the progress of Latinos. By doing so, he hopes to engage both Latino and non-Latino Americans in an overdue dialogue about the power of education and the media to form perceptions that can either empower or repress Latino citizens.

Ramírez Berg, Charles. 2002. *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance*. Austin: Texas University Press.

> The bandido, the harlot, the male buffoon, the female clown, the Latin lover, and the dark lady – these have been the defining, and demeaning, images of Latinos in U.S. cinema for more than a century. In this book, Charles Ramírez Berg develops an innovative theory of stereotyping that accounts for the persistence of such images in U.S. popular culture. He also explores how Latino actors and filmmakers have actively subverted and resisted such stereotyping. In the first part of the book, Berg sets forth his theory of stereotyping, defines the classic stereotypes, and investigates how actors such as Raúl Julia, Rosie Pérez, José Ferrer, Lupe Vélez, and Gilbert Roland have subverted stereotypical roles. In the second part, he analyzes Hollywood's portrayal of Latinos in three genres: social problem films, John Ford westerns, and science fiction films. In the concluding section, Berg looks at Latino self-representation and anti-stereotyping in Mexican American border documentaries and in the feature films of Robert Rodríguez. He also presents an exclusive interview in which Rodríguez talks about his entire career, from *Bedhead* to *Spy Kids*, and comments on the role of a Latino filmmaker in Hollywood and how he tries to subvert the system.

Rodriguez, Clara E. 1997. *Latin Looks: Images Of Latinas And Latinos In The U.S. Media*. Boulder: Westview Press.

> What are "Latin looks"? A Latin look may seem at first blush to be something that everyone recognizes-brunette, sensual, expressive, animated, perhaps threatening. But upon reflection, we realize that these are the images that are prevalent in the media, while the reality in Latino communities is of a rich diversity of people and images. This book brings together a selection of the best, the most interesting, and the most analytically sophisticated writing on how Latinos have been portrayed in movies, television, and other media since the early years of the twentieth century and how images have changed over time in response to social and political change. Particular emphasis is given to representations of class, gender, color, race, and the political relationship between the United States and Latin America. Together the essays offer a corrective lens for interpreting how images are created, perpetuated, and manipulated.

Santa Ana, Otto. 2002. *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> "...awash under a brown tide...the relentless flow of immigrants… like waves on a beach, these human flows are remaking the face of America...." Since 1993, metaphorical language such as this has permeated mainstream media reporting on the United States' growing Latino population. In this groundbreaking book, Otto Santa Ana argues that far from being mere figures of speech, such metaphors produce and sustain negative public perceptions of the Latino community and its place in American society, precluding the view that Latinos are vested with the same rights and privileges as other citizens. Applying the insights of cognitive metaphor theory to an extensive natural language data set drawn from hundreds of articles in the *Los Angeles Times* and other media, Santa Ana reveals how metaphorical language portrays Latinos as invaders, outsiders, burdens, parasites, diseases, animals, and weeds. He convincingly demonstrates that three anti-Latino referenda passed in California because of such imagery, particularly the infamous

anti-immigrant measure, Proposition 187. Santa Ana illustrates how Proposition 209 organizers broadcast compelling new metaphors about racism to persuade an electorate that had previously supported affirmative action to ban it. He also shows how Proposition 227 supporters used anti-quated metaphors for learning, school, and language to blame Latino children's speech – rather than gross structural inequity – for their schools' failure to educate them. Santa Ana concludes by calling for the creation of insurgent metaphors to contest oppressive U.S. public discourse about minority communities.

Soruco, Gonzalo. 1996. *Cubans and the Mass Media in South Florida*. Gainesville, FA: Florida University Press.

> After 30 years of exile in south Florida, many Cubans have begun to accept the possibility that they will never return home. Their children and grandchildren have adapted to the American way of life and have begun the process of assimilation. Gonzalo Soruco looks at how these exiles – nearly half a million since 1959 – and their offspring use the mass media in the greater Miami area. For the most part Cuban exiles are not like other Hispanic immigrants; they are older, more affluent, and better educated. They are part of a powerful conservative political machine and an extensive social network. And they are passionate about their anti-Castro cause.

> Almost inevitably in this climate, leaders of the Cuban community have taken issue with the Miami Herald's reportorial philosophy and its coverage of Cubans. As the Herald's traditional Anglo readers moved out of Dade County, the paper was shaken into action: it hired Spanish-speaking journalists, promoted Hispanic reporters into the paper's management, started a Spanish-language newspaper, and took a turn to the ideological right. Soruco analyzes these events and discovers that – contrary to accusations in the media – Cubans do not think that the English-language media are instruments of either right- or left-wing propaganda. He also discusses the Cuban relationship with radio and television. As public debate continues about the Americanization of Cubans, particularly with regard to bilingual education, this work will find a wide audience. It will be especially useful to television advertisers, market researchers, people in the print media in south Florida, and those enterprises interested in Cubans as a business bridge to Latin America.

Subervi-Velez, Federico. 2008. *The Mass Media and Latino Politics: Studies of U.S. Media Content, Campaign Strategies, and Survey Research: 1984-2004*. New York: NY Routledge Press.

> The Latin-American population has become a major force in American politics in recent years, with expanding influences in local, state, and national elections. The candidates in the 2004 campaign wooed Latino voters by speaking Spanish to Latino audiences and courting Latino groups and PACs. Recognizing the rising influence of the Latino population in the United States, Federico Subervi-Velez has put together this edited volume, examining various aspects of the Latino and media landscape, including media coverage in English- and Spanish-language media, campaigns, and survey research.

Latinos in the Mass Media – Articles

Aparicio, Frances R. 2003. "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture." *Latino Studies* 1(1): 90-105.

> This essay argues that the similarities among US Latinos that have emerged from their status as historical minorities and racialized subjects can be deployed to understand the sites in which Latinos from different national groups identify and dis-identify with each other. Instead of rejecting Latinidad as an exclusively hegemonic concept that homogenizes Latinos, Latinidad can be reclaimed as a site for exploring and further understanding the affinities and analogies of historical minorities as (post)colonial subjects. By looking at sites where Latinidad is constituted, such as the case of Jennifer López becoming Selena for the Gregory Nava film, critics can tease out some of the analogous forms of resistance that bring together a Boricua from the Bronx and a Tejana singer. In addition, the issue of the phenotype, style, fashions and body of both stars is also discussed in terms of Latina feminism.

Branton, Regina, and Johanna Dunaway. 2008. "English- and Spanish-Language Media Coverage of Immigration: A Comparative Analysis." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(4): 1006-1022.

> **Objective:** We apply economic theories of news to explain differences between English- and Spanish-language newspaper coverage of immigration. **Methods:** Using content analysis and contextual data, we examine newspaper coverage of immigration as a function of economic incentives of news organizations and the language of the newspaper outlet. **Results:** The results indicate that Spanish-language news outlets generate a larger volume of coverage and more positive coverage of immigration when compared to English-language news outlets. **Conclusions:** This specific topic is important and politically relevant because of the potential implications variability in media coverage of this issue hold for public opinion on immigration.

Chapter Four: Latino Identity

General Identity - Books

Note: The authors could not locate enough books citations in this category to warrant its division into sub-categories similar to those specified for journal articles.

Aldama, Arturo J. 2001. *Disrupting Savagism: Intersecting Chicana/o, Mexican Immigrant, and Native American Struggles for Self-Representation*. Durham: Duke University Press.

> Colonial discourse in the United States has tended to criminalize, pathologize, and depict as savage not only Native Americans but Mexican immigrants, indigenous peoples in Mexico, and Chicanas/os as well. While postcolonial studies of the past few decades have focused on how these ethnicities have been constructed by others, *Disrupting Savagism* reveals how each group, in turn, has actively attempted to create for itself a social and textual space in which certain negative prevailing discourses are neutralized and rendered ineffective. Arturo J. Aldama begins by presenting a genealogy of the term "savage," looking in particular at the work of American ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan and a sixteenth-century debate between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas. Aldama then turns to more contemporary narratives, examining ethnography, fiction, autobiography, and film to illuminate the historical ideologies and ethnic perspectives that contributed to identity formation over the centuries. These works include anthropologist Manuel Gamio's *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story*, Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera,* and Miguel Arteta's film *Star Maps.* By using these varied genres to investigate the complex politics of racialized, subaltern, feminist, and diasporic identities, Aldama reveals the unique epistemic logic of hybrid and mestiza/o cultural productions.

Aldama, Frederick Luis. 2005. *Brown on Brown: Chicano/a Representations of Gender, Sexuality, and Ethnicity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> Common conceptions permeating U.S. ethnic queer theory tend to confuse aesthetics with real-world acts and politics. Often Chicano/a representations of gay and lesbian experiences in literature and film are analyzed simply as propaganda. The cognitive, emotional, and narrational ingredients (that is, the subject matter and the formal traits) of those representations are frequently reduced to a priori agendas that emphasize a politics of difference. In this book, Frederick Luis Aldama follows an entirely different approach. He investigates the ways in which race and gay/lesbian sexuality intersect and operate in Chicano/a literature and film while taking into full account their imaginative nature and therefore the specific kind of work invested in them. Also, Aldama frames his analyses within today's larger (globalized) context of postcolonial literary and filmic canons that seek to normalize heterosexual identity and experience. Throughout the book, Aldama applies his innovative approach to throw new light on the work of authors Arturo Islas, Richard Rodriguez, John Rechy, Ana Castillo, and Sheila Ortiz Taylor, as well as

that of film director Edward James Olmos. In doing so, Aldama aims to integrate and deepen Chicano literary and filmic studies within a comparative perspective. Aldama's unusual juxtapositions of narrative materials and cultural personae, and his premise that literature and film produce fictional examples of a social and historical reality concerned with ethnic and sexual issues largely unresolved, make this book relevant to a wide range of readers.

Arreola, Daniel D. ed. 2004. *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: Community and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary America*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hispanics/Latinos are the largest ethnic minority in the United States – but they are far from being a homogenous group. Mexican Americans in the Southwest have roots that extend back four centuries, while Dominicans and Salvadorans are very recent immigrants. Cuban Americans in South Florida have very different occupational achievements, employment levels, and income from immigrant Guatemalans who work in the poultry industry in Virginia. In fact, the only characteristic shared by all Hispanics/Latinos in the United States is birth or ancestry in a Spanish-speaking country. In this book, sixteen geographers and two sociologists map the regional and cultural diversity of the Hispanic/Latino population of the United States. They report on Hispanic communities in all sections of the country, showing how factors such as people's country/culture of origin, length of time in the United States, and relations with non-Hispanic society have interacted to create a wide variety of Hispanic communities. Identifying larger trends, they also discuss the common characteristics of three types of Hispanic communities – those that have always been predominantly Hispanic, those that have become Anglo-dominated, and those in which Hispanics are just becoming a significant portion of the population.

Arredondo, Gabriela, Aida Hurtado, Norma Klahn, Olga Najera-Ramirez, and Patricia Zavella. 2003. *Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Chicana Feminisms presents new essays on Chicana feminist thought by scholars, creative writers, and artists. This volume moves the field of Chicana feminist theory forward by examining feminist creative expression, the politics of representation, and the realities of Chicana life. Drawing on anthropology, folklore, history, literature, and psychology, the distinguished contributors combine scholarly analysis, personal observations, interviews, letters, visual art, and poetry. The collection is structured as a series of dynamic dialogues: each of the main pieces is followed by an essay responding to or elaborating on its claims. The broad range of perspectives included here highlights the diversity of Chicana experience, particularly the ways it is made more complex by differences in class, age, sexual orientation, language, and region. Together the essayists enact the contentious, passionate conversations that define Chicana feminisms. The contributors contemplate a number of facets of Chicana experience: life on the Mexico-U.S. border, bilingualism, the problems posed by a culture of repressive sexuality, the *ranchera* song, and *domesticana* artistic production. They also look at Chicana feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, the history of Chicanas in the larger Chicano movement, autobiographical writing, and the interplay between gender and ethnicity in the movie *Lone Star*. Some of the essays are expansive; others – such as Norma Cantú's discussion of the writing of her fictionalized memoir *Canícula* – are intimate. All are committed to the transformative powers of critical inquiry and feminist theory.

Barrera, Mario. 1990. *Beyond Aztlán: Ethnic Autonomy in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

> To succeed in America, ethnic groups have historically been required to give up their distinctive cultural identity in order to achieve economic and political parity. Mexican Americans, who have scored limited gains in their struggle for equality since the 1940s, are proving to be no exception to the rule. In this provocative volume, Mario Barrera compares the situation of Mexican Americans to that of minority groups in four other countries, and concludes that equality does not necessarily require assimilation. This unique comparative study will appeal to a wide audience – especially to students and professors of sociology, ethnic studies, political science, anthropology, and American studies.

Bernal, Martha E., and George P. Knight, eds. 1993. *Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> This book provides broad coverage of the various research approaches that have been used to study the development of ethnic identity in children and adolescents and the transmission of ethnic identity across generations. The authors address topics of acculturation and the development and socialization of ethnic minorities – particularly Mexican-Americans. They stress the roles of social and behavioral scientists in government multicultural policies, and the nature of possible ethnic group responses to such policies for cultural maintenance and adaptation.

Bernal, Martha E., and Phylis C. Martinelli, eds. 1993. *Mexican American Identity*. Mountain View: Floricanto Press.

> This book focuses on Mexican American ethnic identity, which is an important dimension of ethnicity. "Who am I?" is a basic human inquiry. Eleven essays, whose topics range from historical analysis of Mexican American identity; society's views of Mexican Americans and how these images can influence ethnic identity of Mexican American women, young children, adolescents, and discussions of the political and policy impacts of Mexican American identity in cross-cultural and American settings. Other aspects discussed are ethnicity and ethnic identity in Mexico and Mexican America; Mexican immigrant nationalism as an origin of identity for Mexican Americans; and specifies the links between ethnic identity and public policy; ethnic dimensions of gender and the dilemmas of high achieving Chicanas.

Blea, Irene I. 1992. *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender*. New York: Praeger.

> In this study, Irene I. Blea describes the social situation of La Chicana, a minority female whose life is influenced by racism and sexism. Blea analyzes contemporary scholarship on race, class, and gender, scrutinizing the use of language and labels to examine how La Chicana is affected by these factors. The wide-ranging study explores the history of Chicanas and the meaning of the term "Chicana," and considers her socialization process, the consequences of deviating from gender roles, and the evolution of Hispanic women onto the national scene in politics, health, economics, education, religion, and criminal justice. To date, little attention has been paid to the

political, social, and cultural achievements of La Chicana. The shared lives of Mexican-American women and men at home and inside and outside of the barrio are also investigated. This unique volume highlights the variables that effectively discriminate against women of color. Following a chapter that reviews the literature on Chicanas and focuses on their participation in three major social movements, the text discusses the conquest of Mexico and the blending of Aztec and Spanish cultures. Next, the life of colonial Hispanic women in Mexico and the United States and the role of the Mexican War in shaping the Mexican-American experience are investigated. The following three chapters explore how Americanization disempowered La Chicana; discuss the contemporary cultural roles of la mujer (woman) and their impact on men's roles; and consider the lives of older women. Chapter Seven looks at how some women are defining new roles for La Chicana. Current social issues are compared with and contrasted to those of the 1960s. The final chapters develop a theory of discrimination based on the academic work of racial and ethnic minority scholars and feminist scholars, exploring new directions in the study of Chicanas. This volume is valuable as an undergraduate or graduate text, and as a reference work, as well as a useful resource for social service providers.

Caminero-Santangelo, Marta 2007. *On Latinidad: U.S. Latino Literature and the Construction of Ethnicity*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Refusing to take *latinidad* (Latino-ness) for granted, Marta Caminero-Santangelo lays the groundwork for a sophisticated understanding of the various manifestations of "Latino" identity. She examines texts by prominent Chicano/a, Dominican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban American writers – including Julia Alvarez, Cristina Garcia, Achy Obejas, Piri Thomas, and Ana Castillo – and concludes that a pre-existing "group" does not exist. The author instead argues that much recent Latino/a literature presents a vision of tentative, forged solidarities in the service of particular and sometimes even local struggles. She shows that even magical realism can figure as a threat to collectivity, rather than as a signifier of it, because magical connections – to nature, between characters, and to Latin American origins – can undermine efforts at solidarity and empowerment.

Cruz, José. 1998. *Identity and Power: Puerto Rican Politics and Challenges of Ethnicity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

On the surface, identity politics appears to promote polarization. To the contrary, political scientist José E. Cruz argues that, instead, fragmentation and instability are more likely to occur only when the differences are ignored and non-ethnic strategies are employed. Cruz illustrates his claim by focusing on one group of Puerto Ricans and how they mobilized to demand accountability from political leaders in Hartford, Connecticut. The activities of the Puerto Rican Political Action Committee from 1983 to 1991 illustrate the power of ethnic mobilization and strategy in an urban setting. Cruz examines their insistence on their right to be included in the political process in the context of both a typical mid-sized American city and the unique attributes of Hartford's predominantly white-collar population. At the same time, this study acknowledges the limitations of the exercise of such power in the political process. Through extensive interviews Cruz brings to light the variety of ways in which politicians and political activists themselves

view their own activities and achievements. This group of Puerto Rican activists attempted to penetrate the power structure of Hartford. Though their success was limited, their work constitutes a springboard for further change.

Daly Heyck, Denis Lynn, ed. 1994. *Barrios and Borderlands: Culture of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

> This unique anthology highlights the diversity of Latino cultural expressions and points out the distinctive features of the three major Latino populations: Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban. It is organized around six central cultural issues: family, religion, community, the arts, (im)migration and exile, and cultural identity. Each chapter focuses on a particular theme by presenting readings from a variety of genres, including short stories, poems, essays, excerpts from novels, a play, photographs, even a few songs and recipes.

Davis, Mike. 2001. *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U. S. Big City*. New York: Verso.

> Is the capital of Latin America a small island at the mouth of the Hudson River? Will California soon hold the balance of power in Mexican national politics? Will Latinos reinvigorate the U.S. labor movement? These are some of the provocative questions that Mike Davis explores in this fascinating account of the Latinization of the American urban landscape. As he forcefully shows, this is a demographic and cultural revolution with extraordinary implications. With Spanish-surnames increasing five times faster than the general population, salsa is becoming the predominant ethnic rhythm (and flavor) of contemporary city life. In Los Angeles, Houston, San Antonio, and (shortly) Dallas, Latinos outnumber non-Hispanic whites; in New York, San Diego and Phoenix, they outnumber blacks. According to the Bureau of the Census, Latinos will supply fully two thirds of the nation's population growth between now and the middle of the 21st century when nearly 100 million Americans will boast Latin American ancestry. Davis focuses on the great drama of how Latinos are attempting to translate their urban demographic ascendancy into effective social power. Pundits are now unanimous that Spanish-surname voters are the sleeping giant of US politics. Though the overall vote in the 1996 elections declined significantly, the Latino share rose by a spectacular 16%. Yet electoral mobilization alone is unlikely to redress the increasing income and opportunity gaps between urban Latinos and suburban non-Hispanic whites. Thus in Los Angeles and elsewhere, the militant struggles of Latino workers and students are reinventing the American left. *Magical Urbanism* is essential reading for anyone who wants to grasp the future of urban America.

De Genova, Nicholas P. 2001. *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago*. Durham: Duke University Press.

> While Chicago has the second-largest Mexican population among U.S. cities, relatively little ethnographic attention has focused on its Mexican community. This much-needed ethnography of Mexicans living and working in Chicago examines processes of racialization, labor subordination, and class formation; the politics of nativism; and the structures of citizenship and immigration law. Nicholas De Genova develops a theory of "Mexican Chicago" as a transnational social and

geographic space that joins Chicago to innumerable communities throughout Mexico. "Mexican Chicago" is a powerful analytical tool, a challenge to the way that social scientists have thought about immigration and pluralism in the United States, and the basis for a wide-ranging critique of U.S. notions of race, national identity, and citizenship. De Genova worked for two and a half years as a teacher of English in ten industrial workplaces (primarily metal-fabricating factories) throughout Chicago and its suburbs. In *Working the Boundaries* he draws on fieldwork conducted in these factories, in community centers, and in the homes and neighborhoods of Mexican migrants. He describes how the meaning of "Mexican" is refigured and racialized in relation to a U.S. social order dominated by a black-white binary. Delving into immigration law, he contends that immigration policies have worked over time to produce Mexicans as the U.S. nation-state's iconic "illegal aliens." He explains how the constant threat of deportation is used to keep Mexican workers in line. *Working the Boundaries* is a major contribution to theories of race and transnationalism and a scathing indictment of U.S. labor and citizenship policies.

De Genova, Nicholas, ed. 2006. *Racial Transformations: Latinos and Asians Remaking the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Moving beyond the black-white binary that has long framed racial discourse in the United States, the contributors to this collection examine how the experiences of Latinos and Asians intersect in the formation of the U.S. nation-state. They analyze the political and social processes that have racialized Latinos and Asians while highlighting the productive ways that these communities challenge and transform the identities imposed on them. Each essay addresses the sociopolitical predicaments of both Latinos and Asians, bringing their experiences to light in relation to one another. Several contributors illuminate ways that Latinos and Asians were historically racialized: by U.S. occupiers of Puerto Rico and the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century, by public health discourses and practices in early-twentieth-century Los Angeles, by anthropologists collecting physical data – height, weight, head measurements – from Chinese Americans to show how the American environment affected "foreign" body types in the 1930s, and by Los Angeles public officials seeking to explain the alleged criminal propensities of Mexican American youth during the 1940s. Throughout this volume contributors interrogate many of the assumptions that underlie American and ethnic studies even as they signal the need for a research agenda that expands the purview of both fields.

Espino, Rodolfo, David Leal, and Kenneth Meier. 2008. *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation*. Charlottesville, VA: University Of Virginia Press.

Due to the dramatic growth of the Latino population in America, in combination with the relative decline of the Anglo (non-Hispanic white) share, Latino Studies is increasingly at the forefront of political concern. With *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation*, editors Rodolfo Espino, David L. Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier bring together essays from a number of leading scholars to address the ever-more important issues within the field. Providing an overview of issues surrounding Latino identity and political opinion – such as differences among Latino groups based on national origin, the importance of descriptive representation, and issues of competition and cooperation, particularly with reference to African Americans – the editors speak to the many fundamental debates ingrained in the discipline. In addition to highlighting

important contributions of the study of Latino politics to date, this volume suggests areas that have yet to be explored and, perhaps more importantly, demonstrates how the study of Latino politics relates to broader questions of American politics and society. Foregrounding debates in the overall discipline of political science, the collection will appeal to those who study Latino politics as well as those who are interested in understanding American politics and society with reference to Latino and "minority" concerns.

Farr, Marcia. 2006. *Rancheros in Chicagoacán: Language and Identity in a Transnational Community*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rancheros hold a distinct place in the culture and social hierarchy of Mexico, falling between the indigenous (Indian) rural Mexicans and the more educated city-dwelling Mexicans. In addition to making up an estimated twenty percent of the population of Mexico, rancheros may comprise the majority of Mexican immigrants to the United States. Although often mestizo (mixed race), rancheros generally identify as non-indigenous, and many identify primarily with the Spanish side of their heritage. They are active seekers of opportunity, and hence very mobile. Rancheros emphasize progress and a self-assertive individualism that contrasts starkly with the common portrayal of rural Mexicans as communal and publicly deferential to social superiors. Marcia Farr studied, over the course of fifteen years, a transnational community of Mexican ranchero families living both in Chicago and in their village-of-origin in Michoacán, Mexico. For this ethnolinguistic portrait, she focuses on three culturally salient styles of speaking that characterize rancheros: *franqueza* (candid, frank speech); *respeto* (respectful speech); and *relajo* (humorous, disruptive language that allows artful verbal critique of the social order maintained through respeto). She studies the construction of local identity through a community's daily talk, and provides the first book-length examination of language and identity in transnational Mexicans. In addition, Farr includes information on the history of rancheros in Mexico, available for the first time in English, as well as an analysis of the racial discourse of rancheros within the context of the history of race and ethnicity in Mexico and the United States. This work provides groundbreaking insight into the lives of rancheros, particularly as seen from their own perspectives.

Fergus, Edward. 2004. *Skin Color and Identity Formation: Perception of Opportunity and Academic Orientation Among Mexican and Puerto Rican Youth*. New York: Routledge.

The focus of this study is on the ways in which skin color moderates the perceptions of opportunity and academic orientation of 17 Mexican and Puerto Rican high school students. More specifically, the study's analysis centered on cataloguing the racial/ethnic identification shifts (or not) in relation to how they perceive others situate them based on skin color.

Flores, William V., and Rina Benmayor, eds. 2006. *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights*. Boston: Beacon Press.

While many commentators – from politicians to the authors of the bestselling Habits of the Heart – lament the loss of community in America, the debate has focused myopically and almost entirely on the white middle class. Perhaps the most important untold story is that of real,

thriving, growing, if embattled, communities in Latino urban centers all over America, and the way they are reshaping themselves and the United States as a whole. Responding directly to the debate about community, this book paints a vivid portrait of Latino community life, and analyzes its mechanisms and implications. Based on ethnographic work in Latino centers in San Antonio, Los Angeles, New York, San Jose, and Watsonville, California, the book looks at the process of Latino "cultural citizenship" – the use of cultural expression to claim political rights in the larger culture, while still maintaining a vibrant local identity. Chapters detail acts of cultural affirmation in Christmas festival celebrations, cannery strikes, educational programs, and much more. A pathbreaking work of Latino scholarship, this book will help redefine the conversation about the future of community in the United States.

Fox, Geoffrey E. 1997. *Hispanic Nation: Culture, Politics, and the Constructing of Identity*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

A new ethnic identity is being constructed in the United States: the Hispanic nation. Overcoming age-old racial, regional, and political differences, Americans of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Spanish-language origins are beginning to imagine themselves as a single ethnic community-which by the turn of the century may become the United States' largest and most influential minority.

Garcia, Alma. 2003. *Narratives of Mexican American Women: Emergent Identities of the Second Generation*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Alma García offers a bold new interpretation of identity formation for second generation immigrants in America. The narratives of Mexican American women in higher education reveal their journeys of self-discovery, a process filled with tensions, contradictions, and ambiguities. García captures the spirit of their struggles to understand their sense of self, culture, and society. Her qualitative analyses reveal the emergent processes by which these women negotiate ethnic, gender, and class identities with their Mexican immigrant parents and with their university communities. García integrates a wide range of theoretical frameworks to study educational life experiences. Her findings offer significant insight into the processes of cultural continuity and change and the potential for upward mobility for immigrants. García proposes new university policies and curriculum changes to improve the situation for second-generation students. She calls for the reform of higher education in the United States, to open its doors more widely to Mexican American students and other underrepresented groups, to make the educational system truly reflective of the ethnic diversity that has always formed the core of American society. García's new book is a valuable contribution to Mexican American studies, ethnic studies, women's studies, comparative education, and sociology.

Gracia, Jorge J. E., and Pablo De Greiff. 2000. *Hispanics/Latinos in the United States: Ethnicity, Race, and Rights*. Newark: Routledge.

Already the largest minority group in the United States, by the middle of the next century Hispanics/Latinos will outnumber all other minority groups combined. As such an increasingly im-

portant presence in American society, their values, views, and rights must be taken into account by the American population at large. But Hispanics/Latinos, far from being homogenous, differ greatly in terms of origin, race, language, religion, political affiliation, customs, physical appearance, economic status, education, and taste, among other things. This diversity raises important questions about their identity and their rights. Is there a single Hispanic/Latino identity, or are there many identities based on such specifics as class and origin? Do Hispanics/Latinos as such have rights, or are their rights based only on their particular origin or situation? Does affirmative action apply to all Hispanics/Latinos, or just to some?

Gracia, Jorge J.E. 2008. *Latinos in America: Philosophy and Social Identity*. NJ: Wiley Press.

What is it to be Latino? What is the place of Latinos in America? And how do Latinos think about themselves and their identity? This is the first book to ask and answer these questions in a philosophical context. It rejects answers based on stereotypes that feed the fear generated in both the Latino and non-Latino population by the enormous growth of Latino numbers in the United States. And it proposes a new way of thinking about Latinos based on a familial-historical view that allows for negotiation, accommodation, and change. The task is accomplished in three parts. The first goes to the source of misunderstandings concerning Latino identity, the problem of Latino identification, and the significance of the two general labels used to refer to Latinos, 'Latinos' and 'Hispanics'. The second part explores the problems encountered by Latinos in American society, paying particular attention to the marketplace, affirmative action, and language rights. The third part looks into who Latinos think they are by proposing an original conception of Latino philosophy with roots in Latin America, and by discussing the place it occupies in American and world philosophy.

Gracia, Jorge J.E., ed. 2007. *Race or Ethnicity? On Black and Latino Identity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

This collection of new essays explores the relation between race and ethnicity and its social and political implications. Although much work has been done on the philosophy of race in the past century in the United States, the concept of ethnicity has only recently awoken the interest of American philosophers, and the relations between race and ethnicity remain largely unexamined. The discussion is divided into two parts dealing, on the one hand, with the nature and the relation between race and ethnicity and, on the other, with the social consequences of the complex relations between them. Part I explores in particular the debated topic of racial and ethnic identities: Does it make sense to speak of racial and ethnic identities, and especially of black and Latino identities? And if it does make sense, how should these identities be conceptualized, and how are they related to gender? Part II examines how race and ethnicity have influenced the lot of some social groups in significant ways: How do racially defined institutions deal with racial assimilation? How do different conceptions of race and ethnicity influence public policy and various forms of racism? How can exploited racial and ethnic groups be effectively recognized? And what is the role of affect in social justice as dispensed by the courts?

Grillo, Evelio, and Kenya Dworkin-Mendez. 2000. *Black Cuban, Black American: A memoir*. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press.

> Arte Público Press's landmark series "Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage" has traditionally been devoted to long-lost and historic works by Hispanics of decades and even centuries past. The publications of *Black Cuban, Black American* marks the fist original work by a living author to become part of this notable series. The reason for this unprecedented honor can be seen in Evilio Grillo's path-breaking life. Ybor City was once a thriving factory town populated by cigar-makers, mostly emigrants from Cuba. Growing up in Ybor City, now part of Tampa, in the early twentieth century, the young Evilio Experienced the complexities and sometimes the difficulties of life in a horse-and-buggy society demarcated by both racial and linguistic lines. Life was different depending on whether you were Spanish- or English-speaking, a white or black Cuban, a Cuban American or a native-born U.S. citizen, well off or poor. (Even U.S.-born blacks did not always get along with their Hispanic counterparts.) Grillo captures the joys and sorrows of this unique world that slowly faded away as he grew to adulthood and was absorbed into the African-American community during the Depression. He then tells of his eye-opening experiences as a soldier in and all-black unit serving in the China-Burma-India theatre of operations during World War II. Booklovers may have read of Ybor City in the novels of Jose Yglesias, but never before has the colorful locale been portrayed from this perspective.

Hurtado, Aida, and Patricia Gurin. 2004. *Chicana/o Identity in a Changing U.S. Society: ¿Quién Soy? ¿Quiénes Somos?* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> What does it mean to be Chicana/o? That question might not be answered the same as it was a generation ago. As the United States witnesses a major shift in its population – from a white majority to a country where no single group predominates – the new mix not only affects relations between ethnic groups but also influences how individuals view themselves. This book addresses the development of individual and social identity within the context of these new demographic and cultural shifts. It identifies the contemporary forces that shape group identity in order to show how Chicana/os' sense of personal identity and social identity develops and how these identities are affected by changes in social relations. The authors, both nationally recognized experts in social psychology, are concerned with the subjective definitions individuals have about the social groups with which they identify, as well as with linguistic, cultural, and social contexts. Their analysis reveals what the majority of Chicanas/os experience, using examples from music, movies, and the arts to illustrate complex concepts. In considering ¿Quién Soy? ("Who Am I?"), they discuss how individuals develop a positive sense of who they are as Chicanas/os, with an emphasis on the influence of family, schools, and community. Regarding ¿Quiénes Somos? ("Who Are We?"), they explore Chicanas/os' different group memberships that define who they are as a people, particularly reviewing the colonization history of the American Southwest to show how Chicanas/os' group identity is influenced by this history. A chapter on "Language, Culture, and Community" looks at how Chicanas/os define their social identities inside and outside their communities, whether in the classroom, neighborhood, or region. In a final chapter, the authors speculate how Chicana/o identity will change as Chicanas/os become a significant proportion of the U.S. population and as such factors as immigration, intermarriage, and improvements in social standing influence the process of identification.

Johnson, Kevin R. 1999. *How Did You Get to Be Mexican?: A White/Brown Man's Search for Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> This compelling account of racial identity takes a close look at the question "Who is a Latino?" and determines where persons of mixed Anglo-Latino heritage fit into the racial dynamics of the United States. The son of a Mexican-American mother and an Anglo father, Kevin Johnson has spent his life in the borderlands between racial identities. In this insightful book, he uses his experiences as a mixed Latino-Anglo to examine issues of diversity, assimilation, race relations, and affirmative action in contemporary United States.

Macias, Thomas. 2006. *Mestizo in America: Generations of Mexican Ethnicity in the Suburban Southwest*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> How much does ethnicity matter to Mexican Americans today, when many marry outside their culture and some can't even stomach menudo? This book addresses that question through a unique blend of quantitative data and firsthand interviews with third-plus-generation Mexican Americans. Latinos are being woven into the fabric of American life, to be sure, but in a way quite distinct from ethnic groups that have come from other parts of the world. By focusing on individuals' feelings regarding acculturation, work experience, and ethnic identity – and incorporating Mexican-Anglo intermarriage statistics – Thomas Macias compares the successes and hardships of Mexican immigrants with those of previous European arrivals. He describes how continual immigration, the growth of the Latino population, and the Chicano Movement have been important factors in shaping the experience of Mexican Americans, and he argues that Mexican American identity is often not merely an "ethnic option" but a necessary response to stereotyping and interactions with Anglo society. Talking with fifty third-plus generation Mexican Americans from Phoenix and San Jose – representative of the seven million nationally with at least one immigrant grandparent – he shows how people utilize such cultural resources as religion, spoken Spanish, and cross-national encounters to reinforce Mexican ethnicity in their daily lives. He then demonstrates that, although social integration for Mexican Americans shares many elements with that of European Americans, forces related to ethnic concentration, social inequality, and identity politics combine to make ethnicity for Mexican Americans more fixed across generations. Enhancing research already available on first- and second-generation Mexican Americans, Macias's study also complements research done on other third-plus-generation ethnic groups and provides the empirical data needed to understand the commonalities and differences between them. His work plumbs the changing meaning of mestizaje in the Americas over five centuries and has much to teach us about the long-term assimilation and prospects of Mexican-origin people in the United States.

Margolis, Maxine. 2009. *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

> In the mid-1980s, a relatively new immigrant stream from Brazil began to arrive in New York City. Like other immigrant populations, many of the new arrivals were undocumented, but, unlike other groups, most were from middle-class backgrounds and few wished to extend their stay beyond a few years. Today, there are at least 150,000 Brazilians in the greater New York metropolitan area – many famously employed as the city's fleet of shoeshiners – and likely over one

million throughout the United States. In this revised and expanded edition, Maxine L. Margolis addresses the dramatic changes and challenges that have affected this population since the events of September 11, 2001, and examines the roles that Brazilians have played in an increasingly turbulent U.S. economy.

Marquez, Benjamin. 2003. *Constructing Identities in Mexican American Political Organizations: Choosing Issues, Taking Sides*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

The formation of a group identity has always been a major preoccupation of Mexican American political organizations; whether they seek to assimilate into the dominant Anglo society or to remain separate from it. Yet organizations that sought to represent a broad cross section of the Mexican American population, such as LULAC and the American G.I. Forum, have dwindled in membership and influence, while newer, more targeted political organizations are prospering – clearly suggesting that successful political organizing requires more than shared ethnicity and the experience of discrimination. This book sheds new light on the process of political identity formation through a study of the identity politics practiced by four major Mexican American political organizations – the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, the Southwest Industrial Areas Foundation, the Texas Association of Mexican American Chambers of Commerce, and the Mexican American Women's National Association (now known as MANA – A National Latina Organization). Through interviews with activists in each organization and research into their records, Benjamin Marquez clarifies the racial, class-based, and cultural factors that have caused these organizations to create widely differing political identities. He likewise demonstrates why their specific goals resonate only with particular segments of the Mexican American community.

Mirande, Alfredo. 1997. *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Although patriarchy, machismo, and excessive masculine displays are assumed to be prevalent among Latinos in general and Mexicans in particular, little is known about Latino men or macho masculinity. *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* fills an important void by providing an integrated view of Latino men, masculinity, and fatherhood – in the process refuting many common myths and misconceptions. Examining how Latino men view themselves, Alfredo Mirandé argues that prevailing conceptions of men, masculinity, and gender are inadequate because they are based not on universal norms but on limited and culturally specific conceptions. Findings are presented from in-depth personal interviews with Latino men (specifically, fathers with at least one child between the ages of four and eighteen living at home) from four geographical regions and from a broad cross-section of the Latino population: working and middle class, foreign-born and native-born. Topics range from views on machos and machismo to beliefs regarding masculinity and fatherhood. In addition to reporting research findings and placing them within a historical context, Mirandé draws important insights from his own life. *Hombres y Machos* calls for the development of Chicano/Latino men's studies and will be a significant and provocative addition to the growing literature on gender, masculinity, and race. It will appeal to the general reader and is bound to be an important supplementary text for courses in ethnic studies, women's studies, men's studies, family studies, sociology, psychology, social work, and law.

Monsivais, George I. 2004. *Hispanic Immigrant Identity: Political Allegiance vs. Cultural Preference*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Monsivais explores the political and cultural allegiances of Hispanic immigrants to understand the role of both their country of origin and their adopted country in their lives. When the news media broadcasts pictures of Hispanic immigrants waving the flags of their countries of origin, Americans become concerned. Are these immigrants affirming a political allegiance expressing a cultural preference? Monsivais addresses this question by first developing minimum criteria of being "American" by examining historical and current literature and Supreme Court decisions; conducting a secondary analysis of "The National Latino Immigrant Survey" as reported in New Americans by Choice (Pachon and DeSipio, 1994); and reporting the results of focus group interviews conducted with legal Hispanic immigrants. The findings demonstrate that overall they are likely expressing ethnic/racial or cultural concepts and not political preferences.

Morales, Ed. 2003. *Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin Press.

> To be Latino in the United States has meant a fierce identification with one's roots, with the language, art, and food their people brought with them. America is a patchwork of Hispanic sensibilities-from Puerto Rican nationalists in New York to newly arrived Mexicans in the Rio Grande valley-that has so far resisted homogenization while managing to absorb much of the mainstream culture. In Living in Spanglish, Morales pins down a diverse community-of Dominicans, Mexicans, Colombians, Cubans, Salvadorans, and Puerto Ricans – that he insists has more common interests to unify it than traditions to divide it. He calls this sensibility Spanglish, a feeling, an attitude that is quintessentially American. It is a culture with one foot in the medieval and the other in the next century. In Living in Spanglish , Ed Morales paints a portrait of America as it is now, both embracing and unsure how to face an onslaught of Latino influence. His book is the story of groups of Hispanic immigrants struggling to move beyond identity politics into a postmodern melting pot.

Ngan-ling Chow, Esther, Doris Wilkinson, and Maxine Baca Zinn, eds. 1996. *Race, Class, & Gender: Common Bonds, Different Voices*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

> Published in cooperation with Sociologists for Women in Society: How do race, class, and gender interrelate? How does the interlocking of race, class, and gender form patterns of social relations and develop into hierarchical orders? What are the dilemmas and contradictions created by the simultaneity of race, class, and gender? How can feminist scholarship based on the complex understanding of the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender transform our knowledge and social life? In Race, Class & Gender, an accomplished cast of contributors with a great diversity of backgrounds – ranging from sociology, African American studies, Chicano studies, ethnic studies, and gender studies – addresses these important issues and much more. This new anthology – significantly derived from a special issue of the journal Gender & Society – seeks to bring understanding to the complex intersections of race, class, and gender. The editors have chosen selections that take the study of race, class, and gender beyond their usual context – that of social stratification – and locate them in the wider sociological world. This informative volume's broad scope and interdisciplinary emphasis make it an invaluable contribution to the study of social

organizations. Offering a comprehensive examination of race, class, and gender, this important volume will be vital to professionals and students in the fields of gender, sociology, race/ethnicity, social problems and theory, and it should appeal to the general public that seeks to enhance personal learning in this subject area.

Oboler, Suzanne. 1995. *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re)Presentation in the United States*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hispanic or Latino? Mexican American or Chicano? Social labels often take on a life of their own beyond the control of those who coin them or to whom they are applied. In *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives*, Suzanne Oboler explores the history and current use of the label "Hispanic" as she illustrates the complex meanings that ethnicity has acquired in shaping our lives and identities. Exploding the myth of cultural and national homogeneity among people of Latin American descent, Oboler interviews members of diverse groups who have traditionally been labeled "Hispanic" and records the many different meanings and social values they attribute to this label. For example, a person of Mexican descent has a different historical relationship with the United States and a different cultural background than an individual of Puerto Rican or Brazilian descent. The different meanings and social values those interviewed attribute to the label "Hispanic" also correspond to their gender and social class position, including racial prejudices and values stemming from their countries of origin. Though we have witnessed in recent years the fading of the idealized image of U.S. society as a melting pot, we have also realized that the possibility of recasting it in multicultural terms is problematic. Oboler discusses the historical process of labeling groups of individuals, illustrating how labels affect the meaning of citizenship and the struggle for full social participation in the United States. *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives* aims to understand the role ethnic labels play in our society and brings us closer toward actualizing a society that values cultural diversity.

Oboler, Suzanne. 2006. *Latinos and Citizenship: The Dilemma of Belonging*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Latinos and Citizenship: The Dilemma of Belonging focuses specific attention on the meaning and social value of citizenship for both the Latino population as a whole, as well as for the specific national origin groups encompassed by the term Hispanic or Latino. This edited anthology brings together broad theoretical considerations of various aspects of the concept, with discussions of historical and contemporary case studies and issues pertaining to Latinos within contemporary debates on citizenship. The essays are grounded in the complex realities of Latinos' historical and continuing struggles against exclusion. They discuss such issues as access to dual citizenship, multiple national allegiances, transnational political and social participation, as well as their complex political and social status and regional cultural citizenship and loyalties. In so doing, the contributors address broader, fundamental questions about contemporary US citizenship and belonging, including: What does it mean, in the current context of globalization and the consequent changing nature of the state, to belong to a national community of citizens? Who belongs, and how do people experience that belonging today? How do we even "know" that we belong? Who determines who can and will be part of a national community, and on what grounds? In addressing these questions, the main focus of this anthology is to examine the varied ways that

the definition and social value of citizenship are being challenged and reconfigured, both by the different meanings attributed to citizenship by Latinos, as well as by the social movements and transnational initiatives undertaken by Latino citizens and immigrants alike.

O'Reilly-Herrera, Andrea. 2001. *ReMembering Cuba: Legacy of a Diaspora.* Austin: U.T. Press.

Longing for their lost homeland unites Cuban exiles and their children, many of whom have never seen the Island. Yet as decades pass and the hope of "next year in Cuba" fades, the Cuban American community has had to forge new understandings of where "home" is and what it means to be "Cuban," "American," and/or "Cuban American." The testimonies gathered in this book offer over one hundred perspectives on the Cuban diaspora and on what it means to be Cuban in exile. Through narratives, interviews, creative writings, letters, journal entries, recipes, photographs, and paintings, Cubans from various waves of the migration and their descendants piece together a complex mosaic of the exile experience and diasporic identity. In her introduction, Andrea O'Reilly Herrera describes how she conceived the project and chose the contributors, including both unknown and established artists and writers such as Gustavo Pérez Firmat, Sylvia Curbelo, Pablo Medina, Lourdes Gil, Ricardo Pau-Llosa, Heberto Padilla, and José Kozer. The contributors' diverse and sometimes conflicting voices offer a more inclusive and complex understanding of Cuban American identity and the various Cuban "presences" residing throughout the United States. Likewise, they overthrow a perceived "hierarchy of suffering" among Cuban Americans, which purports to dictate who can and cannot speak authentically about exile and loss, as well as what form their expression can take.

Pardo, Mary. 1998. *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

When we see children playing in a supervised playground or hear about a school being renovated, we seldom wonder about who mobilized the community resources to rebuild the school or staff the park. *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. Pardo

asserts that the decline of real wages and the growing income gap means that unfortunately most women will no longer be able to focus their energies on unpaid community work. She reflects on the consequences of this change for women's political involvement, as well as on the politics of writing about women and politics.

Reyes, Barbara. 2009. *Private Women, Public Lives; Gender and the Missions of the Californias.* Austin: U.T. Press.

Through the lives and works of three women in colonial California, Bárbara O. Reyes examines frontier mission social spaces and their relationship to the creation of gendered colonial relations in the Californias. She explores the function of missions and missionaries in establishing hierarchies of power and in defining gendered spaces and roles, and looks at the ways that women challenged, and attempted to modify, the construction of those hierarchies, roles, and spaces. Reyes studies the criminal inquiry and depositions of Barbara Gandiaga, an Indian woman charged with conspiracy to murder two priests at her mission; the divorce petition of Eulalia Callis, the first lady of colonial California who petitioned for divorce from her adulterous governor-husband; and the *testimonio* of Eulalia Pérez, the head housekeeper at Mission San Gabriel who acquired a position of significant authority and responsibility but whose work has not been properly recognized. These three women's voices seem to reach across time and place, calling for additional, more complex analysis and questions: Could women have agency in the colonial Californias? Did the social structures or colonial processes in place in the frontier setting of New Spain confine or limit them in particular gendered ways? And, were gender dynamics in colonial California explicitly rigid as a result of the imperatives of the goals of colonization?

Ricourt, Milagros, and Ruby Danta. 2003. *Hispanas De Queens: Latino Panethnicity in a New York City Neighborhood.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

What happens when persons of several Latin American national groups reside in the same neighborhood? Milagros Ricourt and Ruby Danta consider the stories of women of different nationalities – Colombian, Cuban, Dominican, Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Puerto Rican, Uruguayan, and others – who live together in Corona, a working-class neighborhood in Queens. Corona has long been an arrival point for immigrants and is now made up predominantly of Spanish-speaking immigrants from the Caribbean and South and Central America, with smaller numbers from Asia, Africa, and Europe. There are also long-established populations of white Americans, mainly of Italian origin, and African Americans. The authors find that the new pan-Latin American community in Corona has emerged from the interactions of everyday living. Hispanas de Queens focuses on the places where women gather in Corona-bodegas, hospitals, schoolyards, and Roman Catholic and Protestant churches-to show how informal alliances arise from proximity. Ricourt and Danta document how a group of leaders, mainly women, consciously promoted this strong sense of community to build panethnic organizations and a Latino political voice. Hispanas de Queens shows how a new group identity – Hispanic or Latino – is formed without replacing an individual's identification as an immigrant from a particular country. Instead, an additional identity is created and can be mobilized by pan-Latino leaders and organizations.

Rodriguez, Clara. 2000. *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: New York University Press.

Latinos are the fastest growing population group in the United States. Through their language and popular music, Latinos continue to make their mark on America and are becoming more assertive and less content to remain America's "second minority." How then do they fit into America's divided racial landscape and how do they define their own racial and ethnic identity? Are they just another American ethnic group, like Italians or Germans that will assimilate into English-speaking America? Or will they maintain a distinct Spanish-speaking culture for generations to come? Can this diverse group, made up of dozens of separate nationalities, even be considered a single "race?" Can they help bridge the gap between black and white Americans? Through extensive personal interviews and careful analysis of census data, Clara Rodriguez shows that Latino identity is surprisingly fluid, situation-dependent, and constantly changing. She illustrates how the way Latinos are defining themselves, and refusing to define themselves, represents a powerful challenge to America's system of racial classification and American racism.

Rumbaut, Rubén G., and Alejandro Portes, eds. *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The new immigration to the United States is unprecedented in its diversity of color, class, and cultural origins. Over the past few decades, the racial and ethnic composition and stratification of the American population–as well as the social meanings of race, ethnicity, and American identity–have fundamentally changed. *Ethnicities,* a companion volume to Rubén G. Rumbaut's and Alejandro Portes's *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation,* brings together some of the country's leading scholars of immigration and ethnicity to examine the lives and trajectories of the children of today's immigrants. The emerging ethnic groups of the United States in the 21st century are being formed in this process, with potentially profound societal impacts. Whether this new ethnic mosaic reinvigorates the nation or spells a quantum leap in its social problems depends on the social and economic incorporation of this still young population. The contributors to this volume probe systematically and in depth the adaptation patterns and trajectories of concrete ethnic groups. They provide a close look at this rising second generation by focusing on youth of diverse national origins – Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Filipino, Vietnamese, Haitian, Jamaican and other West Indian – coming of age in immigrant families on both coasts of the United States. Their analyses draw on the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, the largest research project of its kind to date. *Ethnicities* demonstrates that, while some of the ethnic groups being created by the new immigration are in a clear upward path, moving into society's mainstream in record time, others are headed toward a path of blocked aspirations and downward mobility. The book concludes with an essay summarizing the main findings, discussing their implications, and identifying specific lessons for theory and policy.

Schmidt Sr, Ronald. 2000. *Language Policy and Identity Politics in the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

This book lays out the two approaches to language policy – linguistic assimilation and linguistic pluralism – in clear and accessible terms. Filled with examples and narratives, it provides a readable overview of the U.S. "culture wars" and explains why the conflict has just now emerged as a

major issue in the United States. Professor Schmidt examines bilingual education in the public schools, "linguistic access" rights to public services, and the designation of English as the United States' "official" language. He illuminates the conflict by describing the comparative, theoretical, and social contexts for the debate. The source of the disagreement, he maintains, is not a disagreement over language per se but over identity and the consequences of identity for individuals, ethnic groups, and the country as a whole. Who are "the American people"? Are we one national group into which newcomers must assimilate? Or are we composed of many cultural communities, each of which is a unique but integral part of the national fabric? This fundamental point is what underlies the specific disputes over language policy. This way of looking at identity politics, as Professor Schmidt shows, calls into question the dichotomy between "material interest" politics and "symbolic" politics in relation to group identities.

Stavans, Ilan. 1996. *The Hispanic Condition: Reflections on Culture and Identity in America*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

In *The Hispanic Condition,* Ilan Stavans offers a subtle and insightful meditation on Hispanic society in the United States. A native of Mexico, Stavans has emerged as one of the most distinguished Latin American writers of our time, an award-winning novelist and critic praised by scholars and beloved by readers. In this pioneering psycho-historical profile, he delves into the cultural differences and similarities among the five major Hispanic groups: Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Central and South Americans, and Spaniards. Interweaving historical, literary, and political references with his personal experience, Stavans discusses the divisions within a common heritage; customs of music, love, sex, marriage, and religious belief; the role of the intellectual in society; ideological struggle; and the hopeful visions of the future at the core of a civilization rooted in the trauma of the past.

Stepick, Alex, Guillermo Grenier, Max Castro, and Mervin Dunn. 2003. *This Land Is Our Land: Immigrants and Power in Miami*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

For those opposed to immigration, Miami is a nightmare. Miami is the de facto capital of Latin America; it is a city where immigrants dominate, Spanish is ubiquitous, and Denny's is an ethnic restaurant. Are Miami's immigrants representative of a trend that is undermining American culture and identity? Drawing from in-depth fieldwork in the city and looking closely at recent events such as the Elián González case, *This Land Is Our Land* examines interactions between immigrants and established Americans in Miami to address fundamental questions of American identity and multiculturalism. Rather than focusing on questions of assimilation, as many other studies have, this book concentrates on interethnic relations to provide an entirely new perspective on the changes wrought by immigration in the United States.

Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo and Mariela M. Páez, eds. 2002. *Latinos: Remaking America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and will comprise a quarter of the country's population by mid-century. The process of Latinization, the result of globalization

and the biggest migration flow in the history of the Americas, is indeed reshaping the character of the U.S. This landmark book brings together some of the leading scholars now studying the social, cultural, racial, economic, and political changes wrought by the experiences, travails, and fortunes of the Latino population. It is the most definitive and comprehensive snapshot available of Latinos in the United States today. How are Latinos and Latinas changing the face of the Americas? What is new and different about this current wave of migration? In this study social scientists, humanities scholars, and policy experts examine what every citizen and every student needs to know about Latinos in the U.S., covering issues from historical continuities and changes to immigration, race, labor, health, language, education, and politics. Recognizing the diversity and challenges facing Latinos in the U.S., this book addresses what it means to define the community as such and how to move forward on a variety of political and cultural fronts.

Tails, Hard. 2007. *Queer Latino Testimonio, Keith Haring, and Juanito Xtravaganza*. NY, NY: Palgrave MacMillian.

In the tradition of the Latin American *testimonio*, this is the story of Juan Rivera, a.k.a. Juanito Xtravaganza, a Latino runaway youth who ends up homeless in the streets of New York in the late 70s and becomes partner of the internationally famous 1980s Pop artist Keith Haring during some of the most frenetically productive years of his brief life, as told to the author and retold by him. A hybrid text – part *testimonio*, part linguistic and cultural analysis, and part art criticism – this is also a history of New York Latino neighborhoods during this period of devastating disinvestment and gentrification, as well as a personal, heart-felt meditation on the art of listening and the ethical limits of representing queer Latino lives.

Torres, Lourdes, and Inmaculada Perpetusa-Seva. 2003. *Tortilleras: Hispanic and U.S. Latina Lesbian Expression*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

The first anthology to focus exclusively on queer readings of Spanish, Latin American, and US Latina lesbian literature and culture, *Tortilleras* interrogates issues of gender, national identity, race, ethnicity, and class to show the impossibility of projecting a singular Hispanic or Latina Lesbian. Examining carefully the works of a range of lesbian writers and performance artists, including Carmelita Tropicana and Christina Peri Rossi, among others, the contributors create a picture of the complicated and multi-textured contributions of Latina and Hispanic lesbians to literature and culture. More than simply describing this sphere of creativity, the contributors also recover from history the long, veiled existence of this world, exposing its roots, its impact on lesbian culture, and, making the power of lesbian performance and literature visible.

Torres, Rodolfo D., and George N. Katsiaficas, eds. 1999. *Latino Social Movements: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Latinos make up the fastest growing population segment in the US, and by the middle of the next century, they will outnumber all other minority groups combined. Even more significant is the fact that within a few years, Latinos will number more than a quarter of the nation's work force; this is more than three times their proportion in the general population. *Latino Social*

Movements discusses the socioeconomic and cultural consequences of the changing US popula-
tion in the light of globalization. It calls attention to the increasing significance of class and the
system of global capitalism that underlies political relations of power. Focusing on the place of la-
bor, class, patriarchy and capital, this collection relates these objective realities with the subjective
context of popular attempts to transform the existing socio-economic conditions of Latino life.

Trueba, Enrique T. 1998. *Latinos Unidos: From Cultural Diversity to the Politics of Solidarity*. Lanham:
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Latinos Unidos presents an unexpected perspective on Latinos-not only as a highly diverse and
rapidly growing population in the United States with distinct social, cultural, and economic
features-but as a new political force with a cohesive collective ethnic identity. Indeed, Latinos
in this country constitute a new political power coming to grips with their global significance.
Within two decades, Latino children will constitute a majority in urban public schools around
the country. By the mid-21st century, Latinos (along with African-Americans) will represent half
the U.S. population. While much of the literature in the social sciences continues to stereotype
Latinos as marginalized, poor, and low-achievers, unable to "assimilate" and function in main-
stream society, Latinos are quietly taking important positions in academic, government, profes-
sional organizations, and the international world of economics. Their rapid flow into the U.S.
has, to an extent, camouflaged this upward social, educational, and class mobility. Trueba, using
his unique vantage point as a Latino immigrant and scholar, explores the vital issues of personal
identity and resiliency, adaptive strategies, and successes of Latinos in North America in this path
breaking book. Among the most fascinating and least known subjects he discusses are bi-national
networks, which describe the bilingual and bicultural capabilities of a new generation of Latinos
who can function on both sides of the border with Mexico.

Valle, Victor M., and Rodolfo D. Torres. 2000. *Latino Metropolis*. Minneapolis: University of Minne-
sota Press.

Los Angeles: scratch the surface of the city's image as a rich mosaic of multinational cultures
and a grittier truth emerges – its huge, shimmering economy was built on the backs of largely
Latino immigrants and still depends on them. This book exposes the underside of the develop-
ment and restructuring that have turned Los Angeles into a global city, and in doing so it reveals
the ways in which ideas about ethnicity – Latino identity itself – are implicated and elaborated
in the process. A penetrating analysis of the social, economic, cultural, and political consequences
of the growth of the Latino working-class populations in Los Angeles, *Latino Metropolis* is also
a nuanced account of the complex links between political economy and the social construction of
ethnicity. Lifting examples from recent news stories, political encounters, and cultural events, the
authors demonstrate how narratives about Latinos are used to maintain the status quo-particu-
larly the existing power grid-in the city. In media representations of riots, in the recasting (and
"whitening") of Mexican food as Spanish-American cuisine, in the community displacement that
occurred as part of the development of the Staples Center-in telling instances large and small, we
see how Los Angeles and its Latino population are mutually transforming. And we see how an
old Latino politics of "racial" identity is inevitably giving way to a new politics of class. Combin-

ing political and economic insight with trenchant social and cultural analysis, this work offers the clearest statement to date of how ethnicity and class intersect in defining racialized social relations in the contemporary metropolis.

Vázquez, Francisco H. 2008. *Latino/a Thought: Culture, Politics, and Society,* 2ed. Lanhman, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

> *Latino/a Thought* brings together the most important writings that shape Latino consciousness, culture, and activism today. This historical anthology is unique in its presentation of cross cultural writings – especially from Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban writers and political documents – that shape the ideology and experience of U.S. Latinos. Students can read, first hand, the works or authors who most shaped their cultural heritage. They are guided by vivid introductions that set each article or document in its historical context and describe its relevance today. The writings touch on many themes, but are guided by this book's concern for a quest for public citizenship among all Latino populations and a better understanding of racialized populations in the U.S. today.

Vélez-Ibáñez, Carlos G., Anna Sampaio, and Manolo González-Estay, eds. *Transnational Latina/o Communities: Politics, Processes, and Cultures.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

> This groundbreaking text challenges the traditional paradigm of Latina/o studies by focusing on transnational issues and examining the manner in which gender, race, and class emerge out of local and global processes. Divided into three parts, the volume first critiques current theoretical and methodological approaches within the discipline. It then explores alternate propositions concerning material culture and human identity by introducing different frames for analysis. Finally, it moves us beyond nation-based approaches of previous studies as well as attending to emergent rural and urban innovations at the local level. This work expands our understandings and links between Latino and Latin American studies and will be an invaluable resource for students and scholars from both fields.

Yancey, George. 2003. *Who Is White? Latinos, Asians, and the New Black/Non-black Divide.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

> "By the year 2050, whites will be a numerical racial minority, albeit the largest minority, in the United States." This statement, asserts George Yancey, while statistically correct, is nonetheless false. Yancey marshals compelling evidence to show that the definition of who is "white" is changing rapidly, with non-black minorities accepting the perspectives of the current white majority group and, in turn, being increasingly assimilated. In contrast, African Americans continue to experience high levels of alienation. To understand the racial reality in the United States, Yancey demonstrates, it is essential to discard the traditional white/nonwhite dichotomy and to explore the implications of the changing color of whiteness.

General Identity - Articles

Arias, Arturo. 2003. "Central American-Americans: Invisibility, Power and Representation in the US Latino World." *Latino Studies* 1(1): 168-87.

> This article examines the specificity of Central Americans in the United States in relation to issues of identity, history and politics. It also examines the contrasting relationship between Central Americans in the United States and Mexican immigrants, by historicizing the dynamics of power between these two Mesoamerican regions since colonial times, with the idea of advancing our understanding of inter-Latino relations in the United States. The article also seeks to address the invisibility of Central American refugees in the United States, arguing that the historical memory of rape and violence on the part of refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador has led Central Americans in the United States to keep themselves on the margins of social visibility and presentability. This strategic non-identity, to some extent, is historically related to Central Americans' subordination to Mexico, as well as to their illegal status within the US, contrasts the identity politics of reaffirmation that constituted the Chicano and Nuyorican movements, with the present day situation of 'Central American-Americans.'

Barvosa-Carter, Edwina. 1999. "Multiple Identity and Coalition Building: How Identity Differences Within us Enable Radical Alliances Among Us." *Contemporary Justice Review* 2(2): 111-26.

> Conventional wisdom holds that differences among us prevent the formation of radical alliances that are working for social justice. Implicit in this view is the assumption that each individual or group is the repository of only one set of perspectives, practices and beliefs. Attention to multiple identities in various fields, however, has shown this assumption to be false. Through a case study of Latino/a politics, I show that multiple identities can play a decisive role in the formation of diverse coalitions. I suggest that multiple identities can increase links between individuals and a range of politicized groups. It can underpin a synergistic process of identity and community (trans)formation that can become the basis for radical political alliances.

Bergman, Mindy E., Kristen M. Watrous-Rodriguez, and Katherine M. Chalkley. 2008. "Identity and Language: Contributions to and Consequences of Speaking Spanish in the Workplace." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(1): 40-68.

> Language is an important marker of identity. Guided by social identity theory and using a grounded theory approach, this study examined how languages are chosen and shape experiences in the workplace. Results suggest that language use is influenced by both external (norms, business needs) and internal (identity, language comfort) processes. Furthermore, speaking Spanish in the workplace has both positive (inclusion, camaraderie) and negative effects (exclusion, harassment, discrimination), with many more negative effects reported by our participants. Speaking Spanish appears to mark the speaker as an outsider. Together, our results indicate that language use is an important choice, personally and professionally, for employees and plays an important role in the way individuals are treated in the workplace.

Chong, Dennis, and Dukhong Kim. 2006. "The Experiences and Effects of Economic Status Among Racial and Ethnic Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 100(3): 335-51.

> We propose and test a theory of opportunities that explains the conditions in which economic status affects support for racial and ethnic group interests among African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. Using data from a 2001 Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University national survey, our analysis finds that, for all minority groups, the effect of economic status on support for group interests is mediated by the socioeconomic experiences of individuals. Intergroup differences therefore result from varying experiences and perceptions of discrimination among minority groups rather than from group-specific theoretical processes. Compared to Latinos and Asian Americans, African Americans are least responsive to changes in economic circumstances because they are on the whole more pessimistic about their life prospects and more likely to encounter discrimination. But we find in general that, among those minority individuals who perceive equal opportunity and experience less discrimination, higher economic status often leads to a reduced emphasis on race and ethnicity. These results demonstrate that the incorporation of a minority group into American society depends not only on the actions of group members but also on the fair treatment of that group by the majority population.

Cislo, Andrew M. 2008. "Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem: Contrasting Cuban and Nicaraguan Young Adults." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(1): 230-250.

> A growing literature suggests that stronger ethnic identity is associated with higher levels of self-esteem among Hispanic Americans. However, most studies employ a pan-ethnic "Hispanic" category or focus on one ethnic group, leaving open the question of how different Hispanic groups compare in this association. In the framework of social identity theory, the author provides ordinary least squares (OLS) estimates of the relationship between ethnic identity and later self-esteem in a sample of Nicaraguan and Cuban young adults in South Florida (N = 291). Results indicate that stronger ethnic identity is salutary for Cubans' self-esteem though detrimental for Nicaraguans'. Additionally, Nicaraguans report significantly weaker ethnic identification and lower self-esteem than do Cubans on average. Also, higher perceived ethnic discrimination is associated with stronger ethnic identity for Cubans.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2001. "Like one of the family: race, ethnicity, and the paradox of US national identity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(1): 3-28.

The tensions between individual rights promised to US citizens and group discrimination targeted against African Americans and similar racial/ethnic groups constitute one enduring paradox of US society. This essay examines this paradox by exploring how a gendered family rhetoric contributes to understandings of race and US national identity. Using African American women's experiences as a touchstone for analysis, the article suggests that African American women's treatment as second-class citizens reflects a belief that they are 'like one of the family', that is, legally part of the US nation-state, but simultaneously subordinated within it. To investigate these relationships, the article examines 1) how intersecting social hierarchies of race and ethnicity foster racialized understandings of US national identity; 2) how the gendered rhetoric of the American family ideal naturalizes and normalizes social hierarchies; and 3) how gendered family rhetoric fosters racialized constructions of US national identity as a large national family.

Deleon, Richard E., and Katherine C. Naff. 2004. "Identity Politics and Local Political Culture: Some Comparative Results from the Social Capital Benchmark Survey." *Urban Affairs Review* 39: 689-719.

> Using the Social Capital Benchmark Survey (SCBS) data sets, the authors conducted a multi-level comparative study of identity politics and political culture in the United States and 30 urban communities. Analysis showed that gender, race, class, and religion predict political ideology, electoral behavior, and political protest in the national sample. Replications in the community samples, however, revealed significant differences in the patterns of relationships among those variables. Some patterns deviated markedly from the national norm, particularly with respect to race as a predictor of political protest. Using an index of new political culture, the authors show that "place matters" as a contextual influence on the strength and direction of relationships between social identity (particularly race and religion) and political outcomes.

Fraga, Luis R., and Gary M. Segura. 2006. "Culture Clash? Contesting Notions of American Identity and the Effects of Latin American Immigration." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(2): 279-87.

> The publication of Samuel Huntington's *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* provides an opportunity to consider several distinct underlying assumptions about American national identity, and to evaluate the claim that this identity is threatened by growth among native-born and immigrant populations of Latin American origin, particularly – but not exclusively – Mexicans.

García Bedolla, Lisa. 2003. "The Identity Paradox: Latino Language, Politics and Selective Dissociation." *Latino Studies* 1(2): 264-83.

> Sociolinguists and social identity theorists have found that negative perceptions of groups and/or their language are the key to the understanding, expression and maintenance of their ethnic identities. This study attempts to connect these analyses to politics by using 100 in-depth interviews of Latinos to look at the way Latinos' relationship to Spanish language affects their ethnic identity and political cohesion. It finds that Spanish is an important part of Latino identity, but Latinos' relationship to the language is paradoxical – Spanish language skills are both a source of ethnic solidarity and of social stigma. As a result, native-born Latinos often try to dissociate themselves from the immigrant sectors of the community. This selective dissociation has an important negative effect on community cohesion, and could help explain Latino support for anti-immigrant policy proposals.

García-Bedolla, Lisa. 2000. "They and We: Identity, Gender, and Politics among Latino Youth in Los Angeles." *Social Sciences Quarterly* 81(1): 106-22.

> **Objective:** To explore how Latinos think about their identity, politics, voting, and community activity in order to gain some insight into the attitudes underlying Latino participation patterns. **Methods:** This is an analysis of fifty in-depth interviews with Latino high school seniors from neighboring schools. The schools differ in terms of their socioeconomic and generational makeup.

Results: (1) All the respondents have a strong ethnic identity but vary in their degree of identification with the immigrant sectors of their community; (2) most, especially the females, are not interested in formal politics; (3) the respondents felt voting was important but did not feel confident about their ability to participate effectively; (4) the more socio-economically disadvantaged felt more positive about the community's ability to use non-electoral activities to solve problems. **Conclusions:** In this sample, the respondents' feelings of efficacy in the electoral and non-electoral arenas vary more by class and generation than by gender, and operate in the opposite direction of what the SES or segmented assimilation models would lead us to expect. While the Latinas in this sample do not see themselves as part of formal politics, their high levels of community activity could provide the basis for their future mobilization into the electoral arena.

Kao, Grace, and Elizabeth Vaquera. 2006. "The Salience of Racial and Ethnic Identification in Friendship Choices Among Hispanic Adolescents." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28(1): 23-47.

Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, a nationally representative sample of youth in 7th to 12th grades, this study examines how racial and ethnic identification overlap among Hispanic adolescents (N = 6,399). The study examines the choices of friends to evaluate the proximity of race and ethnic identifiers among Hispanics. The result show evidence that ethnicity and race are distinct stratifiers as evidenced by their friendship choices, but that ethnicity is more significant than race in determining the choice of friends of Hispanics. Racial identification of Hispanics is closely associated with choosing a friend of the same race, whether or not that person is Hispanic. Finally, when Hispanics interact with non-Hispanics, racial identity becomes another determinant of friendships.

Lee, Sharon, and Barry Edmondston. 2006. "Hispanic Intermarriage, Identification, and U.S. Latino Population Change." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1263-79.

Objective: This article examines the neglected role of Hispanic intermarriage and identification on Hispanic population change and Hispanic ethnicity. **Methods:** A trend analysis of Census data produced rates of Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics. These rates are applied to a projection model of Hispanic population change to 2025. **Results:** Hispanic intermarriage has been fairly stable and high, at about 14 percent. Almost two-thirds of children of intermarried Hispanics are identified as Hispanic. The Hispanic population in 2025 is larger by almost 1 million when Hispanic intermarriage and identification rates are included in population projections. **Conclusions:** Failure to consider Hispanic intermarriage and identification may lead to erroneous conclusions about components of Hispanic population growth. Intermarriage and the propensity of "part-Hispanics" to identify as Hispanic will be significant contributors to future Hispanic population growth, with implications for the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and ethnic-based public policies.

Lichter, Daniel T., Brian J. Brown, Qian, Zhenchao, and Julie H Carmalt. "Marital Assimilation Among Hispanics: Evidence of Declining Cultural and Economic Incorporation?" *Social Science Quarterly* 88(3): 745-765.

> **Objective:** We document intermarriage patterns between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites over the 1990 to 2000 period in 155 U.S. metropolitan areas and evaluate the effects of spatial, cultural, and economic assimilation on inter-decade changes in intermarriage. We hypothesize that changes in Hispanic-white intermarriage during the 1990s reflect changing spatial, cultural, and economic assimilation among U.S. Hispanics. **Methods:** We use data from the 1990 and 2000 Census Public Use Microdata Samples. **Results:** Analyses show that intermarriage between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites declined during the 1990s, a result fueled in part by burgeoning immigration of Hispanics, especially Mexicans. The 1990s also ushered in a period of increasing Hispanic segregation from non-Hispanic whites, growing language barriers, and accelerated educational inequality, which also dampened Hispanic-white intermarriage rates. **Conclusions:** Our results imply that the Hispanic population is at a transition point, if intermarriage rates are an indication, and possibly a new period of retrenchment in the assimilation process.

Oboler, Suzanne. 1992. "The Politics of Labeling: Latino/a Cultural Identities of Self and Others." *Latin American Perspectives* 19(4): 18-36.

> The author focuses on some of the internalized other within and against which the Latino/a self is asserted in the United States to suggest (1) that class, race, backgrounds and values shape the meaning and social value individuals attribute to the terms they adopt to defined both self and other and (2) that, at least in the present conjuncture, both self and other are fundamental to the formation of the ethos of the Latino/a ethnic group in the United States. The author explores the self/other dichotomy through an analysis of interview with middle- and working class Latinos currently living and working in New York City.

Ropp, Steven Masami. 2000. "Secondary Migration and the Politics of Identity for Asian Latinos in Los Angeles." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 3(2): 219-29.

> This study is primarily descriptive and exploratory in nature. What I hope to address is the process whereby categorical distinctions emerge and are ordered as a process of self-making and construction by others in the social space of Los Angeles. In this case, my goal is two-fold. First, I want to identify some general patterns in the trajectory and experience of Asians who secondarily migrate from Latin America to Los Angeles. Second, in looking at the experiences of growing up and/or living in Latin America for Asian-descent persons who secondarily migrate to Los Angeles, I am interested in what that complexity says about the categories of difference that characterize Los Angeles – language, nativity, culture, race, and gender. In other words, what difference does difference make? What can the direction and nature of the complexity of multiple migrations, cultural experiences, and identities say about the construction of prototypical and hegemonic representations of Asians, Latinos, and the city of Los Angeles? Although beyond the specifics of this research note, I am interested in the larger question, "What does the Asian Latino experience tell us about race and identity politics in the Americas?"

Sánchez, Rosaura, and Beatrice Pita. 2006. "Theses on the Latino Bloc: A Critical Perspective." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 31(2): 25-53.

> Increasing anxieties about the growing Latina/o population in the United States have fueled virulent xenophobia toward immigrants. This essay proposes the need to forge strategic political alliances by constructing this population as a bloc, a nexus of diverse groups that differ at the level of national origin, race, residential status, class, gender, and political views. Only in full awareness of our multiple contradictions and commonalities, presented in this essay as eleven theses, can we as Latina/os come together, construct our own fluid identities, and more effectively address the hostile political environment and polemics of the current moment.

Segura, Gary M. 2006. "Symposium Introduction: Immigration and National Identity." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(2): 277-78.

> On February 2, 2005, newly elected Florida Senator, and former Housing and Urban Development Secretary, Mel Martinez, a Cuban-American immigrant, "shattered a 216-year tradition of the U.S. Senate … when he used the ceremonial occasion of his first floor speech to speak three sentences in Spanish." This event represents the first time a language other than English was entered in the Congressional Record. He did so in support of Mexican-American Alberto Gonzales' nomination to the post of Attorney General. Martinez was rhetorically addressing his remarks to immigrants, whom he described as having come to America to seek a better life. He described Gonzales as "uno de nosotros," or "one of us."

Umaña-Taylor, Adriana J., Marcelo Diversi, and Mark A. Fine. 2002. "Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem of Latino Adolescents: Distinctions Among the Latino Populations." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 17(3): 303-27.

> This article reviews 21 empirical studies in which the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity among Latino adolescents was examined. This analysis indicates that for some conceptualizations of ethnic identity there has been a positive relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem, whereas with other conceptualizations the relationships between ethnic identity and self-esteem have been inconsistent. The methodological limitations of the existing work are also examined. Despite the differences in conceptualization and the methodological limitations, the existing research suggests a positive relationship between degree of ethnic identification and self-esteem for Latinos who live in areas where their Latino group composes the majority of the Latino population.

Weisskirch, Robert S. 2005. "The Relationship of Language Brokering to Ethnic Identity for Latino Early Adolescents." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 27(3): 286-299.

> Children of immigrant parents often translate written and face-to-face communication for parents and other adults, also known as language brokering. Fifty-five sixth-grade, Latino adolescents report their experiences and feelings toward language brokering, their level of acculturation, and their ethnic identity in a questionnaire. Generally, the participants view language brokering

positively. Those who are less acculturated are translating more frequently than those who are more acculturated. Feelings toward language brokering also positively influence level of ethnic identity. This study demonstrates that language brokering may result in stronger feelings toward the ethnic group and greater ethnic identity.

Pan-Ethnic Identity - Articles

De Genova, Nicholas. 2005. "Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America." *Latino Studies* 3(1): 153-55.

> This article explores the predicaments that Peruvians in the United States face when adapting their national identity to a North American multicultural context and engaging in contact with other Latino groups. It discusses how migrants construct notions of Peruvianness and examines the conflicts that such an identity gives rise to within the migrant communities in Miami, Los Angeles, and Paterson, NJ. It concludes that although the idea of Peruvianness allows migrants to distinguish themselves from other Latin Americans, it also brings to the fore more universal dimensions of their national and cultural heritage that prompt them to engage in new alliances and adopt a pan-Latino identity.

Eschbach, Karl, and Christina Gomez. 1998. "Choosing Hispanic Identity: Ethnic Identity Switching among Respondents to High School and Beyond." *Social Science Quarterly* 79(1): 74-90.

> **Objective:** Assimilation and enclosure models of ethnicity developed for European-American populations predict that ethnic identity is maintained in contexts of structural and cultural isolation, but becomes fluid and optional outside of those contexts. The research tests the applicability of these models to the Hispanic-origin population. **Methods:** We analyze data for respondents who self-identify with a Hispanic origin in response to the first survey administered to the High School and Beyond (HS&B) panel. We estimate a logistic regression model to identify correlated of reporting non-Hispanic identity in response to the second-wave survey, administered two years later. **Results:** English mono-lingualism and attendance at a school with few Hispanic students are strongly associated with inconsistent reporting of Hispanic identity. Increasing socio-economic status has a weaker effect. Inconsistent Hispanic identification is less common in urban areas and in census divisions with large Hispanic populations. **Conclusions:** Assimilation and enclosure models do apply to the sampled population. Hispanic identity becomes inconsistent for Hispanic-origin teenagers who do not speak Spanish. Growth of Hispanic-origin populations may counteract this effect in the future.

Jones-Correa, Michael, and David L. Leal. 1996. "Becoming 'Hispanic': Secondary Pan-ethnic Identification Among Latin American-Origin Populations in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 214-254.

> Contemporary debates on Latino panethnicity assert that this identity is either cultural or instrumental in nature. The article looks at respondents' use of primary and secondary ethnic

identification to answer two questions: First, how substantial is pan-ethnic identification among Hispanics? Second, what is the nature of Latino panethnicity? Using data from the Latino National Political Survey, that authors find that Hispanic ethnicity is neither simply instrumental nor cultural. Instead, Latino panethnicity is a complex phenomenon, differing not only by a range of demographic characteristics but also among those using panethnicity as a primary or secondary identification. These findings suggest that one needs to think about panethnicity as part of a constellation of individuals' multiple identifications and those individuals may manage these identities in very different ways.

Kao, Grace, and Kara Joyner. 2006. "Do Hispanic and Asian Adolescents Practice Pan-ethnicity in Friendship Choices?" *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 972-92.

Objectives: Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), we investigate whether Asian and Latino youth value racial boundaries more than ethnic boundaries. We evaluate the relative preferences of same-ethnic, same-race (but different-ethnic), and different-race friends. **Methods:** We use multilevel multinomial logistic regression models to examine the odds of choosing same-ethnic, different-ethnic (but same-race), and different-race friends net of the opportunity to interact. **Results:** We find strong effects of school racial and ethnic composition, immigrant status, and parental education on the likelihood of crossing boundaries in the selection of friends. In addition, we develop a new scale of pan-ethnicity and find substantial ethnic group variation in pan-ethnic sentiment. **Conclusion:** We find an overwhelming preference for same-ethnic peers over same-race (different-ethnic) and different-race peers.

Masuoka, Natalie. 2006. "Together They Become One: Examining the Predictors of Group Consciousness Among Asian Americans and Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 993-1011.

Objective: This article examines pan-ethnic consciousness as it applies to the two fastest-growing minority groups in the United States: Asian Americans and Latinos. Given the challenges of diversity and immigration faced by these two communities, I examine the individual-level factors that help strengthen their pan-ethnic group identity. **Methods:** Drawing from data provided by the 2000 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey and the 1999 National Survey on Latinos, I use ordered probit models to determine the predictors of pan-ethnic consciousness among both Asian Americans and Latinos. **Results:** The models confirm that for Asian Americans, high income, involvement in Asian-American politics, being a Democrat, and the role of racial discrimination encourage pan-ethnic consciousness. For Latinos, the important factors are higher levels of education, gender, being foreign born, involvement in Latino politics, and perceptions of discrimination. **Conclusions:** The findings here stress the importance of social contextual factors such as racial discrimination on the formation of pan-ethnic identity.

Oropesa, R. S., Nancy Landale, and Merideth Greif. 2008. "From Puerto Rican to Pan-Ethnic in New York City." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(7) 1315-1339.

> The increasing diversity of the US population has stimulated interest in racial identification, which is complex for phenotypically heterogeneous groups such as Puerto Ricans. We overcome several limitations of the empirical literature on racial identification among Puerto Ricans with a study that is grounded in the experience of Puerto Rican women in New York City. Our analysis focuses on two questions: How do Puerto Rican women in New York identify themselves racially? What are the sources of racial identification? The results indicate that most Puerto Rican women in New York conflate race and ethnicity by designating their race as either 'Puerto Rican' or 'Hispanic'. Moreover, the decision to 'become' pan-ethnic has complex roots. In particular, the effect of skin tone on pan-ethnic identification is conditioned by socioeconomic and neighborhood characteristics.

Portes, Alejandro, and Dag MacLeod. 1996. "What Shall I Call Myself? Hispanic Identity Formation in the Second Generation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19(3): 523-47.

> This article explores the ethnic self-identification of second-generation children whose immigrant parent came to the United States from Latin America. The focus of the analysis is the adoption of the pan-ethnic label, 'Hispanic', in contrast to national designators and non-hyphenated American identities. Using data from a recent large survey of children of immigrants in south Florida and southern California, the analysis explores the determinants of ethnic self-identities and the potential consequences of the option of one of these symbolic labels on children's self-esteem, educational expectations and perceptions of discrimination. Contrary to the commonly-held assumption that the label 'Hispanic' denotes greater assimilation into the mainstream of US society, our findings indicate that children who adopt the Hispanic label are the least well assimilated: they report poorer English skills, lower self-esteem and higher rates of poverty than their counterparts who identify themselves as Americans or as hyphenated Americans. Theoretical and policy implications of findings as they bear on prospects for successful adaptation of second-generation youth are discussed.

Rodriguez, Jaclyn, and Patricia Gurin. 1990. "The Relationship of Intergroup Contact to Social Identity and Political Consciousness." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 12(3): 235-55.

> The impact of three forms of intergroup contact (Mexican descent, other minority, and Anglo) on the social identities and political attitudes of a national sample of native-born persons of Mexican descent was examined. Cast within Tajfel's Social Identity theory, the various social contexts were expected to predict three distinct types of ethnic identity: Cultural Ethnicity (In-group contact), Politicized Ethnicity (In-group and Minority Out-group contact), and Assimilationist Ethnicity (Anglo contact). Contrasting political orientations were also predicted for the types of contact, with group-conscious attitudes associated with In-group and Minority Out-group contacts and conservative political attitudes with Anglo contact. Support is provided for the expected relationships between In-group and Minority Out-group interactions and identity and political attitudes. Anglo contact was related to conservative political attitudes.

Russel, Jennifer M. 1998. "Constructing Latinoness: Ruminations on Reading Los Confundidos." *Chicano Latino Law Review* 19(Spring): 177-85.

> In this article the author analyzes Sandra-Glasser's article "Los Confundidos: De-Conflating Latinos/as Race and Ethnicity." His argument is that the black/white paradigm is a predominant organizing – constitutive- theme of Euro-American modernity. The black/white paradigm is inconceivable and incomprehensible without understanding how "European" or "white" identity as created by encounters with others deemed "savages." According to the author, persistent reference to, and framing of "race" matters in terms of a black/white paradigm is a contemporary, polite euphemistic way of talking about "savages" and "civilization." Operationally, a black/white paradigm configures all racialized groups, including Latinos, into a web of social relationships with each group pitted against the other and vying for the honorific designation – "civilized."

Schmidt, Ronald, Jr., Edwina Barvosa-Carter, and Rodolfo D. Torres. 2000. "Latina/o Identities: Social Diversity and U.S. Politics." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(3): 563-67.

> This article is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers challenge the longstanding practices abetting the construction of a monolithic and singular identity for U.S. "Latina/os." Their aim is to nurture a better understanding of the social forces that shape both shared and divergent identities within U.S. Latina/o communities and the implications of these identity-construction processes for U.S. political life. They provide a theoretically-based account of how social group identities are implicated in politics. In addition, they offer brief accounts of the primary historical "fault lines" underlying the diversity and complexity of U.S. Latina/o populations. Furthermore, they discuss social forces that tend to unify those populations. Finally, they consider how diverse Latina/o identities intersect with U.S. politics.

National Origin Based Identity - Articles

Alba, Richard. 2006. "Mexican Americans and the American Dream." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(2): 289-96.

> Samuel Huntington's analysis of the "Hispanic challenge" – his claim that Mexicans are on their way to forming a separate nation within the U.S. – rests on a series of misconceptions that are not his alone. At the heart of his difficulties is a widely shared form of reasoning about racial and ethnic populations that has become increasingly problematic in the contemporary era of mass immigration: it anticipates a single, predominant outcome for group members, such as assimilation or racialized exclusion; instead, it is the diversity within groups of patterns of incorporation into American society that needs recognition today. This is all the more true of Mexican Americans because of the long history across which their immigration stretches and their presence in the Southwest and California before the arrival of European Americans.

Beltran, Christina. 2004. "Patrolling Borders: Hybrids, Hierarchies and the Challenge of Mestizaje." *Political Research Quarterly* 57: 595-607.

> "Hybridity" has become a popular concept among scholars of critical race theory and identity, particularly those studying Chicano identity. Some scholars claim that hybridity – premised on multiplicity and fluidity represents a new approach to subjectivity, challenging the idea of a stable and unified subject. In "Patrolling Borders," I argue that scholars are mistaken in their belief that "hybrid" or "bordered" are inherently transgressive or anti-essentialist. By constructing a typology of Chicano hybridity (i.e. *mestizaje*) I show how Chicano nationalists produced a politicized subjectivity during the Chicano Movement that emerged as the basis for recent notions of hybridity put forward by writers like Gloria Anzaldúa. By tracing the historical construction of the *mestizaje*, I show how hybridity continues to be a discursive practice capable of comfortably co-existing with dreams of perfect knowledge, order, and wholeness.

Beserra, Bernadete. 2005. "From Brazilians to Latinos? Racialization and Latinidad in the Making of Brazilian Carnival in Los Angeles." *Latino Studies* 3(1): 53-75.

> This article discusses how Brazilians negotiate their Brazilianness and Latinidad in their process of integrating into US society. Drawing from my two-year-long field research among Brazilian immigrants, but focusing mainly on the dynamics of the 1998 and 1999 Hollywood Palladium Carnival balls, I examine some of the problems at stake in Brazilians' negotiation of identity and space in Los Angeles. I argue that in the racialized and racializing context of US society, all Brazilians have to go through a profound questioning of their racial identities because of their transformation into Latinos. Hence it is not enough for Brazilians to insist on their national identities as Brazilians. For this society racializes arriving Latin American immigrants such that what you look like will impact on both the integration of individual Brazilians into US society and Brazilians' own definitions of Brazilianness.

Duany, Jorge. 2003. "Nation, Migration, Identity: The Case of Puerto Ricans." *Latino Studies* 1(3): 424-44.

> This article explores the impact of transnational migration on the cultural identities of Puerto Ricans on the Island and in the US mainland. The author argues that, although Puerto Ricans are US citizens, they cross significant geographic, cultural, and linguistic borders when they migrate between the Island and the mainland, and this displacement helps to reconfigure their national identities. More specifically, the author proposes that the emergence of cultural nationalism as a dominant discourse in Puerto Rico is partly the result of a growing diaspora since the 1940s. The author's thesis is that cultural nationalism is better attuned than political nationalism to the widespread geographic dispersion and the continuing colonial status of Puerto Rico. This historical trend helps to explain why most Puerto Ricans today do not desire political independence.

Eckstein, Susan. 2006. "Cuban Émigrés and the American Dream." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(2): 297-307.

> According to Samuel Huntington, Latin Americans are eroding our country's core Anglo-Protestant values. The values, says he, made America great, unified the country, and allowed immigrant upward mobility through assimilation and acculturation. Huntington expresses concern that immigrants from Latin America, now our main newcomers, along with their U.S.-born progeny, are creating another America, culturally and socially distinct. The reason for this, he claims, is that they settle in close proximity to one another; they retain use of their mother tongue, Spanish; and they remain, in the main, committed Catholics. These conditions purportedly are bad both for America and for the immigrants. They impede new immigrant ability to live the American Dream and, by implication, America's continued global economic preeminence.

Flores, Niemann,Yolanda, Andrea J. Romero, Jorge Arredondo, and Victor Rodriguez. 1999. "What Does It Mean to Be "Mexican"? Social Construction of an Ethnic Identity." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 21(1): 47-60.

> To better understand the impact of ethnic identity, it is important to examine people's social construction, or definition, of that identity. In this study, the social construction of ethnic identity of predominantly low-acculturated, first- and second-generation U.S. Mexicans and Mexican Americans was examined by asking focus group participants to talk about what it meant to them to be members of their ethnic groups. These open-ended responses then were coded along Phinney's aspects of ethnicity. Several interesting patterns emerged, some of which have not been emphasized in previous literature, such as conflict with African Americans and Chicanas/Chicanos. Discussion centers on the value of listening to people's social constructions of their ethnic identity to better understand their social realities.

Gao, Ge, Karen L. Schmidt, and William B. Gudykunst. 1994. "Strength of Ethnic Identity and Perceptions of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Among Mexican Americans." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 16(3): 332-41.

> The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between strength of ethnic identity and perceived group vitality. Mexican Americans in the Phoenix, Arizona, metropolitan area perceived English and Anglos as more vital than Spanish and Mexican Americans. Ethnic identity had a significant influence on perceived in-group vitality but not on perceived out-group vitality. Respondents who strongly identified their ethnic group perceived their group's vitality to be higher than did those who identified less strongly with their group. First language did not influence vitality perceptions.

Itzigsohn, Jose, and Carlos Dore-Cabral. 2000. "Competing Identities? Race, Ethnicity and Panethnicity Among Dominicans in the United States." *Sociological Forum* 15(2): 225-40.

> In this essay we explore the racial and ethnic self-identification of Dominican immigrants in the United States. This issue is central in understanding how immigrants experience the process

of incorporation into American society. We argue that as Dominican immigrants incorporate to American life, they adopt a Hispanic or Latino identity. This identity serves both as a form of racial identification within the American racial stratification system and as a form of assertive pan-ethnic identity. This identity, however, does not supersede national identification, which remains the anchoring identity.

Jensen, Leif, Jeffrey H. Cohen, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, Gordon F. De Jong, and Leila Rodriguez. 2006. "Ethnic Identities, Language, Economic Outcomes Among Dominicans in a New Destination." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1088-99.

Objective: This study examines how racial/ethnic self-identity interrelates with language ability, skin tone, and years in the United States and with indicators of socioeconomic attainment for Dominican immigrants in Reading, Pennsylvania, a new destination city that had a nearly 800 percent increase in the Dominican population between 1990–2000. **Methods:** In-depth ethnosurveys conducted with a sample of 65 Dominican-origin adults are the basis for the descriptive analysis. **Results:** Based on open-ended responses, nearly 43 percent of immigrants described themselves with a specific ethnic identifier (Dominican) and 41 percent use a more general pan-ethnic identifier (Hispanic or Latino). Pan-ethnic self-identity is interrelated with stronger language ability, lighter skin tone, and more years in the United States, and with better indicators of socioeconomic status. **Conclusion:** Race/ethnic identity is an important component of Dominican immigrant assimilation in this new destination context.

Kaplowitz, Craig Allan. 2003. "A Distinct Minority: LULAC, Mexican American Identity, and Presidential Policymaking, 1965-1972." *Journal of Policy History* 15(2): 192-222.

During the presidencies of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, Mexican American civil rights went from being an addendum to civil rights for African Americans to a stand-alone policy with a bureaucracy, federal programs, and an independent rationale. Ever since President Harry Truman accepted civil rights in the Democratic platform in 1948, federal policymakers and politicians tried to fit Mexican Americans, and other minority groups, into the civil rights mold they had carved out for blacks in the South. While subject to severe discrimination and disadvantage, Mexican Americans did not face the consistent statutory segregation and discrimination faced by blacks. Federal civil rights policy for Mexican Americans through the mid-1960s consisted of New Frontier and Great Society funding programs to which Mexican American organizations could apply for money to develop and carry out projects in their communities. By the end of Richard Nixon's first term, a federal bilingual education program was established, agencies and committees existed whose sole function was to coordinate Mexican American programs, and Mexican Americans were recognized by policymakers as a distinct minority group with unique needs that required particular federal remedies.

Landale, Nancy S., and R.S. Oropesa. 2002. "White, Black, or Puerto Rican? Racial self-identification among mainland and Island Puerto Ricans." *Social Forces* 81(1): 231-54.

Recent studies have examined the implications of exposure to U.S. race relations for the racial and ethnic identities of migrants to the U.S. Most investigations are based exclusively on U.S. data There are few, if any, comparisons of the identities of migrants and their offspring to those of non-immigrants in their country of origin. Using data from a survey of Puerto Rican mother in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, this study provides such comparison. Responses to an open-ended race question show that mainland and island Puerto Rican most often designate their "race" as Puerto Rican, but responses of women who do not self-identify as Puerto Rican diverge between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Island women primarily identify themselves as white, black, or trigueña, while mainland women identify themselves as Hispanic/Latina, Hispanic American, or American. Mainland-island differences cannot be explained by parental ethnicity, skin tone, demographic factors, and socioeconomic status. The findings suggest that mainland Puerto Ricans more strongly reject the conventional U.S. notion of race than do their island counterparts.

Macias, Thomas. 2003. "The Changing Structure of Structural Assimilation: White-Collar Mexican Ethnicity and the Significance of Ethnic Identity Professional Organizations." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(4): 946-57.

Objective: This article examines the experience of ethnicity among third-plus generation Mexican-American professionals at the workplace and through participation in ethnic identity professional organizations. **Methods:** A total of 25 face-to-face interviews were conducted in the San Jose, California metro area. Interviewees were initially recruited from two ethnic identity professional organizations. **Results:** The predicted confluence of acculturation with structural assimilation is supported by the responses of Mexican-American professionals who acknowledge the social pressure to conform to dominant culture expectations. However, changes in the structure of structural assimilation since 1965 related to the emergence of identity politics have meant integration into society's dominant institutions no longer requires the exchange of ethnic for professional identities. **Conclusions:** Ethnic identity professional organizations provide a key source of ethnic networking for Mexican-American professionals who typically find themselves in work settings with low levels of minority representation.

Marquez, Benjamin. 2001. "Choosing Issues, Choosing Ideas: Constructing Identities in Mexican-American Social Movement Organizations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(2): 218–35.

This essay offers a conceptual framework with which one can understand the process of identity formation in minority social movement organizations. It is argued that identities are configurations of ethnic symbols, group experiences and history arranged and reinterpreted for a specific political purpose. It is further argued that organizationally generated identities can be studied by examining the positions they take in support of or in opposition to existing social and economic structures. Finally, this article develops a theoretically informed model of identity formation in Mexican-American organizations that centers on their interpretation of three interlocking but distinct issues: racial discrimination, economic disadvantage and cultural hegemony.

Okagaki, Lynn, and Denise K. Moore. 2000. "Ethnic Identity Beliefs of Young Adults and Their Parents in Families of Mexican Descent." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 22(2): 139-62.

> Goodnow's (1992) two-step model of intergeneration agreement was applied to parental socialization of ethnic identity. Young adults of Mexican descent (M= 20.3 years, SD = 3.1) completed questionnaires on their ethnic beliefs, their perceptions of their parents' beliefs, and their relationships with their parents. Parents of the young adults answered questions about their own ethnic beliefs and their childrearing goals and practices. The relation between parents' beliefs and young adults' beliefs was mediated by young adults' perceptions of their parents' beliefs. The difference between young adults' beliefs and their mother's beliefs was a function of the accuracy of young adults' perceptions of their mother's beliefs and their desire to be like their mothers. The difference between young adults' beliefs and their father's beliefs was a function of the accuracy of young adults' perceptions of their father's beliefs.

Paerregaard, Karsten. 2005. "Inside the Hispanic Melting Pot: Negotiating National and Multicultural Identities among Peruvians in the United States." *Latino Studies* 3(1): 76-96.

> This article explores the predicaments that Peruvians in the United States face when adapting their national identity to a North American multicultural context and engaging in contact with other Latino groups. It discusses how migrants construct notions of Peruvianness and examines the conflicts that such an identity gives rise to within the migrant communities in Miami, Los Angeles, and Paterson, NJ. It concludes that although the idea of Peruvianness allows migrants to distinguish themselves from other Latin Americans, it also brings to the fore more universal dimensions of their national and cultural heritage that prompt them to engage in new alliances and adopt a pan-Latino identity.

Quintana, Stephen M., and Elizabeth M. Vera. 1999. "Mexican American Children's Ethnic Identity, Understanding of Ethnic Prejudice, and Parental Ethnic Socialization." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 21(4): 387- 404.

> Mexican American children in Grades 2 (n = 22) and 6 (n = 25) were interviewed about their understanding of ethnic prejudice and were administered two indices of ethnic identity (ethnic knowledge and ethnic behavior). Most of the children (n = 19) were third generation or later (no parent or grandparent born in Mexico), but 11 had at least one parent born in Mexico. Parents of the children were administered acculturation and ethnic socialization measures. Study results suggested that (a) parental ethnic socialization about ethnic discrimination was associated with children's development of ethnic knowledge, (b) low levels of parental acculturation to Anglo norms were associated with children performing ethnic behaviors, and (c) children's advanced understanding of ethnic prejudice was associated with high levels of ethnic knowledge and higher grade levels. These results support and extend Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, and Cota's multifaceted model of ethnic identity: One aspect of ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic knowledge) was predictive of children's understanding of ethnic prejudice, whereas another index (i.e., ethnic behavior) was not. Moreover, this study's results support Quintana and Vera's model of children's developmental understanding of ethnic prejudice. This study suggests that children's understanding of ethnic prejudice represents an important aspect of the development of Mexican American children.

Sabogal, Elena. 2005. "Viviendo en la Sombra: The Immigration of Peruvian Professionals to South Florida." *Latino Studies* 3(1): 113-31.

> The experiences of middle-class Peruvian professionals who have recently migrated to the United States challenge our notions of the migration experiences of Latin American professionals. Many arrive without legal status, language skills or employment sponsorship. Without these resources, they experience employment instability, downward mobility and greater emotional stress. This paper seeks to explain how these new immigrants reconcile downward mobility with their professional backgrounds and personal identities by exploring their resultant emotional struggles.

Umaña-Taylor, Adriana J., and Mark A. Fine. 2004. "Examining Ethnic Identity among Mexican-Origin Adolescents Living in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 26(1): 36–59.

> This study used structural equation modeling to test a model of ethnic identity development among 513 Mexican-origin adolescents living in the United States. The model examined the influence of ecological factors, familial ethnic socialization, and autonomy on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. Findings indicated that lower percentages of Mexican-origin individuals attending adolescents' schools and fewer members of adolescents' immediate family born in the United States were each associated with greater familial ethnic socialization; furthermore, familial ethnic socialization was positively related to ethnic identity achievement. These findings suggest that ecological factors indirectly influence ethnic identity achievement through their influence on familial ethnic socialization.

Zsembik, Barbara A., and Leonard Beeghley. 1996. "Determinants of Ethnic Group Solidarity Among Mexican Americans: A Research Note." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(1): 51–62.

> The authors report on the results of a study on the determinants of ethnic group solidarity among Mexican Americans. Their findings indicate that Mexican Americans who display low ethnic solidarity tend to have fewer ethnic group ties, more economic resources, weaker ethnic identity and weaker class identity. Need to conceptualize ethnic solidarity.

Racial Identity - Articles

Aguirre, Benigno E., and Eduardo Bonilla Silva. 2002. "Does Race Matter Among Cuban Immigrants? An Analysis of the Racial Characteristics of Recent Cuban Immigrants." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34(2): 311-24.

> Information on Cuban immigrants from the recent 'Measuring Cuban Opinion Project' survey is used to determine the extent to which race matters. We use multivariate binomial logistic regression models to determine if race can be predicted by key demographic and economic characteristics of the respondents, their use of mass media outlets in Cuba, their evaluation of and integration to the Cuban state and their participation in the dissidence in the island. The conclusion is

reached that race cannot be predicted because these immigrants are, in general terms, very similar. However, some racial differences in mode of immigration and likelihood of immigration were found.

Amaro, Hortensia, and Ruth E Zambrana. 2001. "Criollo, Mestizo, Mulato, LatiNegro, Indigena, White, or Black? The US Hispanic/Latino population and Multiple Responses in the 2000 Census." *American Journal of Public Health* 90(11): 1724-27.

> Current dialogues on changes in collecting race and ethnicity data have not considered the complexity of tabulating multiple race responses among Hispanics. Racial and ethnic identification – and its public reporting – among Hispanics/Latinos in the United States is embedded in dynamic social factors. Ignoring these factors leads to significant problems in interpreting data and understanding the relationship of race, ethnicity, and health among Hispanics/Latinos. In the flurry of activity to resolve challenges posed by multiple race responses, we must remember the larger issue that looms in the foreground – the lack of adequate estimates of mortality and health conditions affecting Hispanics/Latinos. The implications are deemed important because Hispanics/Latinos will become the largest minority group in the United States within the next decade.

Campbell, Mary E., and Christabel L. Rogalin. 2006. "Categorical Imperatives: The Interaction of Latino and Racial Identification." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1030-52.

> **Objective:** Most large data sets solicit "ethnic" identification and "racial" identification in separate questions. We test the relative salience of these two identifications by exploring whether individuals who chose both a Latino "ethnic" label and a "racial" label on separate survey questions still chose both of these labels when they were given a single combined question about their racial and ethnic origins. **Methods:** Using the May 1995 Race and Ethnicity Supplement to the Current Population Survey, we estimate a multinomial logit model of identification choices.1030-1052. **Results:** We find that most individuals who chose a Latino label and a racial label chose a Latino-only identification. Selection of multiple labels was more common for Latinos than non-Latinos, however. Language use, local ethnic context, national origin, and age were all significantly related to these identification choices. **Conclusion:** The format of "race" and "ethnicity" questions on surveys has significant implications for the identification patterns of Latinos.

Carter , Robert T., Christine J. Yeh, and Silvia L. Mazzula. 2008. "Cultural Values and Racial Identity Statuses Among Latino Students: An Exploratory Investigation." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(1): 5-23.

> The authors investigated the content and structure of cultural value orientations associated with how cultural groups view relationships, time, nature, and activity in a group of 107 Latino college and graduate students. The study employed the Visible Racial Ethnic/Identity Attitude Scale and Intercultural Values Inventory. A regression analysis revealed racial identity status attitudes predict value orientation preferences of human nature as evil, lineal and collateral social relationships, and a belief in harmony with nature. Five repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance

revealed a mixed and good view of human nature, a sense of harmony with nature and a future preference. More complex preferences were found with respect to the activity and social relations orientations, reflecting a blending of Eurocentric and Latino cultural values.

Golash-Boza, Tanya and Darity, William. 2008. "Latino racial choices: the effects of skin colour and discrimination on Latinos' and Latinas' racial self-identifications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(5): 899-934.

Are predictions that Hispanics will make up 25 per cent of the US population in 2050 reliable? The authors of this paper argue that these and other predictions are problematic insofar as they do not account for the volatile nature of Latino racial and ethnic identifications. In this light, the authors propose a theoretical framework that can be used to predict Latinos' and Latinas' racial choices. This framework is tested using two distinct datasets - the 1989 Latino National Political Survey and the 2002 National Survey of Latinos. The results from the analyses of both of these surveys lend credence to the authors' claims that Latinas' and Latinos' skin colour and experiences of discrimination affect whether people from Latin America and their descendants who live in the US will choose to identify racially as black, white or Latina/o.

McDonnell, Judith, and Cileine de Lourenco. 2009. "You're Brazilian, Right? What Kind of Brazilian Are You? The Racialization of Brazilian Immigrant Women." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(2): 239-256.

This article analyses the responses of Brazilian immigrant women who live and work in the greater Boston, Massachusetts, area of the United States to questions about their racial and ethnic identity. Based on thirty face-to-face in-depth interviews conducted between June 2004 and July 2005, we explore the many ways by which the women's identities are racialized and the variety of responses to the process of racialization. In particular, we focus on the degree to which the women's reported race, ethnicity and immigrant status exacerbate or protect women from the exclusionary aspects of the racialization process.

Morales, Pablo. 2001. "Latinos and the 'Other Race' Option: Transforming U.S. Concepts of Race." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 34(6): 40-44.

Nearly half of all Latinos responding to the 2000 U.S. Census identified neither themselves as "other race," i.e., neither black nor white. This has become a source of bemusement to the U.S. media. Lurking in the shadows of the news media's early coverage of the 2000 census numbers was a challenge to the U.S. system of racial classification. In accordance with a well-established pattern, 42% of Latinos identified themselves as "other race," and 97% of all respondents who declared themselves "other race" were Latinos – a significant trend not emphasized in the press. In addition, 6% of Latinos took advantage of the new "multiple race" option, compared with only 2% of the non-Hispanic population. In fact, of all the multi-race combinations made possible by the new option, the most common was "white and 'some other race,'" which census officials said was checked mainly by Hispanics." According to The Washington Post's analysis, this would all seem to indicate that many Hispanics were "apparently frustrated that they did not see a racial

category that included them." A more accurate interpretation came from the National Council of La Raza's Sonia Perez: "Those concepts of black and white are just not at all how [some Latino] people are used to defining themselves."

Newby, C. Alison, and Dowling, Julie A. 2007. "Black and Hispanic: the Racial Identification of Afro-Cuban Immigrants in the Southwest." *Sociological Perspectives* 50(3): 343-366.

> The article focuses on the immigrant experiences of Afro-Cubans throughout the U.S. While research has documented the successful adaptation of Cubans in Miami, Florida, this interview survey was conducted in Texas and New Mexico. The study looks at the manner in which racial and ethnic identities are developed in Afro-Cuban immigrants from both self-appraisal and external classification from others. The study describes a complex identification process in which Afro-Cubans attempt to maintain their identity as Cubans and blacks while being externally classified as either black or Hispanic.

Qian, Zhenchao. 2004. "Options: Racial/Ethnic Identification of Children of Intermarried Couples." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3): 746-66.

> **Objective:** Whites of various European ethnic backgrounds usually have weak ethnic attachment and have options to identify their ethnic identity (Waters, 1990). What about children born to interracially married couples? **Methods:** I use 1990 Census data – the last census in which only one race could be chosen – to examine how African American-white, Latino-white, Asian American-white, and American Indian-white couples identify their children's race/ethnicity. **Results:** Children of African American-white couples are least likely to be identified as white, while children of Asian American-white couples are most likely to be identified as white. Intermarried couples in which the minority spouse is male, native born, or has no white ancestry are more likely to identify their children as minorities than are those in which the minority spouse is female, foreign born, or has part white ancestry. In addition, neighborhood minority concentration increases the likelihood that biracial children are identified as minorities. **Conclusion:** This study shows that choices of racial and ethnic identification of multiracial children are not as optional as for whites of various European ethnic backgrounds. They are influenced by race/ethnicity of the minority parent, intermarried couples' characteristics, and neighborhood compositions.

Rodriguez, Clara E. 1992. "Race, Culture, and Latino 'Otherness' in the 1980 Census." *Social Science Quarterly* 73(4): 930-37.

> In the 1980 Census 40 percent of Hispanics identified themselves racially as "other." In 1990 this proportion increased. This note examines why a nonrandom sample of 58 Latinos responded they were "other" to a replica of the 1980 Census question race. The results counter the interpretation that those who say they are "other" are racially mixed or misunderstand the question. The results suggest many Latinos see race as a combination of race and culture.

Ruiz, Vicki L. 2004. "Morena/o, blanca/o y café con leche: Racial Constructions in Chicana/o Historiography." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 20(2): 343-60.

> This essay reviews some of the scholarship of the last twenty years that illuminates significant twentieth-century experiences and the multiple identities of Mexican-origin populations in the United States. The racial/gendered contours of Chicana/o history are explored through research that focuses on the Chicano movement, labor and civil rights organizations, identity and community, education, segregation, and sexuality and power. Throughout the history, complicating notions of mestizaje (morena/o), whiteness (blanca/o) and cultural coalescence (café con leche) influence and explain individual and institutional actions. Therefore, in this essay the situational nature of racial constructs in the historical (and the historians') moment are discerned by both a focused overview of critical works in the field and specific cases, including a preview of a case study on school desegregation in the Southwest.

Tafoya, Sonya. 2004. "Shades of Belonging: Latinos and Racial Identity." *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* December 6. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=35 (February 13, 2009).

> The findings of this study suggest that Hispanics see race as a measure of belonging, and whiteness as a measure of inclusion, or of perceived inclusion. The report reveals that Latinos' choice to identify as white, or not, does not exclusively reflect permanent markers such as skin color or hair texture but that race is also related to characteristics that can change, such as economic status and perceptions of civic enfranchisement. Whiteness is clearly associated with distance from the immigrant experience. Thus, the U.S.-born children of immigrants are more likely to declare themselves white than their foreign-born parents, and the share of whiteness is higher still among the grandchildren of immigrants. In addition, the acquisition of U.S. citizenship is associated with whiteness.

Torres-Saillant, Silvio. 2003. "Inventing the Race: Latinos and the Racial Pentagon." *Latino Studies* 1(1): 123-51.

> This essay suggests a link between the insufficient strides for full citizenship Latinos have made in American society and their reticence to define themselves in contradistinction to the dominant white majority. Tracing the centrality of race in historical constructions of Americans, the author contends that, because of the survival of white supremacist values in the discourses of cultural identity informing the US Hispanic population, Latino scholarly spokespersons display excessive zeal in the attempt to show that the racial experience of their 'community' defies the existing official categories used in this country to classify the ethno-racial segments of the population. He insists that attention should be paid to strengthening the pan-ethnic constitution of the 'community' and proposes a fusion of race and ethnicity as a way out of the current anxiety over names. Punctuated by an effort to address intra-Latino racism and injustices, such a stress can bring about the emergence of galvanizing discourses, voices, and structures capable of offering a vision of Latino empowerment that speaks persuasively to each subgroup.

Vaquero, Elizabeth, and Grace Kao. 2005. "Private and Public Displays of Affection Among Interracial and Intra-Racial Adolescent Couples." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(2): 484-508.

> **Objective:** This article examines variation in displays of affection between interracial and intra-racial adolescent couples. **Method:** Using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a nationally representative sample of adolescents in the United States, we estimate hierarchical linear models to compare characteristics of interracial and intra-racial relationships among white, African-American, Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American adolescents. In our comparisons we highlight three dimensions of relationship attributes: public display, private display, and intimate physical contact. **Results:** Our findings suggest that interracial couples are less likely than intra-racial couples to exhibit public and private displays of affection, but are not different from intra-racial couples in intimate displays of affection. **Conclusions:** Social barriers against interracial dating still exist such that even though interracial couples are similar to intra-racial couples in their levels of intimacy in private, they are less comfortable displaying their feelings in public.

Discrimination and Identity - Articles

Araújo Dawso, Beverly 2009. "Discrimination, Stress, and Acculturation Among Dominican Immigrant Women." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 31(1): 96-111.

> Researchers have well established the association between discriminatory experiences, life chances, and mental health outcomes among Latino/as, especially among Mexican Americans. However, few studies have focused on the impact of stress or the moderating effects of low acculturation levels among recent immigrants, such as Dominicans. Using the transactional stress model, the present community-based study examines the relationship between discrimination and stress, and whether this association varies by low acculturation levels in a sample of 246 Dominican women. Results indicate a positive relationship between major racist events (e.g., job-related discrimination), everyday discrimination (e.g., not receiving services in a store), and stress levels. Furthermore, low acculturation moderated the impact that discriminatory experiences had on the stress level of Dominican women. Implications for further research on discrimination and stress among Dominican immigrants are discussed.

Bohara, Alok K., and Alberto Davila. 1992. "A Reassessment of the Phenotypic Discrimination and Income Differences among Mexican Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 73(1): 114-19.

> This paper reexamines the issue of phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican American, originally studied by Telles and Murguía (1990). Using a different functional form and a different estimation technique, the authors fail to find support for the findings of such discrimination reported by Telles and Murguía.

Cardarelli, Roberto, Kathryn Marie Cardarelli, and Ana Luz Chiapa. 2007. "The Modifying Effects of Education and Income on Hispanics Reporting Perceived Discrimination." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 29(3): 401-407.

> Research has shown that experiences of discrimination negatively affect health. However, little is known about whether socioeconomic position modifies the reporting of perceived discrimination. This cross-sectional study of 69 participants investigated the modifying effects of education and income on the reporting of perceived discrimination among Hispanics and Whites. Hispanics, compared to non-Hispanic Whites, of higher education (more than high school) and income ($30,000 or more per year) status are more than 4 times more likely to report perceived discrimination (odds ratio [OR] = 4.09, 95% confidence interval [CI] = 1.31-12.72; OR = 4.43, 95% CI = 1.41-13.93, respectively). However, this difference was non-significant among those with lower education and income levels (OR = 1.71, 95% CI = 0.27-10.92; OR = 1.71, 95% CI = 0.20-15.02, respectively). These results may affect future study sample and effect sizes.

de Oliver, Miguel. 2004. "Marketing Latinos as Development Policy: San Antonio and the Reproduction of Under-privilege." *Latino Studies* 2(3): 395-421.

> The marketing of cultural identity has been increasingly forwarded as a strategy to improve the social and material circumstances of minority groups who have traditionally been excluded from full political and economic participation in society. But what this article will illuminate in San Antonio, Texas – the largest city in the United States with a municipal economy resting on this strategy – is the emergence of an urban multicultural landscape that is culturally inclusive but materially exclusive – thus producing a celebration of cultural diversity that maintains the existing disparities in material wealth. This process is but a mere fraction of the greater commodification of culture occurring globally. The contention that minority development can be achieved through the marketing of cultural identity is disproved.

Dixon, Jeffrey C., and Michael S. Rosenbaum. 2004. "Nice to Know You? Testing Contact, Cultural, and Group Threat Theories of Anti-Black and Anti-Hispanic Stereotypes." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(2): 257-80.

> **Objective:** Many racial/ethnic policies in the United States – from desegregation to affirmative action policies – presume that contact improves racial/ethnic relations. Most research, however, tests related theories in isolation from one another and focuses on black-white contact. This article tests the contact, cultural, and group threat theories to learn how contact in different interactive settings affects whites' stereotypes of blacks and Hispanics, now the largest minority group in the country. **Method:** We use multi-level modeling on 2000 General Social Survey data linked to Census 2000 metropolitan statistical area/county-level data. **Results:** Net of the mixed effects of regional culture and racial/ethnic composition, contact in certain interactive settings ameliorates anti-black and anti-Hispanic stereotypes. **Conclusions:** Cultural and group threat theories better explain anti-black stereotypes than anti-Hispanic stereotypes, but as contact theory suggests, stereotypes can be overcome with relatively superficial contact under the right conditions. Results provide qualified justification for the preservation of desegregation and affirmative action policies.

Edwards, Lisa, and Andrea Romero. 2008. "Coping with Discrimination among Mexican Descent Adolescents." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(1): 24-39.

> The current research is designed to explore the relationship among discrimination stress, coping strategies, and self-esteem among Mexican descent youth (N = 73, age 11-15 years). Results suggest that primary control engagement and disengagement coping strategies are positively associated with discrimination stress. Furthermore, self-esteem is predicted by an interaction of primary control engagement coping and discrimination stress, such that at higher levels of discrimination stress, youth who engaged in more primary control engagement coping reported higher self-esteem. The authors' findings indicate that Mexican descent youth are actively finding ways to cope with the common experience of negative stereotypes and prejudice, such that their self-esteem is protected from the stressful impact of discrimination and prejudice. Implications of these findings for Latino/a youth resilience are discussed.

Fernandez, Roberto M., and Isabel Fernandez-Mateo. 2006. "Networks, Race, and Hiring." *American Sociological Review* 71(1): 42-71.

> It is common for scholars interested in race and poverty to invoke a lack of access to job networks as one of the reasons that African Americans and Hispanics face difficulties in the labor market. Much research has found, however, that minorities do worse when they use personal networks in job finding. Research in this area has been hampered by the complicated and multi-step nature of the job-finding process and by the lack of appropriate comparison data for demonstrating the various ways in which minorities can be isolated from good job opportunities. We seek to specify what it means to say that minorities are cut off from job networks. Building on the literature on social networks in the labor market, we delineate the various mechanisms by which minorities can be isolated from good job opportunities. We examine how these mechanisms operate, using unique data on the chain of network contacts that funnel to an employer offering desirable jobs. We find that network factors operate at several stages of the recruitment process. We find scant evidence, however, that these network factors serve to cut off minorities from employment in this setting. We conclude with a discussion of the theoretical and methodological implications of the case for the study of networks, race, and hiring.

Flores, Elena, Jeanne M. Tschann, Juanita M. Dimas, Elizabeth A. Bachen, Lauri A. Pasch, and Cynthia L. de Groat. 2008. "Perceived Discrimination, Perceived Stress, and Mental and Physical Health Among Mexican-Origin Adults." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(1): 401-424.

> This study provided a test of the minority status stress model by examining whether perceived discrimination would directly affect health outcomes even when perceived stress was taken into account among 215 Mexican-origin adults. Perceived discrimination predicted depression and poorer general health, and marginally predicted health symptoms, when perceived stress was taken into account. Perceived stress predicted depression and poorer general health while controlling for the effects of perceived discrimination. The influence of perceived discrimination on general health was greater for men than women, and the effect of perceived stress on depression was greater for women than men. Results provide evidence that discrimination is a source of chronic stress above and beyond perceived stress, and the accumulation of these two sources of stress is

detrimental to mental and physical health. Findings suggest that mental health and health practitioners need to assess for the effects of discrimination as a stressor along with perceived stress.

Telles, Edward E., and Edward Murguia. 1990. "Phenotypic Discrimination and Income Differences among Mexican Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 71(4): 682-96.

This study examines the earnings of Mexican American males and demonstrates that Chicanos with a dark and native American phenotype receive significantly lower earnings than those of a lighter and more European phenotype. Most of the earning differences are unexplained by "personal endowments" known to be linked to income and are thus related to differences in labor market discrimination. However, Mexican American incomes in all phenotypic groups are far below those of non-Hispanic whites.

Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald, Zimmer, Catherine, Stainback, Kevin, Robinson, Corre, Taylor, Tiffany, and Tricia McTague. 2006. "Documenting Desegregation: Segregation in American Workplaces by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1966-2003." *American Sociological Review* 71(4): 565-88.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made employment discrimination and segregation on the basis of race, ethnicity, or sex illegal in the United States. Previous research based on analyses of aggregate national trends in occupational segregation suggests that sex and race/ethnic employment segregation has declined in the United States since the 1960s. We add to the existing knowledge base by documenting for the first time male-female, black-white, and Hispanic-white segregation trends using private sector workplace data. The general pattern is that segregation declined for all three categorical comparisons between 1966 and 1980, but after 1980 only sex segregation continued to decline markedly. We estimate regression-based decompositions in the time trends for workplace desegregation to determine whether the observed changes represent change in segregation behavior at the level of workplaces or merely changes in the sectoral and regional distribution of workplaces with stable industrial or local labor market practices. These decompositions suggest that, in addition to desegregation caused by changes in the composition of the population of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission monitored private sector firms, there has been real workplace-level desegregation since 1964.

Yaffe, Jerry. 1993. "Employment Discrimination of Hispanics in Local Government: The Failing of Equal Employment Policies." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 7: 27-47.

Employment discrimination of Hispanics in local government is the result of loopholes in the equal employment policies that keep out a majority of the Hispanics: 40% of the Los Angeles county population. Remedial measures that aim to offset this imbalance of employment rights include support and election of those Hispanic candidates to local governmental bodies who present effective solutions to remove this discrepancy and the development of a Hispanic legal offense fund and public employees associations to formulate legal and political programs. Differences in wages and lack of upward mobility of the Hispanic workforce can be eliminated through the collective efforts of all sections of the Hispanic society.

Chapter Five: Books Focused on Ethnic Studies

Central American Studies

Hamilton, Nora, and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla. 2001. *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> Driven by the pressures of poverty and civil strife at home, large numbers of Central Americans came to the Los Angeles area during the 1980s. Neither purely economic migrants, though they were in search of stable work, nor official refugees, although they carried the scars of war and persecution, Guatemalans and Salvadorans were even denied the aid given to refugees such as Cubans and Vietnamese. In addition, these immigrants sought refuge in a city undergoing massive economic and demographic shifts of its own. The result was – and is – a complex interaction that will help to re-conceptualize the migration experience. Based on twenty years of work with the Los Angeles Central American community and filled with facts, figures, and personal narratives, *Seeking Community in a Global City* presents this saga from many perspectives. The authors examine the forces in Central America that sent thousands of people streaming across international borders. They discuss economic, political, and demographic changes in the Los Angeles region and the difficulties the new immigrants faced in negotiating a new, urban environment. They look at family roles, networking, work strategies, and inter-ethnic relations. But they also consider policy issues and alliances, changing expectations, shifting priorities, and the reciprocal effect of the migrants and the city on each other.

Kohpahl, Gabriele. 1998. *Voices of Guatemalan Women in Los Angeles: Understanding Their Immigration*. New York: Routledge.

> This ethnography gives voice to the experiences of Guatemalan women immigrants in the inner-city areas of Los Angeles. As recent, mostly undocumented, immigrants and refugess, these women are rarely presented to the public ear. Kohpahl traces the social and familial power relationships that play a role in these women's decisions to emigrate as well as their experiences of political persecution in Guatemala. The testimonies of these women reveal that most Guatemalan women come to the United States as single heads of households, contesting the common notion that Latin American women frequently immigrate as dependents of men. Kohpahl also explores the experiences of these women in the United States and reveals the diversity of the Guatemalan community.

Baker-Cristales, Beth. 2004. *Salvadoran Migration to Southern California: Redefining El Hermano Lejano.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

> Beth Baker-Cristales describes the ways in which migrants create multiple – and sometimes contradictory – relations to the states in which they live, demonstrating how the state becomes a

central actor in the processes of globalization and transnationalism. Looking at the national state as both a form of governance and a powerful idea, she argues that the national state shapes the ways migrants conceive of themselves and the way they construct social identities. The web of transnational interactions is complex, she emphasizes, and the exchange of information, persons, capital, goods, and political power expands state boundaries and affects populations in two countries. Transnationalism stretches the notion of citizenship. Nearly two million Salvadorans live in the United States today, most arriving in the last two decades and half of them living in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The money they send "home" has come to replace traditional exports as the largest single source of foreign currency in El Salvador, and Salvadorans in the homeland look to the United States as a path to upward class mobility and increased wealth. Baker-Cristales offers a grounded history of Salvadoran migration and examines the institutions and practices that facilitate migration to the United States and help migrants to bridge the geographic distance between the two countries. She analyzes rich ethnographic data on national identity – collected during a decade of fieldwork with Salvadoran migrants in Los Angeles – relating it to conceptions of belonging and exclusion and to the role of the national state in globalization.

Cuban American Studies

García, Maria Christina. 1996. *Havana U.S.A.: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida 1959-1994.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

In the years since Fidel Castro came to power, the migration of close to one million Cubans to the United States continues to remain one of the most fascinating, unusual, and controversial movements in American history. María Cristina García – a Cuban refugee raised in Miami – has experienced firsthand many of the developments she describes, and has written the most comprehensive and revealing account of the post revolutionary Cuban migration to date. García deftly navigates the dichotomies and similarities between cultures and among generations. Her exploration of the complicated realm of Cuban American identity sets a new standard in social and cultural history.

Susan D. Greenbaum. 2002. *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

This ethnography follows Cuban exiles from Jose Marti's revolution to the Jim Crow South in Tampa, Florida, as they shape an Afro-Cuban-American identity over a span of five generations. Unlike most studies of the Cuban exodus to the United States, which focus on the white, middle-class, conservative exiles from Castro's Cuba, *More Than Black* is peopled with Afro-Cubans of more modest means and more liberal ideology. Fifteen years of collaboration between the author and members of Tampa's century-old Marti-Maceo Society, a mutual-aid and Cuban independence group, yield a work that combines the intimacy of ethnography with the reach of oral and archival history. Its weave of rich historical and ethnographic materials re-creates and examines the developing community of black immigrants in Ybor City and West Tampa, the

old cigar-making neighborhoods of the city. It is a story of unfolding consequences that begins when the black and white solidarity of emigrating Cubans comes up against Jim Crow racism and progresses through a painful renegotiation of allegiances and identities. Building on Marti's declaration that being Cuban was "more than white, more than black," this study views, from the vantage of a community unique in time and place, the joint effects of ethnicity and gender in shaping racial identities. Photographs of individuals, families, and events, both historical and contemporary, complement the highly readable text.

Masud-Piloto, Felix. 1995. *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-1995*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Cuban migration to the United States has altered the face of American politics and demographics. The only scholarly study available of this Cuban migration, this book analyzes its political dynamics and unique character. In this revised and expanded edition of *With Open Arms* (1988), Masud-Piloto extends the discussion with an examination of the Bush and Clinton administrations' responses to recent events in Cuba.

Torres, Maria de los Angeles. 2001. *In the Land of Mirrors: Cuban Exile Politics in the United States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

In the Land of Mirrors is a journey through the politics of Cuban exiles since the 1959 Cuban Revolution. It explores the development of Cuban exile politics and identity within a context of U.S. and Cuban realities, as well as within the broader inquiry of the changing nature of nation-states and its impact on the politics and identity of diaspora communities. Topics covered include: the origins of the post-revolution exile enclave of the 1960s; the evolution of the Cuban community over the 1960s; the pluralization of exile politics in the 1970s, particularly regarding the relationship with the island; the emergence of Cuban-American political action committees in the 1980s; post-Cold War developments; and the transition of Miami by the coming of age of a second generation of Cuban-Americans and the arrival of a new wave of exiles.

Dominican American Studies

Aparicio, Ana. 2006. *Dominican-Americans And the Politics of Empowerment*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Aparicio examines the ways first- and second-generation Dominican-Americans in the dynamic northern Manhattan neighborhood of Washington Heights have shaped a new Dominican presence in local New York City politics. Through community organizing, they have formed coalitions with people of different national and ethnic backgrounds and other people of color, tackled local concerns, and created new routes for empowerment. The character of Dominican-American politics has changed since the first large wave of Dominican immigrants arrived in New York in the 1960s. Aparicio shows how second-generation activists, raised and educated in public institutions in the city, have expanded their network to include fellow Dominicans – both in the

United States and abroad – as well as other ethnic and racial minorities, such as Puerto Ricans and African-Americans, who share common goals. Offering the perspectives of local organizers and members of Dominican-American organizations, Aparicio documents their thoughts on such issues as education, police brutality, civic participation, and politics. She also explores the ways in which they experience, reflect upon, and organize around issues of race and racialization processes, and how their experiences influence their political agendas and actions.

Grasmuck, Sherri, and Patricia Pessar. 1991. *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Popular notions about migration to the United States from Latin America and the Caribbean are too often distorted by memories of earlier European migrations and by a tendency to generalize from the more familiar cases of Mexico and Puerto Rico. *Between Two Islands* is an interdisciplinary study of Dominican migration, challenging many widespread, yet erroneous, views concerning the socio-economic background of new immigrants and the causes and consequences of their move to the United States. Eschewing mono-causal treatments of migration, the authors insist that migration is a multifaceted process involving economic, political, and socio-cultural factors. To this end, they introduce an innovative analytical framework which includes such determinants as the international division of labor; state policy in the sending and receiving societies; class relations; transnational migrant households; social networks; and gender and generational hierarchies. By adopting this multidimensional approach, Grasmuck and Pessar are able to account for many intriguing paradoxes of Dominican migration and development of the Dominican population in the U.S. For example, why is it that the peak in migration coincided with a boom in Dominican economic growth? Why did most of the immigrants settle in New York City at the precise moment the metropolitan economy was experiencing stagnation and severe unemployment? And why do most immigrants claim to have achieved social mobility and middle-class standing despite employment in menial blue-collar jobs? Until quite recently, studies of international migration have emphasized the male migrant, while neglecting the role of women and their experiences. Grasmuck and Pessar's attempt to remedy this uneven perspective results in a better overall understanding of Dominican migration. For instance, they find that with regard to wages and working conditions, it is a greater liability to be female than to be without legal status. They also show that gender influences attitudes toward settlement, return, and workplace struggle. Finally, the authors explore some of the paradoxes created by Dominican migration. The material success achieved by individual migrant households contrasts starkly with increased socio-economic inequality in the Dominican Republic and polarized class relations in the United States. This is an exciting and important work that will appeal to scholars and policy-makers interested in immigration, ethnic studies, and the continual reshaping of urban America.

Ricourt, Milagros. 2002. *Dominicans in New York City: Power From the Margins.* New York: Routledge.

This study explores the diverse struggles of incorporation pursued by immigrants from the Dominican Republic to New York City. This work chronicles the lives of Dominicans in New York City and their difficulties to incorporate themselves into American politics.

Torres-Saillant, Silvio, and Ramona Hernández, eds. 1998. *The Dominican Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

> This profile of Dominican Americans closes a critical gap in information about the accomplishments of one of the largest immigrant groups in the United States. Beginning with a look at the historical background and the roots of native Dominicans, this book then carries the reader through the age-old romance of U.S. and Dominican relations. With great detail and clarity, the authors explain why the Dominicans left their land and came to the United States. The book includes discussions of education, health issues, drugs and violence, the visual and performing arts, popular music, faith, food, gender, and race. Most important, this book assesses how Dominicans have adapted to America, and highlights their losses and gains. The work concludes with an evaluation of Dominicans' achievements since their arrival as a group three decades ago and shows how they envision their continued participation in American life. Biographical profiles of many notable Dominican Americans such as artists, sports greats, musicians, lawyers, novelists, actors, and activists, highlight the text.

Mexican American Studies

Anaya Valencia, Reynaldo, Sonia R. García, Henry Flores, and José Roberto Juárez, Jr. 2004. *Mexican Americans and the Law ¡El pueblo unido jamás será vencido!* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> The experience of Mexican Americans in the United States has been marked by oppression at the hands of the legal system – but it has also benefited from successful appeals to the same system. Mexican Americans and the Law illustrates how Mexican Americans have played crucial roles in mounting legal challenges regarding issues that directly affect their political, educational, and socioeconomic status. Each chapter highlights historical contexts, relevant laws, and policy concerns for a specific issue and features abridged versions of significant state and federal cases involving Mexican Americans. Beginning with *People v. Zammora* (1940), the trial that was a precursor to the Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles during World War II, the authors lead students through some of the most important and precedent-setting cases in American law. Educational equality: from segregation concerns in *Méndez v. Westminster* (1946) to unequal funding in *San Antonio Independent School District vs. Rodríguez* (1973). Gender issues: reproductive rights in *Madrigal v. Quilligan* (1981), workplace discrimination in *EEOC v. Hacienda Hotel* (1989), sexual violence in *Aguirre-Cervantes v. INS* (2001). Language rights: *Ýñiguez v. Arizonans for Official English* (1995), *García v. Gloor* (1980), *Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools* (1974). Immigration: search and seizure questions in *U.S. v. Brignoni-Ponce* (1975) and *U.S. v. Martínez-Fuerte* (1976); public benefits issues in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) and *League of United Latin American Citizens v. Wilson* (1997). Voting rights: redistricting in *White v. Regester* (1973) and *Bush v. Vera* (1996). Affirmative action: *Hopwood v. State of Texas* (1996) and *Coalition for Economic Equity v. Wilson* (1997). Criminal justice issues: equal protection in *Hernández v. Texas* (1954); jury service in *Hernández v. New York* (1991); self incrimination in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966); access to legal counsel in *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964. With coverage as timely as the 2003 Supreme Court decision on affirmative action, *Mexican Americans and the Law* offers invaluable insight into legal

issues that have impacted Mexican Americans, other Latinos, other racial minorities, and all Americans. Discussion questions, suggested readings, and Internet sources help students better comprehend the intricacies of law.

Garcia, Alma. 2002. *The Mexican Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Mexican Americans are the fastest growing immigrant population in the U.S. and will continue to be significant contributors to the diverse social fabric of the country. This book examines the Mexican American cultural traditions, families, demographics, political participation, and societal impact. Despite their economic, social, and political struggles in this country, Mexican Americans have always believed in the American Dream. Yet they have retained many of their own cultural traditions while adapting to life in the North, These persistent ties are thoughtfully examined in chapters on the contemporary relations between Mexico and the United States, including the recurrent border problems. Providing historical background and tracing the journey made by generations of Mexican immigrants, this book emphasizes the post-1965 period of immigration reforms. Material from oral histories, autobiographies, and historical studies allow the reader to see how Mexican immigrants struggle in their everyday lives to achieve the American Dream, both today and tomorrow.

González, Arturo. 2002. *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy Quest for Buenos Días*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

As workers and consumers, Mexican Americans are a viable – and valuable – part of the broad U.S. economy. Despite that many are hindered by low education (and consequently low wages) and limited opportunities, they have continuously struggled for, and continue to seek, better days and the opportunity to realize their share of the American dream. This book examines the problems that Mexican Americans have experienced in attaining economic parity with non-Hispanic whites. It examines four major topics of particular concern to the economic status of the Mexican American community: immigration, reviewing the Bracero Program, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, legislation from the 1990s, and the problems faced by immigrants today. The book focuses upon education, stressing the importance of economic incentives to invest in education. Wealth and poverty, evaluating opportunities and roadblocks as Mexican Americans aspire to middle-class standards of living. The labor market section covers such topics as employment, income, and discrimination. Arturo González has drawn on recent census data to present for the first time in one volume a detailed economic analysis of three generations of Mexican Americans. These statistics reveal a people who are steadily improving economically and provide evidence that stereotypes of Mexican Americans are outdated or erroneous. *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy* shows that economics is an important aspect of the Mexican American experience. The book helps broaden students' understanding of the community's ongoing struggle, putting the quest for *buenos días* in clearer perspective.

Gutiérrez, Elena. R. 2008. *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> While the stereotype of the persistently pregnant Mexican-origin woman is longstanding, in the past fifteen years her reproduction has been targeted as a major social problem for the United States. Due to fear-fueled news reports and public perceptions about the changing composition of the nation's racial and ethnic makeup – the so-called Latinization of America – the reproduction of Mexican immigrant women has become a central theme in contemporary U. S. politics since the early 1990s. In this exploration, Elena R. Gutiérrez considers these public stereotypes of Mexican American and Mexican immigrant women as "hyper-fertile baby machines" who "breed like rabbits." She draws on social constructionist perspectives to examine the historical and sociopolitical evolution of these racial ideologies, and the related beliefs that Mexican-origin families are unduly large and that Mexican American and Mexican immigrant women do not use birth control. Using the coercive sterilization of Mexican-origin women in Los Angeles as a case study, Gutiérrez opens a dialogue on the racial politics of reproduction, and how they have developed for women of Mexican origin in the United States. She illustrates how the ways we talk and think about reproduction are part of a system of racial domination that shapes social policy and affects individual women's lives.

Leininger Pycior, Julie. 1997. *LBJ and Mexican Americans: The Paradox of Power*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> As he worked to build his Great Society, Lyndon Johnson often harkened back to his teaching days in the segregated "Mexican" school at Cotulla, Texas. Recalling the poverty and prejudice that blighted his students' lives, Johnson declared, "It never occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country. But now I do have that chance – and I'll let you in on a secret – I mean to use it." This book explores the complex and sometimes contradictory relations between LBJ and Mexican Americans. Julie Pycior shows that Johnson's genuine desire to help Mexican Americans – and reap the political dividends – did not prevent him from allying himself with individuals and groups intent on thwarting Mexican Americans' organizing efforts. Not surprisingly, these actions elicited a wide range of response, from grateful loyalty to, in some cases, outright opposition. Mexican Americans' complicated relationship with LBJ influenced both their political development and his career with consequences that reverberated in society at large.

Magaña, Lisa. 2005. *Mexican Americans and the Politics of Diversity ¡Querer es poder!* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> With Mexican Americans now the nation's fastest growing minority, major political parties are targeting these voters like never before. During the 2004 presidential campaign, both the Republicans and Democrats ran commercials on Spanish-language television networks, and in states across the nation the Mexican-American vote can now mean the difference between winning or losing an election. This book examines the various ways politics plays out in the Mexican-origin community, from grassroots action and voter turnout to elected representation, public policy creation, and the influence of lobbying organizations. Lisa Magaña illustrates the essential roles that Mexican Americans play in the political process and shows how, in just the last decade, there

has been significant political mobilization around issues such as environmental racism, immigration, and affirmative action. *Mexican Americans and the Politics of Diversity* is directed to readers who are examining this aspect of political action for the first time. It introduces the demographic characteristics of Mexican Americans, reviewing demographic research regarding this population's participation in both traditional and nontraditional politics, and reviews the major historical events that led to the community's political participation and activism today. The text then examines Mexican American participation in electoral political outlets, including attitudes toward policy issues and political parties; considers the reasons for increasing political participation by Mexican American women; and explores the issues and public policies that are most important to Mexican Americans, such as education, community issues, housing, health care, and employment. Finally, it presents general recommendations and predictions regarding Mexican American political participation based on the demographic, cultural, and historical determinants of this population, looking at how political issues will affect this growing and dynamic population. Undoubtedly, Mexican Americans are a diverse political group whose interests cannot be easily pigeonholed, and, after reading this book, students will understand that their political participation and the community's public policy needs are often unique. *Mexican Americans and the Politics of Diversity* depicts an important political force that will continue to grow in the coming decades.

Navarro, Armando. 2005. *Mexicano Political Experience in Occupied Aztlán: Struggles and Change*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

This exciting new volume from Armando Navarro offers the most current and comprehensive political history of the Mexicano experience in the United States. He examines in-depth topics such as American political culture, electoral politics, demography, and organizational development. Viewing Mexicanos today as an occupied and colonized people, he calls for the formation of a new movement to reinvigorate the struggle for resistance and change among Mexicanos. Navarro envisions a new political and cultural landscape as the dominant Latino population "Re-Mexicanizes" the U.S. into a more multicultural and multiethnic society. This book will be a valuable resource for political and social activists and teaching tool for political theory, Latino politics, ethnic and minority politics, race relations in the United States, and social movements.

Ochoa, Gilda L. 2004. *Becoming Neighbors in a Mexican American Community: Power, Conflict, and Solidarity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

On the surface, Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants to the United States seem to share a common cultural identity but often make uneasy neighbors. Discrimination and assimilationist policies have influenced generations of Mexican Americans so that some now fear that the status they have gained by assimilating into American society will be jeopardized by Spanish-speaking newcomers. Other Mexican Americans, however, adopt a position of group solidarity and work to better the social conditions and educational opportunities of Mexican immigrants. Focusing on the Mexican-origin, working-class city of La Puente in Los Angeles County, California, this book examines Mexican Americans' everyday attitudes toward and interactions with Mexican immigrants – a topic that has so far received little serious study. Using in-depth interviews, participant observations, school board meeting minutes, and other historical documents, Gilda Ochoa investigates how Mexican Americans are negotiating their relationships with immigrants

at an interpersonal level in the places where they shop, worship, learn, and raise their families. This research into daily lives highlights the centrality of women in the process of negotiating and building communities and sheds new light on identity formation and group mobilization in the U.S. and on educational issues, especially bilingual education. It also complements previous studies on the impact of immigration on the wages and employment opportunities of Mexican Americans.

Skerry, Peter. 1993. *Mexican Americans: the Ambivalent Minority.* New York: The Free Press.

What will be the impact of the burgeoning numbers of Mexican immigrants on American society? The answer, argues Peter Skerry, lies not so much with the social and economic progress of Mexican Americans as with the political institutions within which they define their interests – institutions radically changed from what greeted America's last great influx of newcomers. Comparing the divergent cases of San Antonio and Los Angeles, Skerry concludes that the critical question is not whether Mexican Americans will join the American mainstream, but how – as a traditional immigrant ethnic group or as an aggrieved minority.

Chicana Studies

Blea, Irene I. 1991. *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

In this study, Irene I. Blea describes the social situation of La Chicana, a minority female whose life is influenced by racism and sexism. Blea analyzes contemporary scholarship on race, class, and gender, scrutinizing the use of language and labels to examine how La Chicana is affected by these factors. The wide-ranging study explores the history of Chicanas and the meaning of the term "Chicana," and considers her socialization process, the consequences of deviating from gender roles, and the evolution of Hispanic women onto the national scene in politics, health, economics, education, religion, and criminal justice. To date, little attention has been paid to the political, social, and cultural achievements of La Chicana. The shared lives of Mexican-American women and men at home and inside and outside of the barrio are also investigated. This unique volume highlights the variables that effectively discriminate against women of color.

Córdova, Teresa, Norma Elia Cantú, Gilberto Cárdenas, Juan García, and Christine M. Sierra, eds. 1993. *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This landmark collection of essays from the 1984 National Association for Chicana Studies conference entitled *"Voces de la Mujer"* offers a cross-section of the interdisciplinary scholarship on Chicanas in U.S. society. Chicanas' roles in politics, history, bilingualism, the work force, literature, and higher education are examined in depth in the twenty essays. Introducing the third printing of this influential book in a new foreword by Teresa Córdova, which updates readers on the gains and struggles of Chicanas in the association since these essays were originally pub-

lished. Córdova puts the conference that gave root to these essays in historical perspective as an important turning point for Chicana academics on the road to establishing their rightful place on university campuses. Emerging from *Chicana Voices* is a multifaceted picture of Chicanas – the impact they have had on U.S. history, culture, higher education, and their own communities.

De la Torre, Adela. 2002. *Moving from the Margins: A Chicana Voice on Public Policy*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> Immigration reform. Bilingual education. Affirmative action. Such issues trigger knee-jerk reactions from many people, and in California those reactions are likely to fall along strict ethnic lines. A white majority has long called the shots in voter initiatives, but with Mexican Americans becoming the majority population in southern California, their views on these matters can no longer be ignored. In *Moving from the Margins,* an outspoken member of the Mexican American community explores issues that have molded politics over the past decade in a state where division seems more common than unity. Addressing immigration, education, health care, and economic and political concerns, Adela de la Torre provides a distinctly Chicana perspective that often differs from that of mainstream readers and voters. Drawn from the author's syndicated column in the Los Angeles Times along with writings from other publications, *Moving from the Margins* includes incisive and often provocative commentaries that provide insights into the roots of ethnic tensions in the Golden State. The book also includes readers' reactions to the articles, creating a dialogue of ideas while confronting fears of what many Americans view as an alien culture. Whether addressing entitlements granted to non-citizens, the future of public schools, or access to health care, de la Torre challenges readers to move beyond their own frame of reference and consider new points of view. The issues she faces have shaped today's California – and they also lie at the heart of urban public policy in America for the twenty-first century.

De la Torre, Adela, and Beatríz M. Pesquera, eds. 1993. *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> This is the first interdisciplinary collection of articles addressing the unique history of Chicana women. From a diverse range of perspectives, a new generation of Chicana scholars here chronicles the previously undocumented rich tapestry of Chicanas' lives over the last three centuries. Focusing on how women have grappled with political subordination and sexual exploitation, the contributors confront the complex intersection of class, race, ethnicity, and gender that defines the Chicana experience in America. The book analyzes the ways that oppressive power relations and resistance to domination have shaped Chicana history, exploring subjects as diverse as sexual violence against Amerindian women during the Spanish conquest of California to contemporary Chicanas' efforts to construct feminist cultural discourses. The volume ends with a provocative dialogue among the contributors about the challenges, frustrations, and obstacles that face Chicana scholars, and the voices heard here testify to the vibrant state of Chicano scholarship. Trenchant and wide-ranging, this collection is essential reading for understanding the dynamics of feminism and multiculturalism.

Gutiérrez, José Angel, Michelle Meléndez, and Sonia A. Noyola. 2006. *Chicanas in Charge: Texas Women in the Electoral Arena*. Lanham: 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. Chicanos 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.

Ruiz, Vicki L, ed. 2000. *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family*. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center.

> The fifteen essays collected here make up the revised edition of the best-selling volume 20 of Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies, a volume that has continued to be in strong demand in classrooms after almost a decade. With a revised introduction and four new essays, this book is at once a proven resource and a new guide toward an interdisciplinary understanding of the memory, voice, and lived experiences of Chicanas in the family and the workplace. By listening carefully to these voices, the leading Chicana scholars in this volume both engage a complex dynamics of power, public space, and social change and help redefine Chicana and Chicano studies as we enter the twenty-first century.

Saldívar-Hull, Sonia. 2000. *Feminism on the Border: Chicana Gender Politics and Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> In this bold contribution to contemporary feminist theory, Sonia Saldívar-Hull argues for a feminism that transcends national borders and ethnic identities. Grounding her work in an analysis of the novels and short stories of three Chicana writers – Gloria Anzaldúa, Sandra Cisneros, and Helena María Viramontes – Saldívar-Hull examines a range of Chicana feminist writing from several disciplines, which she collects under the term "feminism on the border." By comparing and defining literary and national borders, she presents the voices of these and other Chicana writers in order to show their connection to feminist literature and to women of color in the United States. This book provides one of the most comprehensive accounts of Chicana feminist writing available. Saldívar-Hull draws on contemporary literary and post-colonial theory, as well as her own autobiography, or *testimonio,* to help her define "feminism on the border." Successfully uniting theory with lived social experience, she delineates many of the internal processes that must be acknowledged in order to access larger transnational and geopolitical literary movements. This book thus joins a body of scholarship within feminist theory, working at the intersection of identity politics and political praxis. Saldívar-Hull's close readings of Chicana literary texts are informed by a comparative and cross-cultural perspective that enables her to forge links to a geopolitical feminist literary movement that unites ethnic identity to global solidarity.

Chicano Studies

Acuña, Rodolfo. 1998. *Sometimes There Is No Other Side: Chicanos and the Myth of Equality*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

> A culture war is raging in America, its battleground our colleges and universities. Rodolfo F. Acuña is a combatant in that war, and in his new book he offers a report from the front. *Sometimes There Is No Other Side* tells how the political mood on campuses is being controlled and scientific inquiry perverted, and how academe and the courts are using concepts like truth and objectivity to subjugate minorities.

> Acuña explores the link between the judicial system, higher education, and the American paradigm, and he examines the New Right's hold over these institutions. He argues that the academy and the courts base their moral authority on the myth that these institutions objectively interpret fact; but despite the fact that Euro-American scholars have usurped the power to define truth, what they claim as truth is really no more than what they agree on. Acuña defines the American paradigm as the core of beliefs shared by the dominant Euro-American class and manipulated by it to control others. As a result, even Chicana/o scholars are under pressure to accept the rhetoric that minorities are not victims in American society, and ethnic studies are denied their rightful place in higher education.

> Beginning with the infamous 1978 Bakke decision, Acuña discusses the emergence of the myth that the United States is a color-blind society. He supports his case with evidence from California's anti-affirmative action Proposition 209, the academic review process, and his own successful lawsuit against the University of California, Acuña v. The Regents of the University of California, et al. Acuña shows how present attitudes toward ethnic studies reflect resistance to change within academe, and raises the question whether people of color should continue to support an educational system that excludes the knowledge needed to address societal problems. In assessing the future of Chicana/o Studies and its interaction with the American paradigm, he makes a strong case not merely for change, but for truth.

Acuña, Rodolfo. 1996. *Anything But Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles*. New York: Verso.

> *Anything But Mexican* describes in depth the realities facing Chicanos in today's Los Angeles: their history, changing demographics, politics and politicians, economic issues and labor culture, institutions like the Church, gangs and gang violence, police abuse, community struggles, and above all the recent right-wing attacks on immigrants. Using vivid accounts from his years as an activist and frequent *L.A. Times* commentator, Acuña makes clear why he says that it it's good to be "anything but Mexican" in L.A. – despite the fact that the City of Angels has more Mexicans than any other place in the world except Mexico's own giant capital. Acuña is that rare author who combines intellectual integrity and deeply felt anger; who speaks with both scholarship and a grassroots voice. His three-year battle with the University of California over what many consider an act of political and racial repression against him and his work offers yet another example of why Acuña has become a national hero to many in the Chicano community.

De Anda, Roberto M., ed. 2004. *Chicanas and Chicanos in Contemporary Society*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

> This book deals with a broad range of social issues facing Mexican-origin people in the United States. The studies presented in this volume are brought together by two main themes: (1) social inequalities-cultural, educational, and economic-endured by the Chicano/Mexicano community in the United States and (2) the community's efforts to eradicate the source of those inequalities. The second edition of Chicanas and Chicanos in Contemporary Society takes into consideration the most recent demographic changes affecting the Chicano/Mexicano people. With one-third of persons of Mexican descent under the age of fifteen, many of the challenges center on the current well-being of children and their future prospects. Unlike any other book in the market, several chapters closely examine issues related to children and youth, with particular attention given to children's ethnic identity, schooling practices, and educational policies.

Diaz, David R. 2007. *Barrio Urbanism: Chicanos, Planning and American Cities*. New York: Routledge.

> This, the first book on Latinos in America from an urban planning/policy perspective, covers the last century, and includes a substantial historical overview the subject. The author traces the movement of Latinos (primarily Chicanos) into American cities from Mexico, and then describes the problems facing them in those cities. He then shows how the planning profession and developers consistently failed to meet their needs due to both poverty and racism. Attention is also paid to the most pressing concerns in Latino barrios during recent times, including environmental degradation and justice, land use policy, and others. The book closes with a consideration of the issues that will face Latinos as they become the nation's largest minority in the 21ˢᵗ century.

Garcia, Ignacio M. 2007. *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos Among Mexican Americans*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> During the 1960s and '70s, Mexican Americans began to agitate for social and political change. From their diverse activities and agendas there emerged a new political consciousness. Emphasizing race and class within the context of an oppressive society, this militant ethos would become the unifying theme for groups involved in a myriad of causes. Chicanismo, as it came to be known, marked a transformation in the way Mexican Americans thought about themselves, enabling them for the first time to see themselves as a community with a past and a present. In *Chicanismo*, the first intellectual history of the Chicano Movement and the militant ethos that emerged from it, Ignacio Garcia traces the development of the philosophical strains that guided the movement. First, Mexican Americans came to believe that the liberal agenda that had promised education and equality had failed them, leading them toward separatism. Second, they saw a need to reinterpret the past as it related to their own history, leading them to discover their legacy of struggle. Third, Mexican American activists, intellectuals, and artists affirmed a renewed pride in their ethnicity and class status. Finally, this new philosophy – Chicanismo – was politicized through the struggles of the Chicano organizations that promoted it as they faced resistance or external attacks. Although the idea of Chicanismo would eventually unravel, its ideological

strains remain important even today. Combining research and personal knowledge of people, events, organizations, and political/cultural rhetoric, along with a synthesis of scholarship from a variety of fields, Chicanismo provides a unique, multidimensional view of the Chicano Movement.

Haney López, Ian F. 2004. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

In 1968, ten thousand students marched in protest over the terrible conditions prevalent in the high schools of East Los Angeles, the largest Mexican community in the United States. Chanting "Chicano Power," the young insurgents not only demanded change but heralded a new racial politics. Frustrated with the previous generation's efforts to win equal treatment by portraying themselves as racially white, the Chicano protesters demanded justice as proud members of a brown race. The legacy of this fundamental shift continues to this day. Ian Haney López tells the story of the Chicano movement in Los Angeles by following two criminal trials, including one arising from the student walkouts. He demonstrates how racial prejudice led to police brutality and judicial discrimination that in turn spurred Chicano militancy. He also shows that legal violence helped to convince Chicano activists that they were nonwhite, thereby encouraging their use of racial ideas to redefine their aspirations, culture, and selves. Haney López describes how race functions as "common sense," a set of ideas that we take for granted in our daily lives. This racial common sense, Haney López argues, largely explains why racism and racial affiliation persist today.

Hoover Renteria, Tamis. 1998. *Chicano Professionals: Culture, Conflict, and Identity.* New York: Routledge.

As beneficiaries of aggressive affirmative action policies, Chicano doctors and lawyers educated in universities during the 1960s and early 1970s now dominate Mexican American professional politics and culture in Los Angeles. Chicano professionals have not shed their ethnicity or lost interest in working class Mexican Americans. Rather, they have maintained a sense of ethnic uniqueness and political entitlement through a Chicano professional culture. Rooted in the Chicano Movement, this culture is sustained through networks based on "family;" professional organization rituals with distinctive Chicano elements; arguments over ethnic labeling; and a variety of ethnic activities in daily life. Chicano professional culture is nurtured by a responsibility for the blue collar Mexican American population; an awareness of continuing discrimination against all Mexican Americans; and the ethnic culture of working class Mexican Americans who have retained their traditions even as they have moved into the Anglo-dominated American upper class. This book is a significant contribution to the sparse literature depicting the experiences of the Latinos who attended prestigious professional schools in unprecedented numbers during the height of affirmative action policies. The book also poses a significant challenge to the commonly-held assumption that class mobility inevitably leads to assimilation. Index. Bibliography.

Maciel, David R., and Isidro D. Ortiz. 1996. *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads: Social, Economic, and Political Change.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> Dubbed the "decade of the Hispanic," the 1980s was instead a period of retrenchment for Chicanas/os as they continued to confront many of the problems and issues of earlier years in the face of a more conservative political environment. Following a substantial increase in activism in the early 1990s, Chicana/o scholars are now prepared to take stock of the Chicano Movement's accomplishments and shortcomings – and the challenges it yet faces – on the eve of a new millennium. *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads* is a state-of-the-art assessment of the most significant developments in the conditions, fortunes, and experiences of Chicanas/os since the late seventies, with an emphasis on the years after 1980, which have thus far received little scholarly attention. Ten essays by leading Chicana and Chicano scholars on economic, social, educational, and political trends in Chicana/o life examine such issues as the rapid population growth of Chicanas/os and other Latinos; the ascendancy of Reaganomics and the turn to the right of American politics; the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment; the launching of new initiatives by the Mexican government toward the Chicano community; and the emergence of a new generation of political activists. The authors have been drawn from a broad array of disciplines, ranging from economics to women's studies, in order to offer a multidisciplinary perspective on Chicana/o developments in the contemporary era. The inclusion of authors from different regions of the United States and from divergent backgrounds enhances the broad perspective of the volume. The editors offer this anthology with the intent of providing timely and useful insights and stimulating reflection and scholarship on a diverse and complex population. A testament to three decades of intense social struggle, Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads is ample evidence that the legacy of the Movimiento is alive and well.

Montejano, David, ed. 1999. *Chicano Politics and Society in the Late Twentieth Century.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

> The various protest movements that together constituted the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s urged a "politics of inclusion" to bring Mexican Americans into the mainstream of United States political and social life. This volume of ten specially commissioned essays assesses the post-movement years, asking "what went wrong? what went right? and where are we now?" Collectively, the essays offer a wide-ranging portrayal of the complex situation of Mexican Americans as the twenty-first century begins. The essays are grouped into community, institutional, and general studies, with an introduction by editor Montejano. Geographically, they point to the importance of "Hispanic" politics in the Southwest, as well as in Chicago wards and in the U.S. Congress, with ramifications in Mexico and Central America. Thematically, they discuss "non-traditional" politics stemming from gender identity, environmental issues, theatre production, labor organizing, university policymaking, along with the more traditional politics revolving around state and city government, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and various advocacy organizations.

Muñoz, Jr., Carlos. 2007. *Youth, Identity,Power: The Chicano Movements, Revised Edition*. New York: Verso.

> *Youth, Identity, Power* is a unique exploration of the origins and development of Chicano radicalism in America. Carlos Muñoz, Jr., himself a leader of the Chicano movement of the 1960s, places the movement in the wider context of the political development of Mexicans in the US. Fully revised and updated throughout, *Youth, Identity, Power* fills a significant gap in the history of political protest in the United States and makes a major contribution to the history of cultural development of the Latino population as a whole.

Pulido, Laura. 1996. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> Ecological causes are championed not only by lobbyists or hikers. While mainstream environmentalism is usually characterized by well-financed, highly structured organizations operating on a national scale, campaigns for environmental justice are often fought by poor or minority communities. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice* is one of the first books devoted to Chicano environmental issues and is a study of U.S. environmentalism in transition as seen through the contributions of people of color. It elucidates the various forces driving and shaping two important examples of environmental organizing: the 1965-71 pesticide campaign of the United Farm Workers and a grazing conflict between a Hispano cooperative and mainstream environmentalists in northern New Mexico. The UFW example is one of workers highly marginalized by racism, whose struggle – as much for identity as for a union contract – resulted in boycotts of produce at the national level. The case of the grazing cooperative Ganados del Valle, which sought access to land set aside for elk hunting, represents a subaltern group fighting the elitism of natural resource policy in an effort to pursue a pastoral lifestyle. In both instances Pulido details the ways in which racism and economic subordination create subaltern communities, and shows how these groups use available resources to mobilize and improve their social, economic, and environmental conditions. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice* reveals that the environmental struggles of Chicano communities do not fit the mold of mainstream environmentalism, as they combine economic, identity, and quality-of-life issues. Examination of the forces that create and shape these grassroots movements clearly demonstrates that environmentalism needs to be sensitive to local issues, economically empowering, and respectful of ethnic and cultural diversity.

Noriega, Chon A., Eric R. Avila, Karen Mary Davalos, Chela Sandoval, and Rafael Pérez-Torres, eds. 2001. *The Chicano Studies Reader: An Anthology of Aztlán Scholarship, 1970–2000*. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center.

> This anthology brings together twenty ground-breaking essays from Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies, the journal of record in the field. Spanning thirty years, these essays shaped the development of Chicano studies and testify to its broad disciplinary and thematic range. The anthology documents four major strands in Chicano scholarship and is divided into sections accordingly: Decolonizing the Territory, Performing Politics, Configuring Identities, and Remapping the World. Each section is introduced by one of the co-editors, five Chicano and Chicana academics who teach introductory courses and graduate seminars in Chicano studies.

Oropeza, Lorena. 2005. *Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

> This incisive and elegantly written examination of Chicano antiwar mobilization demonstrates how the pivotal experience of activism during the Viet Nam War era played itself out among Mexican Americans. *ÁRaza Sí! ÁGuerra No!* presents an engaging portrait of Chicano protest and patriotism. On a deeper level, the book considers larger themes of American nationalism and citizenship and the role of minorities in the military service, themes that remain pertinent today. Lorena Oropeza's exploration of the evolution, political trajectory, and eventual implosion of the Chicano campaign against the war in Viet Nam encompasses a fascinating meditation on Mexican Americans' political and cultural orientations, loyalties, and sense of status and place in American society.

Peña, Devon. 1998. *Chicano Culture, Ecology, and Politics: Subversive Kin.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

> Until recently, mainstream American environmentalism has been a predominantly white, middle-class movement, essentially ignoring the class, race, and gender dimensions of environmental politics. In this provocative collection of original essays, the environmental dimensions of the Chicana/o experience are explicitly expressed and debated. Employing a variety of genres ranging from poetry to autobiography to theoretical and empirical essays, the voices in this collection speak to the most significant issues of environmentalism and social justice, recognizing throughout the need for a pluralism of Chicana/o philosophies. The contributors provide an excellent basis for understanding how multiple Chicana/o views on the environment play out in the context of dominant social, political and economic views. *Chicano Culture, Ecology, Politics* examines a number of Chicana/o ecological perspectives. How can the ethics of reciprocity present in Chicana/o agro-pastoral life be protected and applied on a broader scale? How can the dominant society, whose economic structure is invested in "placeless mobility," take note of the harm caused to land-based cultures, take responsibility for it, and take heed before it is too late? Will the larger society be "ecologically housebroken" before it destroys its home? Grounded in actual political struggles waged by Chicana/o communities over issues of environmental destruction, cultural genocide, and socioeconomic domination, this volume provides an important series of snapshots of Chicana/o history. *Chicano Culture, Ecology, Politics* illuminates the bridges that exist – and must be understood – between race, ethnicity, class, gender, politics, and ecology.

Pizarro, Marcos. 2005. *Chicanas and Chicanos in School: Racial Profiling, Identity Battles, and Empowerment.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

> By any measure of test scores and graduation rates, public schools are failing to educate a large percentage of Chicana/o youth. But despite years of analysis of this failure, no consensus has been reached as to how to realistically address it. Taking a new approach to these issues, Marcos Pizarro goes directly to Chicana/o students in both urban and rural school districts to ask what their school experiences are really like, how teachers and administrators support or thwart their educational aspirations, and how schools could better serve their Chicana/o students. In this accessible, from-the-trenches account of the Chicana/o school experience, Marcos Pizarro makes the case that racial identity formation is the crucial variable in Chicana/o students' success or

failure in school. He draws on the insights of students in East Los Angeles and rural Washington State, as well as years of research and activism in public education, to demonstrate that Chicana/o students face the daunting challenge of forming a positive sense of racial identity within an educational system that unintentionally yet consistently holds them to low standards because of their race. From his analysis of this systemic problem, he develops a model for understanding the process of racialization and for empowering Chicana/o students to succeed in school that can be used by teachers, school administrators, parents, community members, and students themselves.

Puerto Rican Studies

Aliotta, Jerome J., and Sandra Stotsky. 1995. *The Puerto Rican Americans: The Immigrant Experience*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers.

> Discusses the history, culture, and religion of the Puerto Ricans, their place in American society, and the problems they face as an ethnic group in North America.

Flores, Juan. 2002. *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

> Neither immigrants nor ethnics, neither foreign nor "hyphenated Americans" in the usual sense of that term, Puerto Ricans in New York have created a distinct identity both on the island of Puerto Rico and in the cultural landscape of the United States. Juan Flores considers the uniqueness of Puerto Rican culture and identity in relation to that of other Latino groups in the United States – as well as to other minority groups, especially African Americans. Architecture and urban space, literary traditions, musical styles, and cultural movements provide some of the sites and moments of a cultural world defined by the interplay of continuity and transformation, heritage and innovation, roots and fusion. Exploring this wide range of cultural expression – both in the Diaspora and in Puerto Rico – Flores highlights the rich complexities and fertile contradictions of Latino identity.

Flores, Juan. 2005. *Puerto Rican Arrival in New York: Narratives of the Migration, 1920–1950*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

> This is a collection of engaging and readable first-hand reminiscences about the mid-20th-century migration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. The documentary importance of these testimonies is evident, particularly in their capturing of the actual voyage from Puerto Rico and arrival in New York. Unlike more recent writings about the migration, where attention is riveted on the later process of settlement and intergenerational adjustment, the older narratives dwell on the psychological and existential trauma of arrival and first impressions. In this collection, the element of class difference within the migrating population stands out sharply. While in subsequent literature such issues become more intricate and representation of the social classes more oblique,

these early texts show that it was a divided arrival. For despite the structural uniformity and over-whelmingly working-class composition of the immigration, Puerto Ricans came to New York with divergent interests and understandings depending on their class.

Haslip-Viera, Gabriel, and Sherrie Baver. 1996. *Latinos in New York: Communities in Transition.* South Bend, IA: University of Notre Dame Press.

> Since the 1980's a number of important books have been published that focus on issues affect-ing Hispanics throughout the United States; none until now, however, have focused soley on the New York experience. The 12 essays collected in *Latinos in New York* comprise the first book length analysis of the past and present condition of Latinos in metropolitan New York. Focus-ing on Puerto Ricans, these essays also contain the most up-to-date thinking on the newer Latino migrant groups in New York such as the Dominicans, Cubans, Mexicans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Peruvians. Not only do the contributors emphasize the specificity of the New York Latino experience, they also suggest the generalization of many of their findings and policy recommendations to the national level. *Latinos in New York* will be used as a text for courses in ethnic studies, sociology, political science, anthropology, and indeed any class that deals with mi-norities in urban America. While the book emphasizes what is unique about the Latino experi-ence in New York, the authors also intend that the essays will be of relevance to general readers interested in Latino issues, policy analysts, and students of the Latino experience throughout the United States.

Haslip-Viera, Gabriel, Felix V. Matos Rodriguez, and Angelo Falcon. 2004. *Boricuas in Gotham: Puerto Ricans in the Making of Modern New York City.* Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

> This new and very important collection of essays reinterprets and updates the history of New York's Puerto Rican community and its leaders from the beginnings of the great migration in the 1940s to the present time. The collection also honors the memory of the late Dr. Antonia Pantoja, who was perhaps the community's most important and influential activist and institution builder during this period. The book is organized in chronological order and includes chapters by noted historians, sociologists, and political scientists. These chapters focus on issues of culture, demography, language, economic status, politics, and community organization. Eminently useful in college-level courses that deal with Latinos and other ethnic groups The book ends with essays that assess the legacy, current status, and future prospects of the Puerto Rican community in New York.

Melendez, Miguel, and Jose Torres. 2005. *We Took The Streets: Fighting For Latino Rights With The Young Lords.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

> In 1968 Miguel "Mickey" Melendez was a college student, developing pride in his Cuban and Puerto Rican cultural identity and becoming increasingly aware of the effects of social inequality on Latino Americans. Joining with other like-minded student activists, Melendez helped form the central committee of the New York branch of the Young Lords, one of the most provocative and misunderstood radical groups to emerge during the 1960s. Incorporating techniques of direct

action and community empowerment, the Young Lords became a prominent force in the urban northeast. From their storefront offices in East Harlem, they defiantly took back the streets of El Barrio. In addition to running clothing drives, day-care centers, and food and health programs, they became known for their media-savvy tactics and bold actions, like the takeovers of the First People's Church and Lincoln Hospital. In this memoir, Melendez describes with the unsparing eye of an insider the idealism, anger, and vitality of the Lords as they rose to become the most respected and powerful voice of Puerto Rican empowerment in the country. He also traces the internal ideological disputes that led the group, but not the mission, to fracture in 1972. Written with passion and compelling detail, We Took the Streets tells the story of how one group took on the establishment – and won.

Muniz, Vicky. 1998. *Resisting Gentrification and Displacement: Voices of Puerto Rican Women of the Barrio*. New York: Routledge.

This study provides insights into the importance of socio-cultural factors in contemporary urban development. By injecting gender, culture, and race into our understanding of community choice and resistance to economic pressure, the author enhances our understanding of the contemporary social geography in cities with large ethnic/racial populations. The focus of this study is on Puerto Rican women who resist gentrification and displacement in a New York City neighborhood. The study highlights the cultural importance *puertorrique-as* attach to their neighborhood and the threat to their cultural identities in the wake of displacement. The author documents the struggle of barrio residents against gentrification in the context of the neighborhood and the local housing court. She captures the women's voices as they challenge husbands, landlords, and government agencies, interact with other class/ethnic groups, and construct strategies for resisting displacement as well as new identities for themselves. This detailed study of the political mobilization of working class Latinas will be of interest to feminists, urban studies scholars, and housing policy makers.

Ramos-Zayas, Ana Y. 2003. *National Performances: The Politics of Class, Race, and Space in Puerto Rican Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

In this book, Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas explores how Puerto Ricans in Chicago construct and perform nationalism. Contrary to characterizations of nationalism as a primarily unifying force, Ramos-Zayas finds that it actually provides the vocabulary to highlight distinctions along class, gender, racial, and generational lines among Puerto Ricans, as well as between Puerto Ricans and other Latino, black, and white populations. Drawing on extensive ethnographic research, Ramos-Zayas shows how the performance of Puerto Rican nationalism in Chicago serves as a critique of social inequality, colonialism, and imperialism, allowing barrio residents and others to challenge the notion that upward social mobility is equally available to all Americans – or all Puerto Ricans. Paradoxically, however, these activists' efforts also promote upward social mobility, overturning previous notions that resentment and marginalization are the main results of nationalist strategies. Ramos-Zayas's groundbreaking work allows her here to offer one of the most original and complex analyses of contemporary nationalism and Latino identity in the United States.

Sánchez, José Ramón. 2007. *Boricua Power: A Political History of Puerto Ricans in the United States*. New York: NYU Press.

> Where does power come from? Why does it sometimes disappear? How do groups, like the Puerto Rican community, become impoverished, lose social influence, and become marginal to the rest of society? How do they turn things around, increase their wealth, and become better able to successfully influence and defend themselves? *Boricua Power* explains the creation and loss of power as a product of human efforts to enter, keep or end relationships with others in an attempt to satisfy passions and interests, using a theoretical and historical case study of one community – Puerto Ricans in the United States. Using archival, historical and empirical data, *Boricua Power* demonstrates that power rose and fell for this community with fluctuations in the passions and interests that defined the relationship between Puerto Ricans and the larger U.S. society.

Torres, Andrés, and José E. Velazquez, eds. 1998. *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> Little attention has been paid to the Latino movements of the 1960's and 1970's in the literature of social movements. This volume is the first significant look at the organizations of the Puerto Rican movement, which emerged in the late 1960's and 1970's as a response to U.S. colonialism on the island and to the poverty and discrimination faced by most Puerto Ricans on the mainland. To combat these two problems, and drawing on a tradition of patriotism and social responsibility, a number of organizations grew up, including the Young Lords Party (YLP), which later evolved into the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization; the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI), which evolved into the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; El Comité; the Puerto Rican Student Union (PRSU); the Movement for National Liberation (MLN); and the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). The Puerto Rican Movement looks at all these groups as specific organizations of real people in such places as Boston, Chicago, Hartford, New York, and Philadelphia. The contributors, almost all of whom were involved with the organizations they describe, provide detailed descriptions and historical analyses of the Puerto Rican Left. Interviews with such key figures as Elizam Escobar, Piri Thomas, and Luis Fuentes, as well as accounts by people active in the gay/lesbian, African-American, and White Left movements add a vivid picture of why and how people became radicalized and how their ideals intersected with their group's own dynamics. These critical assessments highlight each organization's accomplishments and failures and illuminate how different sets of people, in different circumstances, respond to social problems-in this case, the "national question" and the issues of social justice and movement politics.

Torres, Andrés. 1995. *Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New York Political Economy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> Probing the nature and causes of continuing poverty and inequality among New York City's two largest minorities – African Americans and Puerto Ricans – Andrés Torres explores their struggles for economic and political survival through phases of exclusion, insurgency, and backlash. From post-World War II New York through the global New York of the 1990s, Torres analyzes the groups' respective evolutions within U.S. history; their incorporation into the nation's and the

city's economies; and their strategies for political action, socioeconomic mobility, and community infrastructure. His innovative examination illuminates the deeper sources for inequality in all urban cities in the United States.

Whalen, Teresa, Carmen Vazquez Hernandez, and Victor Vazquez Hernandez. 2005. *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Puerto Ricans have a long history of migrating to and building communities in various parts of the United States in search of a better life. From their arrival in Hawai'i in 1900 to the post-World War II era – during which communities flourished throughout the Midwest and New England – the Puerto Rican Diaspora has been growing steadily. In fact, the 2000 census shows that almost as many Puerto Ricans live in the United States as in Puerto Rico itself. The contributors to this volume provide an overview of the Puerto Rican experience in America, delving into particular aspects of colonization and citizenship, migration and community building. Each chapter bridges the historical past with contemporary issues. Throughout the text, personal narratives and photographs bring these histories to life, while grappling with underlying causes and critical issues such as racism and employment that shape Puerto Rican life in America.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

Political Attitudes and Political Behavior - Books

Note: The authors could not identify enough books citations in this category to warrant its division into sub-categories similar to those specified for journal articles.

De la Garza, Rodolfo O., and Harry Pachon, eds. 2000. *Latinos and US Foreign Policy: Representing the "Homeland"?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

> How do the foreign policy priorities of Latino Americans relate to U.S. foreign policy in general and U.S. policy toward Latin America in particular? Public policy elites and the general U.S. public doubt the depth of Latino patriotism, suspecting Latinos of representing their homelands' interests over and above those of the U.S. Through a series of studies surveying Latinos throughout the U.S., this book demonstrates that Latino Americans are more like other Americans with respect to foreign policy than is popularly assumed. At the same time, differences between and among various Latino communities (e.g., those with ties to Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Mexico) exist, and may be a source of growing Latino political power.

Garcia, F. Chris, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2008. *Moving (into) the Mainstream?: Latinos in or out of the US Political System?* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall Press.

> *Hispanics and the U.S. Political System* focuses on the political manifestations of Hispanics in the United States. It addresses the roles that Latinos have played in our political system, both in the past and present. As the Hispanic population in the U.S. grows, so too does their influence on American. The general election in 2000 marked an era of increased influence and awareness by Hispanics in politics both as voters and politicians. While it is clear that Latinos are influencing and changing American politics, how they will affect the future of American politics is still not clear.

Kniss, Fred, and Paul D. Numrich. 2007. *Sacred Assemblies and Civic Engagement: How Religion Matters for America's Newest Immigrants.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

> Immigration to the United States has been a major source of population growth and cultural change throughout much of America's history. Currently, about 40 percent of the nation's annual population growth comes from the influx of foreign-born individuals and their children. As these new voices enter America's public conversations, they bring with them a new level of religious diversity to a society that has always been marked by religious variety. Sacred Assemblies and

Civic Engagement takes an in-depth look at one particular urban area – the Chicago metropolitan region – and examines how religion affects the civic engagement of the nation's newest residents. Based on more than three years of ethnographic fieldwork and extensive interviewing at sixteen immigrant congregations, the authors argue that not only must careful attention be paid to ethnic, racial, class, and other social variations within and among groups but that religious differences within and between immigrant faiths are equally important for a more sophisticated understanding of religious diversity and its impact on civic life.

Chapters focus on important religious factors, including sectarianism, moral authority, and moral projects; on several areas of social life, including economics, education, marriage, and language, where religion impacts civic engagement; and on how notions of citizenship and community are influenced by sacred assemblies.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2005. *Press "One" for English: Language Policy, Public Opinion, and American Identity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Press "ONE" for English examines how Americans form opinions on language policy issues such as declaring English the official language, printing documents in multiple languages, and bilingual education. Deborah Schildkraut shows that people's conceptions of American national identity play an integral role in shaping their views. Using insights from American political thought and intellectual history, she highlights several components of that identity and shows how they are brought to bear on debates about language. Her analysis expands the range of factors typically thought to explain attitudes in such policy areas, emphasizing in particular the role that civic republicanism's call for active and responsible citizenship plays in shaping opinion on language issues. Using focus groups and survey data, Schildkraut develops a model of public conceptions of what it means to be American and demonstrates the complex ways in which people draw on these conceptions when forming and explaining their views. In so doing she illustrates how focus group methodology can help yield vital new insights into opinion formation. With the rise in the use of ballot initiatives to implement language policies, understanding opinion formation in this policy area has become imperative. This book enhances our understanding of this increasingly pressing concern, and points the way toward humane, effective, and broadly popular language policies that address the realities of American demographics in the twenty-first century while staying true to the nation's most revered values.

Weitzer, Ronald, and Steven A. Tuch. 2006. *Race and Policing in America: Conflict and Reform.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Race and Policing in America is about relations between police and citizens, with a focus on racial differences. It utilizes both the authors' own research and other studies to examine Americans' opinions, preferences, and personal experiences regarding the police. Guided by group-position theory and using both existing studies and the authors' own quantitative and qualitative data (from a nationally representative survey of whites, blacks, and Hispanics), this book examines the roles of personal experience, knowledge of others' experiences (vicarious experience), mass media reporting on the police, and neighborhood conditions (including crime and socioeconomic disad-

vantage) in structuring citizen views in four major areas: overall satisfaction with police in one's city and neighborhood, perceptions of several types of police misconduct, perceptions of police racial bias and discrimination, and evaluations of and support for a large number of reforms in policing.

Political Attitudes and Public Opinion - Articles

Alozie, Nicholas O., and Catherine McNamara. 2008. "Anglo and Latino Differences in Willingness to Pay for Urban Public Services." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(2): 406–427.

Objective: This research explores Anglo and Latino differences in willingness to pay for urban public services, assuming differences will impact service delivery in local government as the Latino population increases and becomes more visible. **Methods:** Survey data from a probability sample of Phoenix residents, now the nation's fifth largest city, are analyzed across 28 city services using multiple mechanisms that included a logit multivariate model. **Results:** Latinos are substantially more likely than Anglos to report willingness to pay for urban public services. These differences cut across services and are not mitigated by Latino income levels. **Conclusions:** Latinos are prepared to be full partners in improving service delivery in local government, even at the expense of out-of-pocket payment for services. Moreover, while increases in the Latino population will carry greater demand for more and high-quality city services by Latinos, it is unlikely to alter the menu of preferred services along class or race/ethnic lines. The fact that Latinos seem generally more willing to pay for services also raises the possibility that Latinos are interested in investing in their communities, seeking more opportunities, and perhaps remaining in those communities.

Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context."*American Sociological Review* 61(6): 951-72.

Perceptions of threat occupy a central place in race relations in Blumer's theory of prejudice but few direct efforts to study such perceptions exist. Extending Blumer's reasoning, we hypothesize that such perceptions are driven by a group's feelings of racial alienation within the larger social order. The more that members of a particular racial group feel collectively oppressed and unfairly treated by society, the more likely they are to perceive members of other groups as potential threats. We also examine whether such perceptions spring from simple self-interest, orthodox prejudice such as negative feelings and stereotyping, or broad beliefs about social stratification and inequality. We use data from the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey, a large multiracial sample of the general population, to analyze the distribution and social and psychological underpinnings of perceived group competition. Our results support the racial alienation hypothesis as well as the hypotheses positing effects for self-interest, prejudice, and stratification beliefs. We argue that Blumer's group-position framework offers the most parsimonious integration and interpretation of the social psychological processes involved in the formation of perceptions of group threat and competition.

Bolks, Sean M., Diana Evans, J. L. Polinard, and Robert D. Wrinkle. 2000. "Core Beliefs and Abortion Attitudes: A Look at Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 253-60.

> **Objective:** This research examines the variables that influence the abortion attitudes of the three largest Latino populations: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. **Methods:** Using data from the Latino National Political Survey, we use multivariate analyses to examine the effects of selected variables on abortion attitudes. We also model attitudes toward abortion by using ordered logit. **Results:** We find that attitudes toward abortion among the Latino populations are influenced by the same sets of variables that influence the attitudes of non-Latinos. **Conclusions:** Abortion is not an "ethnic issue" in the sense that the term is generally used.

Brown, Robert W., R. Todd Jewell, and Jeffrey J. Rous. 2000. "Abortion Decisions among Hispanic Women along the Texas-Mexico Border." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 237-52.

> **Objective:** This paper examines the abortion decisions of Hispanic women who reside in the Texas counties that border Mexico. We hypothesize that ethnicity as well as geographic location may capture differences in assimilation to the U.S. culture that, ultimately, influence fertility-control decisions. We concentrate on the connection between the abortion decision and provider availability as measured by distance to the nearest abortion provider. **Methods:** The empirical model uses a Logit specification to compare the abortion decisions of border Hispanics to both Hispanic and Anglo women residing in non-border regions of Texas. The data consist of all births and abortions for women 20 years old and older for 1993 in Texas. **Results:** We find characteristic differences among the abortion decisions of Texas women by ethnicity and geographic location. In particular, Hispanics along the border region are quantitatively more responsive to variations in the availability of abortion providers, poverty rates, female employment rates, and urbanization. **Conclusions:** The abortion decisions of non-border Hispanics appear to more closely resemble those of Anglo women rather than those of their Hispanic counterparts in the border region. Also, economic development in the Texas-Mexico border region is likely to have a significant impact on abortion and fertility rates in the region.

Camp, Roderick A. 2003. "Learning Democracy in Mexico and the United States." *Mexican Studies/ Estudios Mexicanos* 19(1): 3-27.

> This essay explores how Americans, Mexican Americans, and Mexicans learn about politics, and specifically, their notions of democracy, using a comprehensive cross-national survey funded by the Hewlett Foundation. It identifies significant differences and similarities across groups, and raises important questions about the socialization process, about the resistance of certain attitudes to transformation in new cultural settings, and the ease with which major political views are altered within months of changing national residence. Language facility proves to be a significant variable in this process.

Chavez, Maria, Brian Wampler, and Ross E. Burkhart. 2006. "Left Out: Trust and Social Capital Among Migrant Seasonal Farmworkers." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1012-1029.

> **Objectives:** We analyze the levels of trust and social capital among an understudied group: migrant seasonal farmworkers (MSFW). MSFWs of today are likely to become the "Hispanics" of tomorrow, which means that understanding what affects the development of social capital of this group is critical to understanding how these individuals are incorporated – or not – into the U.S. polity. **Methods:** We utilize logistic regression analysis and ordered logit analysis to analyze a data set of 555 MSFWs and comments from four focus groups in Idaho. **Results:** We find that MSFWs have lower levels of generalized trust than do Hispanics nationally. We also find that MSFWs have low levels of trust toward whites and Mexican Americans. **Conclusions:** We argue that an ethnic community's subgroups must be incorporated into our analysis of social capital, especially when these individuals are likely to become U.S. permanent residents or citizens.

Claassen, Ryan L. 2004. "Political Opinion and Distinctiveness: The Case of Hispanic Ethnicity." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(4): 609-20.

> Despite a proliferation of research treating Hispanics as a homogeneous political group, important questions regarding the nature and structure of Hispanic public opinion remain unanswered. Are Hispanic self-identifiers similar enough in their political preferences to be analyzed as a political group? As a group, are Hispanic preferences distinctive enough to be distinguished empirically from other racial and ethnic constituencies? Using National Election Studies data I evaluate intra-group similarity and inter-group differences. I find evidence of strikingly similar intra-group opinion, and I find Hispanic preferences are distinctive, relative to Anglos and blacks, even after controlling for socioeconomic status (SES). Moreover, SES variables impact Hispanic opinion and Anglo opinion differently. By exploring the statistical interactions between Hispanic ethnicity and the SES variables I am able to illustrate ways in which Hispanics' shared experiences differ from those of Anglos and lead to distinctive political views.

de la Garza, Rodolfo O., Jerry L. Polinard, Robert D. Wrinkle, and Tomás, Longoria, Jr. 1991. "Understanding Intra-Ethnic Attitude Variations: Mexican Origin Populations Views of Immigration." *Social Science Quarterly* 72(2): 379-387.

> This paper examines the relationship between cultural differences within the Mexican-origin population and the views that population has of immigration issues. Previous research indicates that the Mexican origin people hold diverse views of immigration issues. This paper examines the extent to which intra-group variations contribute to the variations in attitudes toward immigration. The analysis supports the hypothesis that respondents who are more "Mexican" than others view immigration issues differently from those who are less "Mexican." In addition, contact with undocumented persons has a significant impact on support for immigration policy.

de la Garza, Rodolfo O., and Muserref Yetim. 2003. "The Impact of Ethnicity and Socialization on Definitions of Democracy: The Case of Mexican Americans and Mexicans." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 19(1): 81-104.

> This paper argues that Mexican American views of democracy differ significantly from those of Mexicans because of their exposure to the political institutions and culture of the United States. Our results vindicate Diamond's claim that there is no better way of developing the values, skills, and commitments of democratic citizenship than through direct experience with democracy (Diamond 1999). Equally significant is that the study demonstrates that ethnic ties do not determine political attitudes. That is, despite a shared historical background and contemporary cultural commonalities, Mexican views of democracy differ from those of Mexican Americans.

Ellison, Christopher G., Echevarria Samuel, and Brad Smith. 2005. "Religion and Abortion Attitudes Among U.S. Hispanics: Findings from the 1990 Latino National Political Survey." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(1): 192-208.

> **Objective:** The goal of this article is to examine the relationship between religious involvement, gauged mainly in terms of affiliation and frequency of attendance at services, and abortion attitudes among three major Hispanic subgroups: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. **Method:** The study analyzes data from the Latino National Political Survey, a sample of over 2,700 U.S. Hispanics completed in 1990. **Results:** Committed (i.e., regularly attending) Hispanic Protestants, most of whom belong to conservative groups, are more strongly pro-life than any other segment of the Latino population, and are much more likely than others to support a total abortion ban. Committed Catholics also tend to hold pro-life views, but they are relatively more likely to endorse an abortion ban that includes exceptions for rape, incest, and threats to the mother's life. Less devoted Catholics and Protestants generally do not differ from religiously unaffiliated Hispanics in their abortion views. There are also modest variations in the links between religious involvement and abortion attitudes across the three Latino subgroups. **Conclusion:** Religious factors are highly important predictors of Hispanics' preferences regarding abortion policies. Contrary to some previous discussions, it is committed Protestants, more so than Catholics, who are the staunchest opponents of abortion in the Latino population.

Federico, Christopher M., and Jim Sidanius. 2002. "Sophistication and the Antecedents of Whites' Racial Policy Attitudes, Racism, Ideology, and Affirmative Action in America." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66:145-176.

> A number of researchers have argued that the effects of prejudice on the racial policy attitudes and general political beliefs of white Americans may be restricted to the poorly educated and politically unsophisticated. In contrast, rather than being motivated by prejudice, the racial policy attitudes and ideological values of the politically sophisticated white Americans should be more firmly informed and motivated by the tolerant values at the heart of American political culture. These values include such things as individualism, notions of fair play, and devotion to the principle of equality of opportunity. We tested this hypothesis using white respondents from the 1986 and 1992 National Election Studies. Our evidence generally indicated that racial policy attitudes and political ideology were more powerfully associated with ideologies of racial dominance and superiority among politically sophisticated white Americans than among political unsophisticated

white Americans. Moreover, even among the sophisticated, we found that various forms of egalitarianism predicted support for rather than opposition to affirmative action and that support for equal opportunity is not uniformly distributed across the political spectrum.

Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Gary M. Segura 2000. "Race, Casualties, and Opinion in the Vietnam War." *Journal of Politics* 62(1): 115-46.

> The wartime roles of race and public opinion represent contested issues in the growing literature on war and domestic politics, especially studies of the Vietnam War. We develop a "modified socio-tropic" approach that allows us to examine three sets of propositions about the influence of race on individual opinion of the Vietnam War. (1) The race of citizens affects their opinion. (2) The race of respondent influences their sensitivity to causalities. (3) A citizen is more sensitive to causalities from his or her own racial group and less sensitive to causalities from other groups. We test these propositions with data from eight pooled surveys of 6,300 Californians facing the Vietnam War and disaggregated proximate wartime casualties. We find that African Americans do not differ significantly from whites in their approval early on, but are significantly less likely to support the war in the latter stages. However, both whites and blacks largely react similarly to proximate casualties, whether or not they share racial traits with the causalities.

Girard, Chris, and Guillermo J. Grenier. 2008. "Insulating an Ideology: The Enclave Effect on South Florida's Cuban Americans." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(4): 530-543.

> Many Cuban Americans embrace a distinctive anti-Castro ideology. Although this ideology supports the embargo against Cuba – purportedly to bring about the Castro regime's compliance or collapse – the real objectives may be more symbolic than practical. Ultimately, the institutional completeness provided by the enclave in South Florida insulates and regenerates this "exile" ideology. The authors hypothesize that if more than one half of an immigrant's time outside of Cuba has been in the South Florida enclave, the odds of supporting the exile ideology will be greater. Using a telephone survey of 1,807 Cuban Americans in South Florida, they find the predicted "enclave effect." Also, they find that receiving news from English-language media – outside the enclave's institutional matrix – reduces the likelihood of support for the exile ideology.

Glaser, James M. 2001. "The Preference Puzzle: Educational Differences in Racial-Political Attitudes." *Political Behavior* 23(4): 313-34.

> Education leads to racial liberalism in a great many instances. In this piece, I show that better educated whites are more racially liberal than less educated whites on issues involving minority preferences, with one notable exception. Better educated whites are significantly more opposed to affirmative action in university admissions than less educated whites. This is a puzzle, and my resolution of it is informed by group conflict theory and how university preferences evoke the group interests of better educated whites as they approach the issue. Additionally, I show that the group interests of less educated whites also are engaged by the issue. In the context of the survey

I study, the class orientations of the less educated are roused, and, I argue, lower status individuals are encouraged to view university preferences as an opportunity to "share the burden" of affirmative action, contributing to the puzzling reversal in the relationship of education and racial-political attitudes.

González Mandri, Flora. 2008. "Operation Pedro Pan: A Tale of Trauma and Remembrance." *Latino Studies* 6(3): 252–268.

> Engineered by the US Central Intelligence Agency in cooperation with the Catholic Church working in the US and underground in Cuba, Operation Pedro Pan airlifted more than 14,000 Cuban children between 1960 and 1962 from Havana to Miami without their parents, with the purpose of safeguarding their minds from Castro's revolutionary ideology. Cuban American political scientist María de los Angeles Torres (*The Lost Apple*, 2003) and playwright Melinda López (*Sonia Flew*, 2004) highlight the emotional traumas children experience when they are made to represent the ideology of nations at the expense of their childhood. They consider the difficulties of remembering and understanding individual traumas when governments and societies are invested in the silencing of that memory for the sake of maintaining widely held political and ideological beliefs. Their works are excellent expressions of human remembrance and reconciliation.

Hajnal, Zoltan, and Mark Baldassare. 2001. "Finding Common Ground: Racial and Ethnic Attitudes in California." March. *Public Policy Institute of California*. http://www.ppic.org/main/publication.asp?i=74 (February 13, 2009).

> Over the past twenty years, California has experienced tremendous growth and increasing diversity in its population, and this growth and diversity will continue. By the year 2040, two in three Californians will be Latino, Asian, or black. As racial and ethnic minorities grow in number, their effect on the social, economic, and political context of the state will also grow. This report uses data from ten PPIC Statewide Surveys to answers a number of crucial questions about California's racial and ethnic groups through an analysis of their social, political, and economic attitudes.

Howell, Susan E., and William P. McLean. 2001. "Performance and Race in Evaluating Minority Mayors." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65(3): 321-43.

> This research compares a performance model to a racial model in explaining approval of a black mayor. The performance model emphasizes citizen evaluations of conditions in the city and the mayor's perceived effectiveness in dealing with urban problems. The racial model stipulates that approval of a black mayor is based primarily on racial identification or racism. A model of mayoral approval is tested with two surveys over different years of citizens in a city that has had 20 years' experience with black mayors. Findings indicate that performance matters when evaluating black mayors, indicating that the national performance models of presidential approval are generalizable to local settings with black executives. Implications for black officeholders are discussed. However,

the racial model is alive and well, as indicated by its impact on approval and the finding that, in this context, performance matters more to white voters than to black voters. A final, highly tentative conclusion is offered that context conditions the relative power of these models. The performance model may explain more variation in approval of the black mayor than the racial model in a context of rapidly changing city conditions that focuses citizen attention on performance, but during a period of relative stability the two models are evenly matched.

Hill, Kevin, and Dario Moreno. 1996. "Second Generation Cubans." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 175-93.

> This article testes the hypothesis that second-generation Cuban Americans have significantly different political attitudes than either their parents or more recent Cuban immigrants in the United States. Using the unique data set provided by the Latino National Political survey, the article investigates whether or not there are differences between the following three sets of Cuban Americans: those born in the United States, those who first arrived in the United States at the age of 10 or younger, and those who immigrated to the United States when they were over the age of 10. The authors find significant differences between these three groups in several sets of political attitudes, including partisanship, trust in the federal government, feelings of closeness toward the Cuban American community, and support for increased governmental spending. Interestingly, the authors find no significant differences among Cuban Americans over the question of reestablishing relations with the Castro regime.

Hill, Kevin A., and Dario V. Moreno. 2001. "Language as a Variable: English, Spanish, Ethnicity, and Political Opinion Polling in South Florida." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 23(2): 208–28.

> This article argues that conducting public opinion surveys in Spanish as well as English is crucial to the study of the modern Latino electorate. Unfortunately, the conventional wisdom is to survey only in English because, so the argument goes, the validity and reliability problems raised by bilingual polling and translation do not make it worthwhile to conduct surveys in two languages. The authors challenge this assertion with evidence from six political surveys in Miami-Dade County, Florida, that were conducted in both English and Spanish. It is found that, had the conventional wisdom been followed and the polls been conducted in English only, results would have been profoundly inaccurate and invalid. The authors further take advantage of bilingual survey research methodology and assess the level of difference between the survey responses of English-speaking and Spanish-speaking Latino voters, comparing the former to non-Hispanic White voters as well. It was found that, on average, English-speaking Hispanic voters gave sets of responses to different survey questions that were roughly equidistant between those of non-Hispanic Whites and Spanish-dominant Hispanics. The importance of these findings, not only for the survey research methods literature but also for assimilationist models of ethnicity, is assessed.

Hood III, M. V. and Irwin L. Morris. 2000. "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime: Racial/Ethnic Context and the Anglo Vote on Proposition 187." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 194-206.

> **Objective:** We estimate the extent to which Anglo support for California Ballot Proposition 187 was a function of intergroup conflict. **Methods:** Using a multivariate probit model, we estimate the effects of racial context, ideology, and demographic factors on exit-poll data for Anglo voting on Proposition 187. **Results:** We find no evidence that intergroup conflict played any role in Anglo vote choice on this issue. In contrast, we find that the dynamics associated with the contact hypothesis provide a useful explanation for the Anglo vote. **Conclusions:** Given the absence of an intergroup conflict result at the individual level, we must (1) provide an alternative explanation for aggregate-level results that does not rely on intergroup conflict or (2) identify the intergroup conflict dynamic that works only at the aggregate level.

Houvouras, Shannon Krista. 2001. "The Effects of Demographic Variables, Ethnic Prejudice, and Attitudes Toward Immigration on Opposition to Bilingual Education." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 23(2): 136-52.

> The majority of quantitative research on race relations focuses on Whites' opposition to policies that are designed to help Blacks. The current study looks beyond this White/Black model of racism and focuses on opposition to bilingual education. It is hypothesized that demographic variables, prejudice against Latinos, and attitudes toward immigration increase opposition to bilingual education. The results support these hypotheses. It is also found that education has a significant positive relationship with opposition to bilingual education. This result was unexpected and needs to be explored in the future. The positive relationship between prejudice against Latinos and opposition to bilingual education suggests that this is a race issue. However, the significance of attitudes toward immigration suggests that anti-Latino prejudice works differently than prejudice against Blacks. Therefore, future research on race relations should focus on all minority groups to gain an inclusive understanding of racial/ethnic inequality.

Hunt, Matthew O. 2000. "Status, Religion, and the "Belief in a Just World": Comparing African Americans, Latinos, and Whites." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 325-43.

> **Objective:** While a substantial literature on the "belief in a just world" (Lerner, 1980) exists, we know little about who actually believes that the world is just. This study (1) examines several existing explanations for "just-world" beliefs, and (2) compares the beliefs of African Americans, Latinos, and whites. **Methods:** Survey data collected in 1993 from a sample of southern Californians are used to test whether race/ethnicity, gender, SES, age, and religion shape "just-world" beliefs. In addition, the question of whether African Americans, Latinos, and whites differ in the effects of these variables is examined. **Results:** Significant race/ethnic differences are found, with Latinos showing the strongest support for the belief in a just world and blacks, the weakest. Significant differences are also found by SES and gender, with greatest support for just-world beliefs found among men and persons of low SES; and, religious affiliation shapes the belief in a just world, but church attendance does not. Finally, race/ethnic differences are found for several determinants of the belief in a just world. **Conclusions:** This study suggests that existing knowledge of the belief in a just world reflects a "white" experience of the world traceable to the neglect of blacks and Latinos in past research.

Hunt, Larry L. 2000. "Religion and Secular Status among Hispanics in the United States: Catholicism and the Varieties of Hispanic Protestantism." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 344-62.

> **Objective:** This research examines religious affiliation differences in secular status and religious involvement among English-speaking Hispanics living in the United States. A key issue is whether the growing proportion of Hispanic Protestants exhibits patterns consistent with a Weberian-thesis linkage of Protestant religious involvement and higher secular status. **Methods:** A secondary analysis of a sample of English-speaking Hispanics aggregated from the General Social Surveys conducted from 1972 to 1996 compares Hispanic Catholics and non-Catholics. Both OLS and logistic regression models are developed to identify any distinctive patterns linked with various religious affiliations. **Results:** Hispanic Protestants have higher levels of religious involvement than do Hispanic Catholics, but there is no clear connection between Protestant affiliation and higher secular status. However, distinguishing between Mainline and Conservative Protestant affiliations shows that English-speaking Hispanics connected to Mainline Protestant denominations have higher status than do Hispanic Catholics, but that Conservative Protestants do not have status different from that of Catholics. Additionally, recent converts to Protestantism exhibit high levels of religious involvement, but only converts to mainline churches have higher secular status. **Conclusions:** There are no consistent distinctive effects linked to Protestant religious involvement that suggest a strong positive connection between religious and secular factors. Thus, there is little support for a Weberian interpretation of Protestantism among English-speaking Hispanics in the United States. That many varieties of Hispanic Protestantism may represent new variations on the theme of Hispanic popular religion is suggested as a guide to future research.

Hunt, Matthew. 2004. "Race/Ethnicity and Beliefs about Wealth and Poverty." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3): 827-53.

> **Objective:** Lay explanations for "wealth" have been neglected in research on beliefs about social stratification. This study compares the nature and determinants of beliefs about the causes of both wealth and poverty, with special focus on race/ethnic differences. **Methods:** Using survey data collected from Los Angeles County residents in 2000, descriptive and multivariate procedures are used to analyze "individualistic" and "structuralist" beliefs about wealth and poverty. In addition, one "fatalistic" belief, asking about the role of "God's will" in shaping wealth and poverty, is examined. Analyses test (1) whether race/ethnicity and other social and political characteristics variables shape these stratification beliefs, and (2) whether African Americans, Latinos, and whites differ in the determinants of beliefs about wealth and poverty. **Results:** Respondents favor individualistic over structuralist reasons for wealth, but favor structuralist over individualistic beliefs in explaining poverty. Fatalistic beliefs are least popular. On beliefs about wealth, African Americans, Latinos, and whites show similar levels of support for individualistic explanations; however, the race/ethnic minorities are both more structuralist than whites on this issue. On beliefs about poverty, the race/ethnic minorities are simultaneously more structuralist and more individualistic than are whites. Social-class identification and self-reported conservatism both significantly impact beliefs about wealth and poverty, and do so differently across race/ethnic lines. **Conclusions:** Findings support the separate treatment and examination of beliefs about wealth and poverty, and reinforce recent calls for greater attention to "nonwhites" in studies of sociopolitical attitudes.

Klineberg, Stephen L., and David A. Kravitz. 2003. "Ethnic Differences in Predictors of Support for Municipal Affirmative Action Contracting." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(2): 425-40.

> **Objective:** This study explores attitudes toward municipal affirmative action contracting among Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics, testing predictors of support separately for each group and measuring changes over time. **Methods:** In five successive annual Houston-area surveys, U.S.-born Anglos, African Americans, Hispanics, and Hispanic immigrants evaluated a strong version of the city's affirmative action contracting program. **Results:** Ethnic contrasts in support were partly mediated by differences on the predictors. The predictors of affirmative action attitudes varied greatly by ethnic group. Changes in support across the five years appeared to be associated with the 1997 campaign surrounding the effort to end the city's affirmative action program, and with subsequent policy modifications. **Conclusions:** The ethnic divisions and the recent increases among all groups in support for the city's program underscore the value of crafting carefully targeted and flexible policies that are perceived to be responding only to documented disadvantage.

Lasley, James R. 1994. "Ethnicity, Gender, and Police-Community Attitudes." *Social Science Quarterly* 75(1): 85-97.

> This article examines the relationships between police officer ethnicity and gender and attitudes toward police-public interpersonal relations. Data used were obtained from a self-administered survey of 2,800 LAPD patrol officers conducted during January 1992. Results suggested that ethnicity and gender are not significant predictors of officers' attitudes toward the occupational role with community members. Rather, it was discovered that "community-mindedness" on the part of officers is the product of individual policy-community attitudes, which are multidimensional in nature.

Lien, Pei-Te. 1998. "Does the Gender Gap in Political Attitudes and Behavior Vary across Racial Groups?" *Political Research Quarterly* 51(4): 869-94.

> Past research on the gender gap in political attitudes and behavior has paid very little attention to the experiences of nonwhites. Particularly lacking are empirical studies involving Asians. How significant is the role of gender among Asians? How does gender gap in the extent of voting participation and direction of political opinions vary across racial groups? In this preliminary examination on the confluence of race and gender, this author tries to answer the research questions using a census survey and a national poll of multiracial opinions. Logistic regression results show that the significance of gender does vary across racial groups, but it also changes according to the behavior domain investigated. In the election of 1992, small but significant gender gaps in voting registration existed among whites and blacks, but not among Latinos and Asians. Gender was not useful to predict turnout among those registered for any race. When race intersects with gender to predict political orientation and public choice, few of the slope coefficients of the interactive terms are significant and those for Asian and black women bear an opposite sign to those for white women.

Lopez, Linda, and Adrian D. Pantoja. 2004. "Beyond Black and White: General Support for Race Conscious Policies among African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(4): 633-42.

The study of racial attitudes in the U.S. has largely focused on white attitudes toward African Americans and policies designed to assist African Americans. We go beyond this black-white dichotomy by comparing African American, Latino, Asian American, and white attitudes toward opportunity-enhancing and outcome-directed policies. Data from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, 1992-1994 are used to test the effects class and ethnic/racial identities play in shaping respondent's policy preferences. Because both of these programs are designed to apply equally to African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans, we model general support for these policies. In other words respondents who supported each program for all three groups were coded as favoring the particular policy. Our coding method more accurately captures the real world application of these programs. We find that even when we control for class status, measures of racial prejudice, as well as a host of other factors, ethnic and racial differences persist. African Americans strongly support both policies, while whites were the least supportive. Latinos and Asian Americans in varying degrees took intermediate positions on these issues. The research considers the reasons for the persistence of ethnic and racial differences on race-conscious policies and suggests future avenues for research.

Marks, Mara A., Matt A. Barreto, and Nathan D. Woods. 2004. "Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade after the 1992 Los Angeles Riots." *Urban Affairs Review* 40(1): 3-18.

A decade after the 1992 Los Angeles riots, half of residents surveyed report they anticipate another riot. Pessimism concerning the prospect of future riots is associated with negative assessments of life in Los Angeles – most notably negative perceptions of racial issues in the city. Demographic attributes including income, educational attainment, and duration of residency in Los Angeles are also associated with expectations of future riots. Racial or ethnic identity, however, have no appreciable direct or mediating impact on expectations of future riots, a striking finding in light of the central place race occupies in social science research and public discourse.

Martinez-Ebers, Valerie, Luis R. Fraga, Linda Lopez, and Arturo Vega. 2000. "Latino Interests in Education, Health, and Criminal Justice Policy." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(3): 547-54.

This article is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers consider how current policies in education, health, and criminal justice influence Latinos in the U.S. and how the assertion of Latino interests may help reshape national social policies. They argue that three themes arise from their analysis: projected Latino population growth has serious implications for policy making across the country; the youth of the Latino population makes developing effective policies for education, health, and criminal justice particularly important, with many of the present policies failing to serve the interests of Latino youth and some even target them for disparate treatment; and advancing the integration of young Latinos into the national polity must be a priority. They conclude that the growing Latino population will redefine the U.S. and that timely policy prescriptions for tackling the challenges they experience can prevent exorbitant national costs and consequences later.

McDonald, Steven J. 2001. "How Whites Explain Black and Hispanic Inequality." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65(4): 562-73.

> Numerous public opinion studies have examined how whites explain the black-white gap, but none have addressed the way that whites explain the relative disadvantage of Hispanics. If there are differences in the way whites explain black and Hispanic inequality, what factors are associated with such differences? To address these questions, I analyze survey data from a sample of adult Florida residents, replicating General Social Survey questions on whites' explanations for black inequality and then adapting those questions to refer to Hispanics. I then assess similarities and differences between white Floridians' explanations for black inequality and their explanations for Hispanic inequality. Following this analysis, I estimate a pair of multinomial logistic regression models to determine what accounts for these differential inequality attributions.

Michelson Melissa R., and Amalia Pallares. 2001. "The Politicization of Chicago Mexican Americans: Naturalization, the Vote, and Perceptions of Discrimination." *Aztlán* 26(2): 63-86.

> This article examines the politicization of Mexican Americans in the time period surrounding the 1996 national elections. Two sets of survey data for Chicago Latino neighborhoods are examined, including an exit poll from 1996 and a telephone survey from the spring of 1997. Analysis of the data reveals that (1) recently naturalized Mexican American voters are significantly more concerned with racism and discrimination than are native-born Mexican American voters or non-naturalized Mexicans (noncitizens), and (2) first-time Mexican American voters, whether recently naturalized or not, are more concerned about racism and discrimination than are habitual Mexican American voters. We argue, using logistic regression to support our hypotheses, that the heightened sensitivity to racism and discrimination among recently naturalized and recently politicized Chicago Mexican Americans is due to the political atmosphere created during the 1996 election season.

Michelson, Melissa R. 2001. "The Effect of National Mood on Mexican American Political Opinion." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 23(1): 57-70.

> In 1996, there was a pervasive anti-immigrant, anti-Latino mood in the country, caused by passage of Proposition 187 in California and national welfare reform and immigration reform bills. But a few years later attitudes toward Latinos had shifted; laws were reversed and both major political parties were pursuing Latino votes. Substantial research on the general public has demonstrated that events influence public opinion; correspondingly, this shift in the public mood influenced the political concerns of Chicago Mexican Americans. In reaction to the anti-Latino atmosphere, Mexican Americans became more concerned about racism and discrimination. When the anti-Latino mood abated, Chicago Mexican Americans responded by shifting their agenda from an issue that focused on their ethnic identity to issues shared by people of all races and ethnicities: crime, gangs, and drugs. A similar shift is found among noncitizens of Mexican descent.

Michelson, Melissa R. 2003. "The Corrosive Effect of Acculturation: How Mexican Americans Lose Political Trust." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(4): 918-33.

> **Objective:** Existing research establishes that political trust is not only an important determinant of individual political behavior and government effectiveness, but may also measure the health of civic society. This article looks specifically at trust among Latinos of Mexican descent, demonstrating that acculturation is corrosive of political trust. **Methods:** Logit and ordered logit models are used to simultaneously test two theories of acculturation – classic assimilation theory and ethnic competition theory. Data come from the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS). **Results:** Support is found for both modes of acculturation. **Conclusions:** Although the results do not conclusively side with one particular mode of acculturation, they consistently show that acculturation is corrosive of political trust. Latinos of Mexican descent become more cynical about American government as they incorporate into or are exposed to mainstream American culture, and as they become more aware of or concerned about racism and discrimination.

Montoya, Lisa J. 1996. "Latino Gender Differences in Public Opinion: Results from the Latino National Political Survey." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 255-76.

> The objective of this article is to determine whether there exists a Latino gender gap in public opinion. The issue areas selected for this study represent areas likely to reveal a gender gap if the phenomenon is present among Latinos in a manner similar to the general public. The areas studied include (a) support for decreased spending on military spending, (b) support for increased social welfare spending, and (c) attitudes toward women's political and social roles. Some evidence for a Latino gender gap is found, and it runs in a similar direction on some social welfare issues and for women's social and political roles but is not consistent with the literature on violence and force issues. The results presented here are preliminary, however, and much research remains to be done on gender differences in other public opinion issues, as well as political activities and political orientation.

Newton, Lina. 2000. "Why Some Latinos Supported Proposition 187: Testing Economic Threat and Cultural Identity Hypotheses." *Social Sciences Quarterly* 81(1): 180-93.

> **Objective:** This study explores factors that can either undermine or bolster political solidarity based on a shared "Latino" group identity by testing them within the context of Proposition 187. **Methods:** This research analyzes data from Field Polls conducted in October 1994, shortly before the general election where Proposition 187 appeared. **Results:** A set of multivariate analyses reveals that Latino support for 187 did not come from Latinos most likely to be economically threatened by immigration. Instead, Latinos who are non-citizens and who use Spanish as a primary language overwhelmingly opposed Proposition 187 because these are the Latinos who are most likely to face discrimination with the passage of the measure. Latinos who speak English and are citizens may have perceived no threat from 187, explaining why they supported the measure. The findings for Anglos corroborate other research showing that support for Proposition 187 was ideologically driven. **Conclusion:** The findings refine our understanding of the Latino population by (1) demonstrating that the group is not monolithic and (2) identifying how issues

of assimilation and cultural identity function to forge political divisions among Latinos.

Nicholson, Stephen P, Adrian D. Pantoja, and Gary M. Segura. 2005. "Race Matters: Latino Racial Identities and Political Beliefs." October 14. *Institute of Governmental Studies*. Paper WP2005-47. http://repositories.cdlib.org/igs/WP2005-47

> We examine how the racial self-identifications of Latinos affect orientations towards the political system, specifically partisanship, ideology, issue positions, and the sense of commonality Latinos feel towards African-Americans and whites. Our central contention is that racial identities matter in Latino orientations to the political system. While Latinos may, in fact, occupy a "middle" position between whites and blacks, this masks substantial and significant political variation among those claiming a Latino or Hispanic identity, variation which can be attributed, at least in part, to variation in racial identification. We find that racial identity among Latinos appears to significantly influence both their policy views – at least when the policy has a clear racial aspect in the broader population – and their perceptions of other racial and ethnic groups in the US. Afro-Latinos are significantly more supportive of government sponsored health care, and significantly less supportive of the death penalty, than Latinos identifying as white. Moreover, when assessing their "commonality" with non-Hispanic blacks and whites, Afro-Latinos feel significantly closer to African-Americans whereas white Latinos feel significantly closer to whites. By contrast, when we examine broader indicators of political orientation – including partisanship and ideology – the results are far less striking. While there is modest differences occasionally approaching significance, it is not the case that Afro- and white- Latinos were polarized on these measures. We discuss what we see as the important implications of racially driven political diversity among Latinos.

Ochoa, Gilda Laura. 2000. "Mexican Americans' Attitudes toward and Interactions with Mexican Immigrants: A Qualitative Analysis of Conflict and Cooperation." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 84-105.

> **Objective:** Emphasizing the experiences of Mexican American women, this article identifies and analyzes Mexican Americans' attitudes toward and interactions with Mexican immigrants in a Los Angeles suburb, La Puente. **Methods:** In-depth, open-ended interviews with twenty-three Mexican Americans and participant observations in community sites are used to provide a detailed, context-specific analysis of the research topic. **Results:** This article argues that in the context of prevailing ideologies and external factors, cultural variables such as language may result in both antagonism and a shared identity, while a similar racial background and class position may lead to intra-ethnic cooperation and mobilization. This article reveals how in particular circumstances, such as the school board's attempt to establish an "English Only" policy in schools, Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, possessing a shared structural position in La Puente, have organized around the maintenance of bilingual education. As reproductive laborers and as school officials, Mexican American women may be in unique positions to make connections with immigrants that foster intra-ethnic solidarity. **Conclusions:** These findings illustrate the complex and multifaceted dimensions of Mexican American and Mexican-immigrant relations and shed light on the possibilities of intra-ethnic mobilization. This article also suggests the ways that gender is significant in the construction of race and ethnic relations.

Park, Edward J.W., and John S.W. Park. 1999. "A New American Dilemma?: Asian Americans and Latinos in Race Theorizing." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 2(3): 289-309.

> Within the last two decades, the racial composition of the nation has undergone a profound change. Immigration reforms originally intended to favor Europeans have resulted, ironically, in the influx of over 15 million Asian and Latino immigrants. The newcomers have settled in neighborhoods, both Black and White, and they are now part of the national economy, culture, and politics. More so than ever before, they are central participants in American race relations, often by appearing in the spectacular social breakdowns that unfortunately constitute much of American race relations: riots in Miami in 1980 and Los Angeles in 1992, punctuate these changes. Moreover, they are intertwined in a host of racial issues, like affirmative action and immigration, and their larger presence indicates a move toward a much more complicated multi-racial society. Yet, while American society confronts multiracial realities, much of recent American race theory either dismisses the significance of Asian Americans and Latinos altogether, or subsumes them into traditional biracial models. The newcomers are neither "Black" nor "White," but they are still characterized in those terms, and this tendency impedes the development of new and compelling ways to examine current race relations. We live in a multiracial society, but we seem stuck in biracial thinking. To help remedy this problem, the purpose of this article is three fold: first, to review, and then critique, several contemporary theories on issues of race; second, to discuss how the new influx of Asian Americans and Latinos now complicate those same issues; and third, to propose a number of steps that can serve as starting points toward effectively theorizing race relations in a changing, multiracial America.

Quiroga, Jorge. 1993. "Hispanic Voices: is the Press Listening?" *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 7: 67-94.

> The press should highlight issues concerning the Hispanic Community as an increase in the number of Hispanic reporters who write on and analyze the socio-economic and political thoughts of the Hispanics will help alleviate the problems of the Hispanic community in the US. The print media is very powerful as it guides the government in the framing of laws that concern the entire gamut of Hispanic life. The Hispanic population should voice their stand on issues through the press and not allow the media to define the issues for the Hispanics.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion." *Political Research Quarterly* 59(3): 435-446.

> The public opinion of the Latino community is an understudied area within the political science literature. This analysis contributes to this literature by investigating the role of group consciousness across both Latino salient and general policy areas utilizing the 1999 *Washington Post*/Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation National Survey of Latinos. By including both issue areas that are salient to the Latino community (immigration, bilingual education) as well as those that are not directly tied to Latinos (abortion, death penalty), I test the primary hypothesis that group consciousness has a greater impact on Latino political attitudes across issues that are directly tied to ethnicity than on those that are not. Results from this analysis support the overall theory, as

perceived discrimination motivates public opinion toward both immigration and bilingual education, and collective action toward immigration. Among other factors, nativity and the length of time lived in the U.S. have the greatest influence on Latino public opinion.

Shorey, Hal S., Gloria Cowan, and Mary P. Sullivan. 2002. "Predicting Perceptions of Discrimination Among Hispanics and Anglos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 24(1): 3-22.

In light of the rapid growth of the Hispanic population, accompanied by a recent backlash against affirmative action and claims of reverse discrimination, there is a need to understand the factors that contribute to perceptions of discrimination among Hispanics and among Anglos. The current study expanded on Kobrynowicz and Branscombe's research on perceptions of discrimination by investigating the relationships between perceived personal and group discrimination and self-esteem, control, individualism/collectivism, and social dominance orientation (SDO) among Hispanics and among Anglos. Correlates of discrimination by gender within ethnicity were also assessed. Among Hispanics, personal self-esteem and personal and interpersonal control were negatively correlated, and collectivism was positively correlated, with perceived personal discrimination. Among Anglos, SDO was positively correlated with perceived group discrimination. Multiple regressions indicated that collectivism and personal control were significant predictors of perceived personal discrimination among Hispanics, whereas SDO was a significant predictor of perceived group discrimination among Anglos.

Sotelo, Maria Jose. 1999. "Gender Differences in Political Tolerance Among Adolescents." *Journal of Gender Studies* 8(2): 211-217.

This paper studies the gender differences in political tolerance among adolescents with the aim of finding aspects concerned with political tolerance where gender differences are significant. Significantly, girls are more willing to extend the right of meeting and the right of having a house to the most least-liked group in a country than boys. Furthermore girls show a greater preference towards feminists, gypsies, homosexuals, nationalists, immigrants and Jews than boys.

Strug, David L., and Mason, Susan E. 2007. "The Impact of 9/11 on Older Chinese and Hispanic Immigrants in New York City." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 5(2): 21-44.

Older Chinese and Hispanic immigrants (mostly Dominican) reacted to 9/11 in distinct, culture bound ways, which helped them cope with this traumatic event. This paper compares the two groups in terms of how they reacted and coped with 9/11, how cultural factors influenced their responses, and discusses implications for social work education, policy and practice. For the Chinese, cultural values associated with social connections played an important role in coping with 9/11, while for Hispanics belief in destiny was significant. Data for the paper come from two independent qualitative studies conducted in 2002 with 31 Hispanic and 51 Chinese subjects. The challenge to social workers of finding ways to help older immigrant populations cope with major trauma will remain well into the future.

Suro, Roberto. 2004. "Changing Channels And Crisscrossing Cultures: A Survey Of Latinos On The News Media." *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* April 19. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report. php?ReportID=27 (February 13, 2009).

> Getting the news could be the single most extensive cross-cultural experience for the Hispanic population in America, according to a report issued today the Pew Hispanic Center. A growing number of Hispanics switch between English and Spanish to get the news. Rather than two audiences sharply segmented by language, the survey shows that many more Latinos get at least some of their news in both English and Spanish than in just one language or the other.

Suro, Roberto. 2004. "Latino Attitudes on the War In Iraq, the Economy and the 2004 Election." *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* January 8. http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/24.pdf (February 13, 2009).

> Latino support for the war in Iraq and for President George W. Bush has surged since the capture of Saddam Hussein, but Latinos remain concerned about the condition of the U.S. economy and the long-term consequences of the war. In order to probe Latino views of the war, the economy, and the upcoming presidential race, the Pew Hispanic Center (PHC) conducted two national surveys of Latino adults. One took place in December 2003, just before Hussein's capture, and the other in early January 2004. The comparison of the two reveals dramatic swings towards more positive views on several questions regarding the decision to go to war and its conduct. Bush is the clear beneficiary with increased approval ratings and stronger support for his reelection bid. The shift in Latino views following Hussein's capture mirrors the trend in public opinion surveys of the general public, although Hispanics are somewhat less supportive of the war and of Bush both as president and as a reelection candidate than the population as a whole. The two PHC surveys show that most Latinos believe the economy should be a greater concern for Bush than the war on terrorism, and that a majority is concerned about personal finances. Latinos are evenly divided over whether they expect economic conditions nationally to improve. Despite the impact of Hussein's capture on public opinion, Latinos are split on whether the Bush Administration deliberately misled the American public about the threat Iraq posed to the United States before the war began, on whether the war is worth the toll it has taken in American lives, and on whether the president has a clear plan to bring the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion. On each of these issues, roughly half of the Latino population takes skeptical views.

Suro, Roberto.2005. "Survey of Mexican Migrants, Part Two: Attitudes about Voting in Mexican Elections and Ties to Mexico." *Pew Hispanic Center Report.* March 14. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/ report.php?ReportID=42 (February 13, 2009).

> As the Mexican Congress debates a proposal that would grant Mexican citizens living in the United States the right to vote in Mexican presidential elections for the first time, the Pew Hispanic Center releases another in its series of reports on an unprecedented survey of Mexican migrants in the United States. The survey findings reveal whether the migrants would vote if they could and which segments of the migrant population are likely to meet key eligibility requirements. The report also explores other ties between the Mexican migrant population in the United States and their home country.

Suro, Roberto. 2005. "Survey of Mexican Migrants, Part One: Attitudes about Immigration and Major Demographic Characteristics." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 2. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=41 (February 13, 2009).

> As the debate over immigration reform intensifies, the Pew Hispanic Center has conducted an unprecedented survey of Mexican migrants in the United States, including thousands who say they have no U.S.-issued identity documents. The survey explores their willingness to participate in a temporary worker program of the sort proposed by President Bush as well as a permanent legalization program. The survey also provides detailed information on demographic characteristics, living arrangements and work experiences. The survey sample is comprised of 4,836 Mexican adults interviewed as they applied for identity cards at Mexican consulates in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Dallas, Atlanta, Raleigh and Fresno.

Tienda, Marta, and Rebeca Raijman. 2000. "Immigrants' Income Packaging and Invisible Labor Force Activity." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 291-310.

> **Objective:** This paper examines the pervasiveness and income revenues of informal self-employment among recent immigrants from Mexico to Chicago (1) to assess the limitations of conventional labor force indicators for portraying the extent of immigrants' labor force activity; (2) to document the share of household income produced outside the formal labor market; and (3) to illustrate the importance of assessing immigrants' economic well-being using households rather than individuals as analytic units. **Methods:** We analyze a random household survey that was conducted in a Mexican-immigrant neighborhood and that contains highly detailed measures of economic activity and income sources. Vignettes are used to illustrate the income-packaging strategies of unskilled immigrant families, including the nature of informal activity. **Results:** We show that once multiple job holding is taken into account, labor force participation rates of women increased from 43% to 53% for all working-age women, and from 45% to 56% for the female respondent subsample (mainly household heads or spouses). For families involved in the informal economy (14% of sampled households), economic activity reduced earnings poverty by nine percentage points. **Conclusion:** We conclude that conventional census measures of labor force activity cannot reveal the full extent of immigrants' economic activity. The conclusion also outlines promising directions for further research.

Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 75-90.

> Recent evidence suggests that elites can capitalize on preexisting linkages between issues and social groups to alter the criteria citizens use to make political decisions. In particular, studies have shown that subtle racial cues in campaign communications may activate racial attitudes, thereby altering the foundations of mass political decision making. However, the precise psychological mechanism by which such attitudes are activated has not been empirically demonstrated, and the range of implicit cues powerful enough to produce this effect is still unknown. In an experiment, we tested whether subtle racial cues embedded in political advertisements prime racial attitudes as predictors of candidate preference by making them more accessible in memory. Results show that a wide range of implicit race cues can prime racial attitudes and that cognitive accessibility

mediates the effect. Furthermore, counter-stereotypic cues – especially those implying blacks are deserving of government resources – dampen racial priming, suggesting that the meaning drawn from the visual/narrative pairing in an advertisement, and not simply the presence of black images, triggers the effect.

Weaver, Charles N. 2007. "The Effects of Contact on the Prejudice Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 29(2): 254-274.

The growing Hispanic population has come into increasing contact with the larger population of non-Hispanic Whites. It is important to understand the effects of this contact on prejudice. The effects of six kinds of contact were examined for their effects on prejudice between Hispanics (n = 156) and non-Hispanic Whites (n = 1,479) who were participants in a recent survey representative of the U.S. population. Both groups were prejudiced, but in different ways. Contact reduced the prejudice of both groups, but it reduced it much more for non-Hispanic Whites. The findings suggested that prejudice between the two groups will almost certainly decline as contact increases. Questions were raised for further research.

Wenzel, James P. 2006. "Acculturation Effects on Trust in National and Local Government Among Mexican Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1073-87.

Objectives: The objectives of this article are to examine the impact of acculturation on the levels of trust in both the national and local governments in a long-term minority-majority community and to consider the effect on Mexican Americans' level of trust of long-term co-ethnic control of local government. **Methods:** Ordered probit is applied to measures of local and national political trust derived from the National Election Studies. Data were drawn from a sample of Latino respondents residing in the predominantly Mexican-American region of south Texas. Independent variables include a language-based measure of acculturation, a measure of interethnic social interaction, and items dealing with respondents' evaluations of the honesty, efficiency, and beneficiaries of governmental policies. *Clarify* is then used to estimate the real-world impacts of these variables. **Results:** Acculturation has a significant and negative impact on trust in the national government. This effect vanishes, however, at the local level. Moreover, co-ethnic control of government appears not to be related to trust. **Conclusions:** Trust in the national government is significantly reduced by acculturation, while trust in local government is unaffected. Moreover, trust in government is not enhanced by co-ethnic control of the levers of political power.

Wittaker, Matthew, Gary M. Segura, and Shaun Bowler. 2005. "Racial/Ethnic Group Attitudes Toward Environmental Protection in California: Is "Environmentalism" Still a White Phenomenon?" *Political Research Quarterly* 58(3): 435-47.

One view of minority opinion on environmental issues suggests that minority voters are focused on less esoteric concerns such as education, jobs, and crime. An alternative argument is that minorities, many of whom live proximate to the sources of pollution and environmental degradation, are actually more concerned. Focusing here on Latinos, we argue that minority concern about environmental issues is endogenous to the nature of the issue and has changed over time.

Specifically, we suggest that increasing environmental awareness among minorities has led Latinos to become more sensitive to environmental issues than their white counterparts over time, but that this difference is manifest only on issues of proximate concern to Latinos and not on more abstract environmental principles. Pooling Field Polls in California across a 21-year span, we model support for various pro-environment positions among Latino, African-American, and non-Hispanic white respondents. We find considerable empirical support for the dynamics of growing minority environmental concern among Latinos, but only weak evidence for a similar trend among African-Americans.

Partisanship and Party Identification - Articles

Alvarez, Michael, and Lisa Garcia Bedolla. 2003. "The Foundations of Latino Voter Partisanship: Evidence from the 2000 Election." *Journal of Politics* 65(1): 31-49.

> Studies of partisan identification in the U.S. have concentrated on Anglo Americans. We argue that by focusing on the descendants of naturalized, mostly white, immigrants, that previous research may have been biased toward largely sociological accounts for the development of partisan attitudes. Here we study the partisan affiliations of Latino voters and argue that by examining their partisan attitudes we should find that their partisanship is more explicitly political than Anglos. We utilize a telephone survey of likely Latino voters in the 2000 presidential election and find that Latino voter partisanship is shaped by both political and social factors.

Cain, Bruce E., D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Carole J. Uhlaner. 1991. "The Acquisition of Partisanship by Latinos and Asian Americans." *American Journal of Political Science* 35(2): 390-422.

> In this paper we examine the acquisition of partisanship by immigrants and subsequent generations of Latinos and Asian Americans. The data we analyze are derived from a survey of California residents in late 1984. We find that the longer Latino immigrants have been in the United States, the more likely they are to identify as Democrats and to have strong party preferences. We find age-related gains in both Democratic support and in the strength of partisanship among subsequent generations of Latinos as well. In line with our hypotheses about their foreign policy concerns, the data also suggest that immigrants from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia become more Republican with increased exposure to American politics. Other Asian immigrants and subsequent generations of Asian Americans exhibit no such trends in either the direction of their party preferences or in partisan intensity.

Dancygier, Rafaela, and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2006. "A New Electorate? Comparing Preferences and Partisanship Between Immigrants and Natives." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 962–981.

> As immigrants constitute a large and rising share of both the population and the electorate in many developed democracies, we examine aspects of immigrant political behavior, a vital issue that has gone largely unexplored outside of the U.S. context. We focus on Germany and Great Britain, two countries that provide good leverage to explore both within-country and cross-na-

tional variation in Europe. Our overall aim is to assess the impact of the immigration context. As a first step, we investigate whether immigrants and natives have systematically different attitudes on two issues that have dominated postwar European politics: social spending and redistribution. With controls in place, we observe that immigrants are no more likely to support increased social spending or redistributive measures than natives and find support for hypotheses highlighting selection effects and the impact of the immigration regime. Where we do find an opinion gap, immigrants tend to have more conservative preferences than natives. As a second step, we explore the determinants of immigrant partisan identification in Britain and find that the salience of the immigration context helps explain immigrants' partisan attachment to the Labour Party.

Hajnal, Zoltan, and Taeku Lee. 2004. "Latino Independents and Identity Formation Under Uncertainty." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 89, January, 2004.

Since the 1950s, there has been roughly a two-fold rise in the proportion of Americans who identify as political Independents. We argue that the ethnic and immigrant experiences of Latinos shed new light on why and how individuals self-identify with a political party. For Latinos, we argue, party identification is defined by social and political identity formation under uncertainty. We argue that for immigrant-based ethnic groups like Latinos, identification as Independent is a rationally adaptive strategy given uncertainty and ambivalence about one's social group attachments, one's core political predispositions, and the benefits of political and civic involvement to pursue the individual and group interests of Latinos in the US. Absent home-grown and well grooved habits, the category of Independent affords a safe harbor for many Latinos from which to bank experiences and impressions about political life in the US. We test our account using data from 1989-1990 Latino National Politics Study, the 1993-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality and the American National Election Studies.

Hero, Rodney, F. Chris Garcia, John Garcia, and Harry Pachon. 2000. "Latino Participation, Partisanship, and Office Holding." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(3): 529-534.

Part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. Noting that increased political participation and empowerment is one possible consequence of the rapid growth of the Latino population in the U.S., the writers discuss Latino political participation, partisanship, and office holding. They consider the relationship Latinos have with political parties and their sense of identifying with a political party – both important variables in U.S. politics. They argue that if Latinos are to become effective players in the U.S. political system, it is probably a necessary but not adequate condition that Latinos be involved in political party activities. In addition, they note the growth over the past decade in the number of Hispanic elected officials (HEOs) and the consequences for Latino political life. Finally, they outline the geographic distribution of HEOs, the patterns of political office holding, partisanship among HEOs, and five reasons to project ongoing growth in their ranks.

Kelly, Nathan J., and Jana Morgan Kelly. 2005. "Religion and Latino Partisanship in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(1): 87-95.

> This article examines the interplay among religion, ethnicity, and the partisanship of Latinos in the U.S. Using pooled data from the 1990-2000 National Election Studies, we assess denominational affiliation and religious commitment as explanations of partisanship. We show that there is more religious diversity among Latinos than is usually acknowledged in studies of Latino politics and that the political importance of religion among Latinos has not been adequately assessed because variation beyond a Catholic/non-Catholic dichotomy has been ignored. We demonstrate that variation in Latino religious affiliation has important political implications.

Segura, Gary M., Dennis Falcon, and Harry Pachon. 1996. "Dynamics of Latino Partisanship in California: Immigration, Issue Salience, and Their implications." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 10:62-80.

> We suggest that naturalization rates among Latino non-citizens in California had much to do with the increased size and partisan skew in the Latino vote. Further, we suggest that the salience of issues important to the Latino community, like affirmative action, immigration, and welfare reform, have overwhelmed changing levels of income and the relative religiosity of the Latino community (both perceived to benefit Republicans) and produced a pro-Democratic effect on all segments of the Latino community. We tested our expectations by examining survey data on 508 randomly selected Latino citizens living in California, compiled in a pre-election poll by the Thomas Rivera Policy Institute, Employing multivariate logit and ordered logit models, we find considerable support for this hypothesis. In addition, controlling for partisanship, income, education, gender, and ethnicity, the pro-Democratic shift in sentiment is strongest among recently naturalized citizens, those interested in these specific issues, and those more generally interested in politics.

Uhlaner, Carole J., and F. Chris Garcia. 1998. "Foundations of Latino Party Identification: Learning, Ethnicity and Demographic Factors Among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Anglos in the United States." *Center for the Study of Democracy.* Paper 98-06.

> There is limited solid evidence on the determinants of partisan preference among Latinos in the United States. This study makes use of the Latino National Political Survey to explore the partisanship of Mexican-Americans, Cuban-Americans, and Puerto Ricans on the mainland and, in comparison that of non-Latino whites (Anglos). We particularly focus upon the relationships between learning, demographic factors and partisanship. Our national data generally validates the overall pattern of preferences found in more limited studies: strong Republican Party preferences among the Cuban-Americans and Democratic partisanship within the other two groups. We also find that the demographic correlates of preference vary substantially across these ethnic groups. One result that does hold for all three Latino groups is an increase in Democrat Party identification with experience of U.S. politics (as measured by age or time in the United States). This result

supports a learning-theory view of Latino partisanship. We also find that those Latinos who are more integrated into their ethnic culture are more likely to support the party dominant for their group. When we turn our attention to factors that distinguish independents from partisans, we find fewer differences across groups. Higher education and older age tend to be associated with partisanship as has been found for the general US population. For both direction and independence, religion matters for Anglos and Puerto Ricans but not the other two groups. Finally, we examine strong versus weak attachment among partisans and again find age effects. This research demonstrates how learning theories of partisan identification can be elucidated by analyzing an understudied sub-population of Americans. It also underscores the importance of resisting the impulse of grouping all Latinos under a single heading in the study of their political behavior.

Welch, Susan, and Lee Sigelman. 1992. "A Gender Gap among Hispanics? A Comparison with Blacks and Anglos." *Western Political Quarterly* 45(1): 181-199.

Is the gender gap largely a white, middle-class phenomenon? This analysis, based on data from six election day exit polls conducted in 1980, 1984, and 1988, tests for differences between Hispanic American men and women in ideological and partisan identification and in vote choice. Analysis reveals that Hispanic women are more liberal and more pro democratic than Hispanic men, but the magnitude of these differences varies considerably. Moreover, male/female differences are essentially equal among Hispanic, Black and Anglo Americans.

Welch, Susan. 1993. "The Politics of Hispanic Americans: Insights From National Surveys, 1980-1988." *Social Science Quarterly* 74(1): 76-94.

Most prior research on Hispanic political orientations relies on local or state samples and is descriptive in character. Although most observers agree that Hispanics, in general, are more likely than Anglos to be Democrats, little research has examined the two groups to determine whether political differences are due to minority status or class differences. The authors use data from seven national surveys conducted during the 1980s to determine whether the greater levels of liberalism and Democrat allegiance among Hispanics are not due solely to economic, education, or religious differences between the two groups. The analysis reveals that these factors operate similarly in shaping ideology and partisan loyalties, and vote choice of Hispanics and Anglos.

Wong, Janelle S. 2000. "The Effects of Age and Political Exposure on the Development of Party Identification Among Asian American and Latino Immigrants in the United States." *Political Behavior* 22(4): 341-371.

This article seeks to understand the development of partisanship among the largest of contemporary immigrant groups, Asian Americans and Latinos. Identifying the processes that underlie the acquisition of partisanship is often complicated because the associated concepts are not easily isolated from one another. In particular, among those born in the U.S., distinguishing between the separate effects of age and political exposure on partisan development is especially difficult since age usually serves as an exact measure of exposure to the political system and vice versa. Because immigrants' length of residence does not correspond directly to their age, tracking the

acquisition of party identification represents one way to untangle the effects of age and exposure on partisanship. A strong relationship between the number of years an immigrant has lived in the U.S. and the acquisition of partisanship is found. Further analysis shows that naturalization, gains in English language skills, and media use also contribute to immigrants' acquisition of partisanship. This study reveals that a process of reinforcement through exposure to the political system underlies the development of political attitudes across diverse immigrant groups.

Political Participation - Articles

Abrajano, Marisa A., Nagler, Johnathan and R. Michael Alvarez. 2005. "A Natural Experiment of Race-Based and Issue Voting: The 2001 City of Los Angeles Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(2): 203-218.

> The theory of racially polarized voting suggests that race is a primary determinant of vote choice in elections where a minority candidate is pitted against a white candidate. The spatial model of voting suggests that voters consider the issue positions of candidates and choose the candidate closest to their own positions. The unique context of the 2001 Los Angeles city election allows us to test these two theories. In each of two races in this election, a Latino candidate competed against a white candidate. In one race the white candidate was considered more liberal, while in the other race the Latino candidate was seen as more liberal. This particular ethnic and ideological composition provides us with a natural experimenting which to test the two competing theories. While voter ethnicity mattered, we show that consistent with the spatial model, voters also relied on issues and ideology as factors in their voting choices. By considering the choices voters are making in two different elections, we argue that estimates of the extent of racial voting in previous research may be overstated.

Arvizu, John., and F. Chris Garcia. 1996. "Latino Voting Participation: Explaining and Differentiating Latino Voting Turnout." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 104-128.

> Latinos or Hispanics are the distinctive ethnic groups most rapidly increasing in numbers in the United States. Yet, this notably burgeoning population is disproportionately under- researched and underrepresented. Research exploring the reasons for the low levels of participation and representation is greatly hampered by the failure of research organizations to collect adequate data on Latinos as well as the misconception of the characteristics of this group. The Latino national Political Survey (LNPS) provides an unprecedented opportunity to begin analyzing the Latino political communities. This study analyzes some of the characteristics of Latinos that affect voting participation. Using the LNPS data, selected sociodemographic indexes correlated with voter turnout are examined. Logistic regression models empirically demonstrate the importance of distinguishing among subgroups and also confirm that socioeconomic factors, most notably life-cycle effect variables, are of critical significance in predicting voter turnout.

Alex-Asssensoh, Yvette, and A.B. Assensoh. 2001. "Inner City-Contexts, Church Attendance, and African American Political Participation." *Journal of Politics* 63(3): 886-901.

> Over the years, and undeniable and convincing body of evidence has emphasized the importance of African-American churches as conduits for political skills, resources, and mobilization. In this study, we examine the growing incidence of neighborhood poverty: never married, parent house-holds; and perceived social isolation to ascertain the extent to which they undermine church attendance and the associated benefits of increased political engagement, organizational member-ship, and voting. The major finding of this study is that the inner-city contexts in which African Americans reside matter for overall political behavior. However, these influences occur much more through the perception of social isolation and family structure than through neighborhood poverty. Moreover, while the results indicate that to an extent inner-city contexts do matter, they also reaffirm the continuing importance and durability of the African American church as a visible and politically relevant institution in beleaguered, inner-city communities.

Balcazar, Fabricio E., Edurne Garcia-Iriarte, and Yolanda Suarez-Balcazar. 2009. "Participatory Action Research With Colombian Immigrants." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 31(1): 112–127.

> This article describes a participatory needs assessment process in which Colombian immigrants in Chicago collaborated with university researchers to identify their common concerns and implement self-help efforts to address some of their most pressing needs. A total of 261 Colombians completed a needs assessment survey, and 46 attended a public forum in which the issues were discussed and groups of volunteers were organized to coordinate and plan actions to address identified needs. Groups of volunteers conducted the research and developed a guide to health care and a guide to social services in the state of Illinois, which were widely distributed in the community. The participatory methodology appears to have effectively mobilized individuals who volunteered their time to help others – particularly newcomers who often find themselves at a loss to maneuver and understand a complex array of systems and services that are completely unfamiliar. Implications for future research are discussed.

Barreto, Matt A., Mario Villarreal, and Nathan D. Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Voter Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 27: 71-92.

> Most research on Latino voting behavior conclusively finds that as a group, Latinos vote at lower rates than other racial and ethnic groups in the United States. In this article, we argue that given the appropriate circumstances, Latinos should be expected to vote at higher rates than other racial and ethnic groups. In particular, we think the presence of a viable Latino candidate will spur increased Latino turnout and that when Latinos candidates run for office, Latino voters will prefer the co-ethnic candidate. Analyzing precinct level returns from the Los Angeles 2001 mayoral and the 2000 presidential elections we show this may be the case. High-density Latino precincts show higher rates of turnout when Latino candidates are on the ballot, and these same precincts show heightened support for the co-ethnic candidate. In fact, for the first time ever in Los Angeles, the 2001 mayoral election witnessed Latinos voting at the highest rates of any racial or ethnic group in the city.

Barreto, Matt A., Gary Segura, and Nathan D. Woods. 2004. "The Mobilizing Effects of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 65-75.

> We inquire whether residence in majority–minority districts raises or lowers turnout among Latinos. We argue that the logic suggesting that majority–minority districts suppress turnout is flawed and hypothesize that the net effect is empowering. Further, we suggest that residing in multiple overlapping majority–minority districts – for state assemblies, senates, and the U.S. House – further enhances turnout. We test our hypotheses using individual-level turnout data for voters in five Southern California counties. Examining three general elections from 1996 to 2000, we demonstrate that residing in a majority-Latino district ultimately has a positive effect on the propensity of Latino voters to turn out, an effect that increases with the number of Latino districts in which the voter resides and is consistent across the individual offices in which a voter might be descriptively represented. In contrast, the probability that non-Hispanic voters turn out decreases as they are subject to increasing layers of majority-Latino districting.

Barreto, Matt A. 2005. "Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign Born Latino Turnout in the 2002 Election." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(1): 79-86.

> Research on voting and elections has generally found that Latino foreign-born citizens turnout to vote at lower rates than native-born Latinos as well as non-Latinos. Primarily as the result of lower levels of education, income, and English language skills, immigrant voters have demonstrated low levels of political participation. In addition, naturalized Latinos are rarely, if ever, the target of voter mobilization drives, further decreasing their likelihood to turnout. However, with extensive mobilization drives targeting naturalized voters in California in 2002, and low levels of political interest among the general electorate, higher rates of turnout among the foreign-born are anticipated. Probit models predicting turnout are explored here and the results reveal that in California in 2002, for the first time, Latino immigrant voters were significantly more likely to vote than were the native-born Latinos.

Barreto, Matt A., and J.A. Munoz. 2003. "Re-examining the Politics of In-between: Political Participation among Mexican Immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(4): 427-447.

> This article undertakes a multivariate analysis of political participation among Mexican American immigrants. Traditional forms of participation such as registration and voting are not adequate tests of civic engagement for a population including 7 million noncitizens. Rather, this article examines non-electoral participation including attending a meeting or rally, volunteering for a campaign, or donating money to a political cause. This research employs a national sample of Mexican Americans, including immigrants and noncitizens, and the models reveal that Mexican American immigrants are politically active. The authors find that the foreign-born are not less likely to be active than native-born respondents and, furthermore, among the foreign-born, noncitizens are just as likely to participate as naturalized citizens. Although traditional SES variables remain important, language fluency, percentage of life in the United States, and immigrant attitudes toward opportunities in the United States contribute additional predictive capacity to models of political participation among Mexican immigrants.

Barreto, Matt A., Ramírez, Ricardo, and Nathan D. Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Effect of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(4): 792-811.

> **Objectives:** The 1990s witnessed the growth and maturation of the Latino electorate in California and many scholars have posited as to the reasons. One argument is that naturalizations by way of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) drove the increases in Latino participation. In this article we investigate the extent to which this is the case. **Methods:** Using unpublished INS data, we offer the first empirical test of the IRCA theory by examining Latino IRCA petitions by zip code to determine whether or not IRCA legalizations and subsequent naturalizations were the force behind increased Latino turnout, and the overall growth of the Latino vote. We merge IRCA data with Registrar of Voter data to examine real growth in the Latino vote at the zip code level from 1996–2000 in southern California. **Results:** Although Latino voting grew substantially, we find that IRCA naturalizations did not spur the increases in Latino voting in the 1990s as some have expected. Instead, demographic and mobilization variables explain why the Latino vote grew between 1996 and 2000. **Conclusions:** As Congress debates new proposals to "legalize" the millions of undocumented immigrants living and working in this country, many will inevitably ask what impact their citizenship will have on the electorate. This study sheds some light on the relationship between amnesty programs, citizenship, and voting among Latinos.

Bezdek, Robert, David Billeaux, and Juan Carlos Huerta. 2000. "Latinos, At-Large Elections, and Political Change. Evidence From the "Transition Zone."" *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 207-225.

> Our purpose is to examine several factors expected to help specify the conditions under which minority voting strength is translated into more-competitive minority candidates in at-large city council elections. This research analyzes precinct and contextual data for city council elections in Corpus Christi, Texas, from 1983 to 1997. Using both bi-variate and multivariate analyses, this longitudinal design allow for an examination of development and change. The findings indicate that the Latino candidate victory margin is likely to be greater when there are both viable candidates and a favorable ratio of Latino to non-Latino candidates with a widely distributed vote among the non-Latino candidates. Voting remains ethnically polarized and Latino success is not the result of citywide support.

Bickerstaff, Steve. 2001. "Effects of the Voting Rights Act on Reapportionment and Hispanic Voting Strength in Texas." *Texas Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy* 6: 99-102.

> Hispanic voting strength in the state of Texas will continue to grow both due to the apportionment in 2001 and because of the continuing increase in the number of Hispanic residents in the next decade. As the states demographics continue to change, so will the relative strength of each of the state's regions, partisan organizations, and racial and ethnic groups. Governmental and social institutions will continue to be transformed in Texas. This will largely be a result of the legal and practical dilemmas associated with the Voting Rights Act.

Bullock III, Charles S., and M.V. Hood III. 2006. "A Mile-Wide Gap: The Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1117-35.

> **Objective:** Prior to the 1990s, the size of the Hispanic population in the Deep South was negligible. Since that time, states in this region have experienced an explosive growth in members of this ethnic group. **Methods:** Georgia and the Carolinas are among five states that maintain registration and turnout files by ethnicity. We make use of these political data in conjunction with demographic information from the Census to create a snapshot of Hispanic political emergence in the southeast. **Results:** A sizable gap exists between the size of the Hispanic population in the southeast and levels of political participation on the part of Latinos. Much of the explanation for this observation centers on the fact that the bulk of recent migration to the region has been by Hispanics who are not U.S. citizens. Participation rates among Hispanic citizens, however, were also found to lag behind those of other racial groups in the region. **Conclusions:** Although it is likely that Hispanics will become a sizable political force in the Deep South, it should be noted that the gulf between *latent* political influence and *actual* political power may take quite some time to close.

Cassel, Carol A. 2002. "Hispanic Turnout: Estimates from Validated Voting Data." *Political Research Quarterly* 55(2): 391-408.

> This study is the first to test theories about the distinctiveness of Hispanic voting participation using validated voting data, which are necessary to access Hispanic turnout relative to the turnout of other groups. The central issue is whether a Latino immigrant culture sustained by proximity to homelands makes Hispanic voters distinctive, or whether Hispanics vote at the same rate as others with the same social circumstances. The analyses show that in presidential contests, Hispanic citizens vote at the same rate as similarly situated Anglos and African-Americans. In midterm contests, Hispanic turnout is distinctively low and cannot be explained by the recency of immigration or weak participatory predispositions related to Latino networks and political history that motivate Anglos and African-Americans to vote in low visibility races, or Latino political leaders prefer to mobilize voters in more competitive presidential or municipal elections.

Citrin, Jack, and Benjamin Highton. 2002 "How Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Shape the California Electorate." December . *Public Policy Institute of California*. http://www.ppic.org/main/publication.asp?i=373 (February 13, 2009).

> Although the ethnic composition of California's population has changed dramatically over the last two decades, the voting population's profile is shifting slowly by comparison. In *How Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Shape the California Electorate*, Jack Citrin and Benjamin Highton study turnout gaps across California's four largest racial and ethnic groups. They find that the relatively low turnout among Latinos and Asians, the two groups with the largest immigrant populations, can be traced to markedly different causes. Facilitating naturalization is an important step toward faster political incorporation for all immigrants, but the authors conclude that no single policy designed to boost voting is likely to work for both Latinos and Asians.

Deaux, Kay, Anne Reid, Daniela Martin, and Nida Bikmen. 2006. "Ideologies of Diversity and Inequality: Predicting Collective Action in Groups Varying in Ethnicity and Immigrant Status." *Political Psychology* 27(1): 123-146.

> Ideological positions regarding social diversity and status inequality are examined as predictors of people's willingness to engage in collective action. Using social dominance theory and social identity theory, we hypothesized that the relationships between ideology, ethnic identification, and orientation toward collective action will vary depending on the position of one's group. Comparisons were made between four U.S. groups: White natives, White immigrants, Black/Latino natives, and Black/Latino immigrants. Groups differed in their endorsement of social diversity and social inequality, as well as in their orientation toward collective action and their ethnic group identification. For all groups, ethnic identity mediated the link between ideology and collective action, but the valence and magnitude of paths differed as a function of ethnicity and immigrant status. Social diversity was more critical for U.S. immigrants (White and Black/Latino); social inequality accounted for more variance in native-born U.S. groups (although in opposite directions for the two groups).

de la Garza, Rodolfo O., and Louis DeSipio. 1996. "The Best of Times, The Worst of Times: Latinos and the 1996 Elections." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 10: 3-26.

> In this article, we assess this seeming contradiction between new opportunities and the continuing pattern of low electoral participation. Our discussion has to parts. First, we discuss the major events of the 1996 elections with a particular focus on campaign efforts to reach Latino voters and on Latino efforts to shape national political outcomes. Second, we look at the results of the election. Results have several meanings including Latino turnout on election day, election of Latinos to office, and the ability of Latino elites to make demands on government based on the Latino vote. Each measure reinforces the others to show that Latinos were not able to use the 1996 election cycle to exercise greater influence on political outcomes than they had in previous elections.

de la Garza, Rodolfo, Charles W. Haynes, and Jaesung Ryu. 2001-02. "An Analysis of Latino Voter Turnout Patterns in the 1992-1998 General Elections in Harris County, Texas." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 14: 77-95.

> The purpose of this research is to compare voter registration and turnout patterns of Hispanic voters in Harris County, Tex., over the course of four general elections: the presidential elections of 1992 and 1996, and the off-year elections of 1994 and 1998. Harris County is the most populous county in Texas, containing much of Houston. Although it is not predominately Hispanic, the county is home to a large number of Hispanic persons. Consequently, the county offers an opportunity to examine Latino voting turnout rates. Our findings indicate that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of Latino registered voters in Harris County. This growth has been characterized by a major spike that seems to be related to the increase in naturalization rates in the mid-1990's. The increase in non-Latino registrants has been slower and more incremental. Latino voter turnout lagged significantly behind increases in registration. And the percentage of Latinos who always vote is greater than the percentage of non-Latinos who always vote, and percentage of Latinos who never vote is greater than the percentage of non-Latinos who never

vote. Combining these two suggests that a significantly lower percentage of Latinos relative to Anglos regularly votes.

DeSipio, Louis. 1996. "Making Citizens or Good Citizens? Naturalization as a Predictor of Organizational and Electoral Behavior Among Latino Immigrants." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 194-213.

> In this article, the author draws on the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) to contrast the political behaviors of naturalized and native-born Latino U.S. citizens. The author examines three types of political behavior, organizational participation, ethnic organizations participation, and electoral participation-and one form of community activity that may serve as a precursor of political activity-school-focused parental involvement. The author finds that the naturalized are less likely than similarly situated native-born Latinos to participate in electoral politics and organizational activity. The author also finds that the weight of the negative influence of naturalization is less than the weight of the positive influence on participation of increasing levels of education and of age. The consequence of these findings is that strategies for Latino political empowerment based on naturalization will have to recognize that naturalization is just the first step in making politically active citizens.

DeSipio, Louis, and Rodolfo. O. De la Garza. 1993 "Latinos and the 1992 Presidential Campaigns: A National Overview." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 6.

> This article examines the role of Latino electorates in the 1992 presidential campaign. We examine both the role of Latino voters in deciding electoral outcomes and the degree to which the campaigns and the candidates sought Latino voters. This analysis reflects detailed study of the course of the 1992 campaign, but also benefits from comparisons to recent national and local campaigns in areas with high concentrations of Latinos. The findings reported here are also part of a larger national Ford Foundation financed study of Latinos and the 1992 elections.

DeSipio, Louis, Natalie Masuoka, and Christopher Stout. 2006. "The Changing Non-Voter: What Differentiates Non-Voters and Voters in Asian American and Latino Communities?" September 19. *Center for the Study of Democracy*. Paper 06-11.

> Asian Americans and Latinos are currently one of the fastest growing racial minority groups in the United States. However, much of this growth is due to immigration: over half of both communities are new immigrants. Thus, Asian American and Latino political incorporation is directly related to the challenges associated with immigration and in ensuring the transition from citizen adult to voter. This paper explores the effect of immigration on the Asian American and Latino political behavior. Applying DeSipio's (1996) model of new electorates, we disaggregate immigrants from both communities into three non-voting categories: non-naturalized immigrant adults, citizen adults not registered to vote, and registered voter adults who did not vote in the 2000 or 2004 election. Using Current Population Survey (CPS) data we identify and compare the factors that differentiate these three non-voting categories from those who voted between both communities. We find that Asian American and Latino political incorporation cannot be

predicted solely on the basis of individual socioeconomic factors. In addition, we must take into account influences related to immigration and political institutions such as labor unions.

DeSipio, Louis. 2002. "Immigrant Organizing, Civic Outcomes: Civic Engagement, Political Activity, National Attachment, and Identity in Latino Immigrant Communities." November 1. *Center for the Study of Democracy.* Paper 02-08.

> This paper assesses the influence of Latino participation in community-based organizations on the likelihood of participation in community politics, on attachments to the United States and their countries of origin, and on their ethnic identity. The results provide two insights. Organizational activity spurs civic engagement. The skills, networks, and information provided through this group-focused community activity vest Latinos with the resources they need to take on more individualist forms of politics. The second finding is that the influence of organizational activities does not shape attitudes. While organizations undeniably offer contacts with other individuals and networks, these resources do not drive attitudes toward either the United States or a panethnic identity. The paper relies on data from a survey of "emerging" Latino populations, Latinos who trace their origin or ancestry to El Salvador, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, or Colombia.

Diaz, William. 1996. "Latino Participation in America: Associational and Political Roles." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 154-73.

> Using data from the Latino National Political Survey, this article examines the relationship between organizational membership and political participation for Cuban Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans. Although a strong relationship between these two variables had been found for Americans in general by Sidney Verba and Norman Nie in their classic 1972 study Participation in America, the Latino National Political Survey allows for an examination of this relationship for Latinos for the first time. Based on this analysis, the article concludes that, as Verba and Nie found for other Americans, organizational membership has a strong impact on Latino political participation, especially among Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans, who generally exhibit very low rates of political participation. The article calls for strengthening Latino membership organizations and encourages non-Latino membership organizations to reach out to Latinos as one way of increasing Latino political participation rates.

García-Colón, Ismael. 2008. "Claiming Equality: Puerto Rican Farmworkers in Western New York." *Latino Studies* 6(3): 269–289.

> In July of 1966, a group of Puerto Rican migrant workers protested against police brutality and discrimination in North Collins, a small farm community of western New York. Puerto Rican farmworkers made up a substantial part of the population, and had transformed the ethnic, racial, and gender landscape of the town. Local officials and residents produced and reproduced images of Puerto Ricans as inferior subjects within US racial and ethnic hierarchies. Those negative images of Puerto Ricans shaped the way in which local authorities elaborated policies of social control against these farmworkers in North Collins. At the same time, Puerto Rican farmwork-

ers challenged those existing images and power relations that attempted to stigmatize them as inferior. They affirmed their presence in western New York and, in effect, stood up for their rights as citizens, as Puerto Ricans, and as Latinos.

Gay, Claudine. 2001 "The Effect of Minority Districts and Minority Representation on Political Participation in California." June. *Public Policy Institute of California*. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_601CGR.pdf (February 13, 2009).

> Benefiting in part from the creation of majority-minority districts – those in which minority groups constitute a majority of the voting population – California's Latino and black congressional representatives have emerged as visible political actors in an institution traditionally dominated by whites. Advocates argue that majority-minority districts are beneficial because they encourage more Latinos and African-Americans to participate in the political process. Although this claim has met with considerable skepticism, so far neither the advocates nor the skeptics have offered firm evidence for or against the link between majority-minority redistricting and increased political participation. Claudine Gay's *The Effect of Minority Districts and Minority Representation on Political Participation in California* provides this evidence by investigating Latino, African-American, and white turnout rates in California's 13 majority-minority districts.

Graves, Scott, and Jongho Lee. 2000. "Ethnic Underpinnings of Voting Preference: Latinos and the 1996 U.S. Senate Election in Texas." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 226-36.

> **Objective:** Studies have found that ethnicity influences voting behavior, but precisely how it does so remains unclear. This article adds to the voting behavior literature by specifying the pathways by which ethnicity influences prospective vote choice. **Methods:** Data are taken from a pre-election telephone survey of Latinos and Anglos in Texas. The survey focused on the 1996 U.S. Senate race, in which a Mexican American Democrat challenged an Anglo incumbent. We test hypotheses regarding the relationship between ethnicity and vote preference. **Results:** Ethnicity has a direct effect on partisan identification and issue positions. It also has an indirect effect on candidate evaluation and voting preference. **Conclusions:** Ethnicity directly and indirectly shapes important voting considerations and hence plays a major role in shaping voting preference.

Hardy-Fanta, Carol. 1998-1999. "Discovering Latina Women in Boston politics." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 11: 53-73.

> The role played by Latina women activists in the fulfillment of their community in Boston should be publicized to ensure the empowerment of the Latino community. Latina women activists base their community activism on an inter-personal level and channelize their political thoughts to develop the latent consciousness of the Latina community of Boston regarding their daily and socio-economical life style. Latina women in the political arena of Boston believe in forming small, informal groups, where divergent viewpoints are assimilated and common, unilateral answers are found to solutions concerning the entire Latino community.

Hero, Rodney, and Anna Campbell. 1996. "Understanding Latino Political Participation: Exploring the Evidence From the Latino National Political Survey." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 129-141.

> This article examines Latino political participation in several forms of nonvoting political activities (attending rallies, volunteering for a party candidate, contributing money, signing petitions, contacting officials, and attending public meetings). Latino groups are compared with non-Latinos and with each other, and the impact of the sociodemographic characteristics is also considered. The findings are complex, but they do not provide much support for the view that Latinos (as such) are systematically less likely to participate. Latinos participation patterns regarding a number of other forms are, on the whole, not much different from those of non-Latinos. For some forms, such as attending rallies, Latinos are more likely to participate. Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans commonly participate at levels equal to or higher than Cubans in these nonvoting activities.

Highton, Benjamin, and Arthur L. Burris. 2002. "New Perspectives on Latino Voter Turnout in the United States." *American Politics Research* 30(3): 285-306.

> In this article, we address a number of unresolved questions about Latino electoral participation. First, we examine differences between Latinos and other groups and establish a persistent pattern of low Latino turnout that remains even after taking into account the fact that a large proportion of Latinos are not citizens and are therefore ineligible to vote. Then we investigate the extent to which differences in turnout between Latinos and other groups can be explained by standard socioeconomic variables. Finally, we consider whether there are meaningful differences in turnout between foreign-born and native-born Latino citizens and argue that framing the question in terms of a foreign-born/native-born dichotomy is misleading. Nativity status does have a powerful effect on turnout, but only when considered in conjunction how long foreign-born citizens have lived in the United States. Throughout, we distinguish the three largest Latino subgroups, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans.

Hritzuk, Natasha, and David K. Park. 2000. "The Question of Latino Participation: From an SES to a Social Structural Explanation." *Social Sciences Quarterly* 81(1): 151-66.

> This research has two objectives: to construct a model incorporating factors other than those relating to SES, focusing on variables influencing Latino political participation, thereby helping to ascertain the distinctiveness of Latino activity, and to examine participatory acts beyond voting. **Method:** We create a social structural model, predicting that Latinos' social context may increase their opportunities for political participation. Using data from a new survey, we estimate our social structural model employing an ordered probit methodology. **Results:** (1) Social structural variables including integration into politically active social networks, exposure to mobilization, and organizational affiliation increase the likelihood Latinos will participate; (2) after including into the model variables measuring attachment to native country, the social structural variables remain significant; (3) the variables underlying Latino political activity are distinct from those explaining black and white participation. **Conclusions:** Latinos' social milieu acts as a critical context for socialization, information dissemination, and mobilization, thereby providing some requisite resources central to facilitating participation.

Johnson, Martin, Robert M. Stein, and Robert Wrinkle. 2003. "Language Choice, Residential Stability, and Voting among Latino Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(2): 412-424.

> Students of political behavior have often found that the primary use of languages other than English impedes many forms of political participation in the United States. We develop expectations about how language choice operates with social context to influence an individual's decision to vote. Although choosing to speak a language other than English – in this case, Spanish – may affect the amount of political information individuals have at their disposal, this choice also represents their access to social and community resources that enable, rather than impede, political participation. We examine the voting behavior of Latinos, almost entirely Mexican Americans, living in south Texas counties on the U.S. border and reconsider the consequences of language choice for political behavior. Controlling for past residential tenure, we find that Spanish-speaking Latinos will be more likely to vote than English-speaking Latinos. The establishment of ties to an ethnic group in a majority-minority context over time mitigates the negative relationship between the use of Spanish as a primary language and voting.

Jones-Correa, Michael. 2000-2001. "All Politics is Local: Latinos and the 2000 Elections." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 13: 25-44.

> Throughout much of the 2000 presidential campaign, Hispanic Americans were called the new "soccer moms" of American politics. Like suburban women in the 1996 election, they were expected to play a key role as swing voters, turning out in great numbers and splitting voted between the two parties. Because of their role as potential swing voters, the Democratic and the Republican National Committees indicated that they were going to be spending significant amounts of money vying for the Latino vote. Yet while the Latino vote did increase overall turnout in the 1996 election, they were arguably not the swing vote that the Republican Party might have hoped for and the Democratic Party might have feared. Hispanics continued to weigh their votes two to one for the Democratic Party. And in few areas could it be said that Latinos decisively swing the elections in their states.

Jones-Correa, Michael, and David Leal. 2001. "Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly* 54(4): 751-770.

> Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) posit that variation in ethnic group political participation, while related to socioeconomic differences among them, is derived from the acquisition of civic skills through their associational memberships and, in particular, from their experiences in church. Catholic and Protestant churches were hypothesized to develop different levels of such skills, and Verba et. al. suggested that the relatively low level of Latino political participation was explained by their predominately Catholic affiliation. If this argument is true, then we should see participatory differences between within ethnic groups by denomination. An alternative hypothesis is that churches matter through their role as civic associations. In that case, denominational differences should not matter, but churchgoers should be more active than non-churchgoers. Examining the 1989-90 Latino National Political Survey and the 1990 ANES, we find that while denominational differences have some limited explanatory power for Hispanic political participation, it is in the opposite direction than that hypothesized. By far the more important contribution to an explanation of political participation is made by churches' central civic association roles.

Junn, Jane. 1999. "Participation in Liberal Democracy: The Political Assimilation of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* 42(9): 1417-1438.

> This article compares patterns of participatory behavior in politics among immigrants and ethnic minorities in the United States. Differences in rates of participation in a range of political activities from system-directed acts, such as voting and contacting officials, to more direct forms of participation, such as protesting, are analyzed for Whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans, as well as by generation of immigration within groups. The extent to which standard socioeconomic status models of participatory behavior explain variation in political activity across ethnic and racial groups is assessed. In so doing, the article challenges the normative interpretation of the results from these standard models that more participation among minorities and new entrants to the United States is desirable.

Kam, Cindy D., Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, and Jennifer R. Wilking. 2008. "From the Gap to the Chasm: Gender and Participation among Non-Hispanic Whites and Mexican Americans." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 205-218.

> This article focuses on gender and ethnic inequalities in political participation across non-Hispanic whites and Mexican Americans. Using a mainstream model of participation, the authors find that differences in the levels of resources, motivations, and opportunities effectively account for gender gaps within the two populations. However, this mainstream model leaves largely unexplained the chasm in participation across non-Hispanic whites and Mexican Americans. The authors incorporate socialization experiences specific to Mexican Americans to identify the roots of participatory inequality across these groups. Differences in linguistic, educational, and general assimilation account for participatory differences across Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic whites. Equalizing these factors closes the chasm in participation.

Klesner, Joseph L. 2003. "Political Attitudes, Social Capital, and Political Participation: The United States and Mexico Compared." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 19(1): 29-63.

> Political values have impact when they shape political participation. A comparison of political participation rates of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and the general U.S. population reveals that participation is highest among the general U.S. population, lowest among Mexicans, and at intermediate rates among Mexican-Americans. The article explores the attitudinal bases of political participation, finding that political engagement is a strong predictor of participation, while general perspectives on the political regime do not shape participation rates. The strongest predictors of political participation are variables generally grouped under the category social capital: involvement in non-political organizations, social trust, and an avoidance of television. Because Mexicans and Mexican-Americans have lower levels of social capital, political participation is lower among those groups than the general U.S. population. Yet, there remain unexplained differences in participation among the three groups that can be attributed to institutional and historical constraints on political involvement in Mexico and among Mexican-Americans.

Leal, David L., Stephen A. Nuño, Jongho Lee, and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 2008. "Latinos, Immigration, and the 2006 Midterm Elections." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 41(2): 309-317.

> The 2006 election will best be remembered for returning Democrats to power in both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives. By almost any metric, November 7 was a bad day for the Republicans. After 12 years of Republican majorities, the Democrats picked up 31 seats in the House and six in the Senate. While significant GOP losses were expected, the results on Election Day were essentially the best case scenario for the Democrats.

Lien, Pei-te. 1994. "Ethnicity and Political Participation: A Comparison between Asian and Mexican Americans." *Political Behavior* 16(2): 237-64.

> What is ethnicity and how does it matter for political participation? Previous research has shown that the participatory disparity of Asian Americans, as different from Latinos, cannot be explained with sociodemographic and group consciousness variables. Adopting the view of a growing body of scholars who think ethnicity is an evolving rather than a static phenomenon, this study proposes multidimensional measures of ethnicity for two immigrant groups. Reexamining part of the 1984 data set that contains a unique oversampling of Asian and Mexican Americans in California, it is found that the two groups, despite a huge socioeconomic gap, bear similar ethnicity and participation structures. For both groups, acculturation increases participation; attachment to homeland culture does not necessarily discourage participation; and the role of group consciousness is much more complex than previously conceived.

Longoria, Jr., Thomas, Robert D. Wrinkle, and J. L. Polinard. 1990. "Mexican American Voter Registration and Turnout: Another Look." *Social Science Quarterly* 71(2): 356-61.

> New evidence is offered in regard to the relationship between voter registration and turnout among Mexican Americans. This study extends an earlier precinct-level study and suggests that Mexican American voter registration has stabilized and that turnout in Mexican American precincts is narrowing the gap with Anglo precincts.

Marcelli, Enrico A., and Wayne A. Cornelius 2005. "Immigrant Voting in Home-Country Elections: Potential Consequences of Extending the Franchise to Expatriate Mexicans Residing in the United States." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 21(2): 429-60.

> Despite widespread interest in the effects of expanding expatriate Mexicans' ability to vote in the 2006 Mexican presidential election, no systematic estimates of potential participation currently exist. Applying logistic regression techniques to 2001 Los Angeles County Mexican Immigrant Residency Status Survey data and 2002 Current Population Survey data, we find that 125,000 to 360,000 (1.5–4.2 percent of) expatriate Mexican migrants residing in the United States may vote in 2006. Migrants who are less well integrated in the United States, have a Mexican political party affiliation, or attend religious meetings more frequently are estimated to be more likely to vote. And although a minority of expatriates is likely to vote for the PAN candidate in 2006, the expatriate vote is not likely to exceed one percent of the total Mexican vote; state and local, rather

than national, electoral outcomes are more likely to be influenced. Still, instituting an absentee ballot and facilitating cross-border mobility could significantly expand expatriate participation in future Mexican elections.

Lopez, Mark Hugo. 2003. "Electoral Engagement among Latinos." *Inter-University Program for Latino Research*, University of Notre Dame.

> This report highlights differences in voter turnout and registration rates within the Latino community and in comparison to other groups, with a special emphasis on young voters who constitute a larger proportion of the Latino electorate than in other communities. It also examines recent findings about other measures of electoral engagement as revealed in a recent large national survey.

Marquez, Benjamin, and James Jennings. 2000 "Representation by Other Means: Mexican American and Puerto Rican Social Movement Organizations." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(3): 541-46.

> This article is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers discuss Mexican American and Puerto Rican social movement organizations. They note that social movement organizations were frequently the only outlets for political representation and self-defense in a society where Latinos were outnumbered and prohibited from effective participation in the institutions of government. They contend that Latino organizations created a leadership cadre and served as a means through which interests of class, gender, occupation, and ideology were mediated through the lens of race. They assert that although Mexican American and Puerto Rican activists had common experiences of racial and ethnic injustice, organizations emerged with distinct understandings of life and race relations in the U.S. They argue that the analysis of these groups creates a more complete understanding of Latino politics and the complex forces driving a growing political force.

Marschall, M.J. 2001. "Does the Shoe Fit? Testing Models of Participation for African-American and Latino Involvement in Local Politics." *Urban Affairs Review* 37(2): 227-48.

> Despite the voluminous literature on participation, when it comes to the participatory behavior of racial and ethnic minorities and lower-income groups, many questions remain unanswered. The author tests the extent to which four theoretical models – socioeconomic status, psychological orientations, social context, and mobilization resource – explain the participation of whites, African-Americans, and Latinos in local political and community activities. Based on a sample of inner-city New York respondents, the author finds that existing theories differentially explain participation across both ethnic group and participatory activity. More generally, the findings indicate that more attention needs to be focused on how the broader social and institutional environment shapes the behaviors and attitudes that ultimately foster political engagement.

Mellor, Steven, Lisa M. Kath, and Carrie A. Bulger. 2003. "Bilingualism: Relationships With Willingness to Participate in Union Activities." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(1): 95–109.

> This study examined the effects of bilingualism on willingness to participate in union activities. Surveys were completed by bilingual Hispanic members (*n* = 48), monolingual (Spanish-only) Hispanic members (*n* = 25), and monolingual (English-only) White and Black members (*n* = 215, *n* = 61, respectively) from a local union representing semiskilled workers. The concept of second-culture competence from biculturalism theory was used to explain the influence of bilingualism on willingness to participate. In contrast with White and Black members, bilingual Hispanic members were more willing to participate, whereas monolingual Hispanic members were less willing to participate. Implications for union policy on enhancing participation among Hispanic members are discussed.

Michelson, Melissa R. 2006. "Mobilizing the Latino Vote: Some Experimental Results." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1188-1206.

> **Objectives:** The objectives of this article are to test whether Latino canvassers are more effective than non-Latino canvassers at increasing voter turnout among young Latinos, and to test whether young Latinos are more receptive to a mobilization message that stresses ethnic group solidarity or one that emphasizes civic duty. **Methods:** A randomized field experiment, conducted in Fresno, California in the fall of 2002, is the basis for the results reported here. **Results:** Young Latino voters targeted by Latino canvassers are more likely to be contacted. However, once contacted, Latinos reached by non-Latino canvassers are just as likely to turn out to vote as are those reached by non-Latino canvassers. The mobilization effect is particularly strong among voters who have participated in at least one prior election. **Conclusions:** The importance of using Latino canvassers to get out the Latino vote is confirmed, but should not be overemphasized. More importantly, this experiment demonstrates that door-to-door canvassing can have a substantively large and statistically significant effect on turnout among young Latinos, a demographic group often overlooked by parties and campaigns.

Michelson, Melissa R. 2000. "Political Efficacy and Electoral Participation of Chicago Latinos." *Social Sciences Quarterly* 81(1): 136-50.

> **Objectives:** This article explores feelings of political efficacy among Chicago Latinos, making intra-ethnic comparisons within the Chicago Latino community as well as comparisons to blacks and Anglos using NES data. **Methods:** The approach was an analysis of spring 1997 telephone survey of Chicago Latinos about their feelings of political efficacy and their voting behavior in the 1996 general elections. **Results:** Chicago Latinos report lower feelings of political efficacy on an internal efficacy item and on one of two external efficacy items than do most national groups, but much higher levels of external efficacy on the remaining item. There are also interesting differences in responses among groups within the Chicago Latino community. Also, Chicago Latinos do not exhibit the same link between external efficacy and voting as has been found for Anglos. **Conclusions:** Chicago Latinos feel that their political reality is one of relatively high empowerment, and they tend to view voting as more of a symbolic act than as an instrumental one.

Montoya, Lisa J., Carol Hardy-Fanta, and Sonia Garcia. 2000 "Latina Politics: Gender, Participation, and Leadership." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(3): 555-61.

> This article is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers consider Latino gender research in mass political participation and public opinion, community politics, and elite politics. They analyze quantitative research on Latinos in the U.S. and explore recent research on Latina political actors in community and elite politics. They aim to offer an outline of the work being done at the intersection of gender and Latino politics. They discuss how this literature supports or diverges from the mainstream literature on women's participation, public opinion, activism, and leadership. Finally, they consider future directions for research.

Pantoja, Adrian D., Ricardo Ramirez, and Gary M. Segura. 2002. "Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos." *Political Research Quarterly* 54(4): 729-50.

> In this article, we compare the 1996 turnout among cohorts of naturalized and native-born Latino citizens, looking for between-group differences endogenous to recent anti-immigrant rhetoric and events in California. We argue that immigrants naturalizing in a politically charged environment represent a self-selected subsample of all voters, identifying individual who feel strongly about the political issues at hand, and how seek enfranchisement as an act of political expression. We suggest that newly naturalized citizens living in California made exactly those choices, which differentiate them from native-born citizens, longer-term naturalized citizens, and Latinos in other states. Using the Thomas Rivera Policy Institute's 1997 three-state survey of citizen attitudes, validating using original registrars-of-voters data, we estimate multivariate logit models of individual turnout of Latino citizens in each state for the 1996 national election. The data support our hypotheses. Newly naturalized Latinos in California behave differently from other Latino citizens of California, and the patterns of difference are not replicated in either Florida or Texas. Turnout was higher among those who naturalized in the politically hostile climate of California in the early 1990s. Our results suggest important political effects of wedge-issue politics that target Latino immigrants.

Pantoja, Adrian D., and Sarah Allen Gershon. 2006. "Political Orientations and Naturalization among Latino and Latina Immigrants." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1171-87.

> **Objective:** This study adds to our knowledge of the naturalization process by considering the impact of political orientations in shaping the pursuit of U.S. citizenship among contemporary Latino and Latina immigrants. **Methods:** We draw on data from the 1999 Harvard/Kaiser/Washington Post "Latino Political Survey" and use ordered logistic regression analyses to test the effects of political orientations on immigrant naturalization. **Results:** Political orientations exert a powerful influence on naturalization beyond the traditional sociodemographic determinants. Furthermore, the impact of political orientations on naturalization varies by gender. **Conclusions:** Naturalization can be induced by stressing the importance of voting and being interested in politics. In addition, Latinas are more likely to pursue naturalization than Latinos and the factors driving their decisions systematically differ from those of their male counterparts.

Portes, Alejandro, Cristina Escobar, and Renelinda Arana. 2008. "Bridging the Gap: Transnational and Ethnic Organizations in the Political Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(6): 1056-1090.

> This study was prompted by concerns about the ways in which immigrant organizations, especially those of a transnational character, may retard or prevent political integration among recent migrants to the United States. For this purpose, we constructed an inventory of all organizations created by Colombian, Dominican and Mexican immigrants in the United States, interviewed leaders of the twenty largest organizations from each group in person, and conducted a survey of 178 additional organizations by telephone or Internet. Results reveal a near-absence of perceived conflict between transnational activism and political incorporation. Almost without exception, leaders asserted that there was no contradiction between home-country loyalties and activities and US citizenship and voting. These results appear to reflect genuine conviction, rather than any social desirability syndrome. Objective indicators show that most organizations maintain close ties with US political authorities at various levels and engage in a number of US-focused civic and political activities. Determinants of such engagement are examined. Implications of the results for theory and public policy are discussed.

Ramakrishnan, S.K., and T.J. Espenshade. 2001 "Immigrant Incorporation and Political Participation in the United States." *International Migration Review* 35(3): 870-909.

> This article examines several factors related to immigrant incorporation that have been ignored in previous studies of voting participation. We add various immigrant-related variables to a model that controls for individual resources, social incorporation, institutional barriers and contexts of political mobilization. We find little support for straight-line assimilationist theories of immigrant adaptation. We also find that coming from a repressive regime has no significant effect on voting and that living in areas with Spanish-language ballots does not increase the likelihood of voting among first generation Latinos. Our results also suggest that and immigrant legislation has a positive effect on participation among first and second generation immigrants. Overall, the immigrant-related variables introduced in our analysis add significantly to the existing theoretical knowledge on voting participation in the United States.

Sanchez, Peter, and Maria Vidal de Haynes. 1996. "Latino Electoral and Non-electoral Political Participation: Findings from the 1996 Chicago Latino registered Voter Survey." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 10: 27-40.

> In this study, we attempt to gain a multidimensional understanding of Latino political participation by looking at different measures of participation, including an index of political participation. Our hope is to contribute more understanding to the little studies phenomenon of Latino political participation. Our data tend to corroborate the findings of previous studies in a limited manner. As in other studies, our data support the notion that education is positively related to political participation. Those Latinos with higher levels of education tend to be more active politically than those with lower education levels. Additionally, we find that maturity, or simply time, has a positive effect on participation. Those who are older or have been in the United States longer tend to participate more than those who are younger or have been in the United States only for a short time.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Political Participation Among Latinos in the United States." *American Politics Research* 34(4): 427-50.

> There are approximately 40 million Latinos living in the United States, which represents 13.7% of the U.S. population. Despite the growing attention the newly titled largest minority group has yielded, there is still a large question of whether this community can translate demographics into political influence. This study attempts to add to this literature by testing dominant theories of political participation in conjunction with the concept of group consciousness utilizing the 1999 Kaiser/Post National Survey of Latinos. Through the use of measures for all dimensions of group consciousness across multiple Latino subgroups, this analysis helps to clarify the role of group consciousness in Latino political behavior. Through an examination of the relationship between group consciousness and political participation across both voting and Latino-specific activities, this study suggests that group consciousness is more meaningful in the context of political activities that are directly tied to the Latino community.

Sisneros, Antonio. 1996. "Disfranchisement in Latino Country: The Management of Latino Human Resources in Illinois State Government. (Latino Electoral Participation)." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 10: 41(21).

> Hispanic Americans in Illinois, although the largest minority group in the state, are not provided commensurate representation in the state government. They have been negatively impacted by the pervasive perception that equates minorities with Blacks. Statistics, however, does not back up this assumption. It is, therefore, necessary to bring this fact to government officials' attention, and to formulate regulations that would take into account the needs of the state's Latino citizens. Provision of bilingual public service is a good example of Latino-sensitive regulation.

Shaw, Daron. 1997. "Estimating Racially Polarized Voting: A View From the States." *Political Research Quarterly* 50(1): 49-74.

> In the aftermath of the 1990 United States Census, much more attention is being paid to the drawing of electoral districts. Leaders of the black and Latino communities are among the most interested in these enterprises because they see redistricting as a way for white majorities to minimize the prospects of electing minority representatives. Decidedly less attention is being paid to the use of ecological regression in evaluating districting arrangements. Ecological regression, long viewed with caution by social scientists, is especially important in ruling on racial polarizing in voting rights cases. The courts' reliance on ecological regression is a product of the lack of reliable district-level survey data on individual –level preferences. This study focuses on the potential pitfalls of using aggregate-level data to infer intergroup voting differences. The design compares ecological regression estimates of group voting behavior in each of the states with estimates gleaned from national tracking polls for the 1992 presidential election. The data show that the technique detects racial detects racial polarization in states, though the accuracy of ecological regression's point estimates is variable.

Shaw, Daron, Rodolfo O. de la Garza, and Jongho Lee. 2000. "Examining Latino Turnout in 1996: A Three-State, Validated Survey Approach." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 338–46.

> As Latino populations in the United States increase, accurately characterizing their turnout is central to understanding how the post-New Deal party system will evolve. Yet we presently have little data on either their turnout or the dynamic by which such participation occurs. We estimate Latino voting rates in the 1996 presidential election by validating self-reported turnout from a post-election survey of Latinos in California, Florida, and Texas. We then use these estimates as dependent variables for multivariate models of Latino turnout. The data show that the validated Latino turnout was much lower than the aggregate turnout for the 1996 election. In addition, many of the factors that have explained aggregate voting were also significantly correlated with Latino turnout. These correlations, however, were stronger for self-reported than for validated Latino voting. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Latino voting in 1996 was the significant and positive effect of contacting by a Latino group, which suggests that mobilization efforts may be critical to eradicating the turnout gap and incorporating Latinos into the existing party system.

Small, Mario. 2002. "Culture, Cohorts, and Social Organization Theory: Understanding Local Participation in a Latino Housing Project." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(1): 1-54.

> Recent work on neighborhood effects has rekindled interest in social organization theory and its relationship to local social capital. This article addresses several gaps in our knowledge about the *mechanisms* linking structural conditions to social (dis)organization and the role of culture in this process. Relying on the case of a predominantly Puerto Rican housing project in Boston, it investigates changes in one aspect of social organization participation in local community activities suggesting the theory should incorporate the role of cohorts and cultural frames and rethink the relationship among structure, culture, and change.

Stein , Robert, and Patricia A. Garcia-Moner. 1997. "Voting Early but Not Often." *Social Science Quarterly* 78(3): 657-71.

> This article examines the correlates of early voting and its effect on voter turnout and electoral support for candidates. Aggregate data for early and election day balloting in Texas counties (N=254) are analyzed for the 1992 Presidential election. Additional data on the implementation of early voting in Texas counties were collected through a mail questionnaire sent to Texas county election clerks. Early voting is strongly influenced by new voter registration, wealth, and the proportion of the population that is Hispanic. The location of early voting sites at socially familiar and frequent venues has a positive effect on the incidence of early voting, independent of the number of total early voting sites available in the county. The partisan mobilization of new voters through voter registration and early voting has a significant and positive effect on balloting for the Democratic presidential candidates in 1992. Unlike many previous electoral reforms (motor-voter registration) there is evidence to support a partisan impact from early voting in the 1992 Texas presidential election. This effect, however, was mediated by the campaign activities of parties and their candidates.

Stokes, Atiya Kai. 2003. "Latino Group Consciousness and Political Participation." *American Politics Research* 31(4): 361-78.

> Although studies of minority political participation often emphasize the link between socio-economic variables or between mobilization and political participation, little empirical research has investigated the effects of group consciousness on Latino political participation. This article examines this relationship using a multidimensional conception of group consciousness. Specifically, I argue that Latinos who self-identify using a pan-ethnic identifier, express dissatisfaction with access to political and material resources, and credit failure to succeed to systemic inequity are more likely to participate in political activities. The results of ordinary least squares models suggest that group consciousness increases Latino political participation; however, the components of group consciousness that increase political participation vary for each Latino subgroup. These findings raise serious questions about what can motivate specific Latino subgroups to participate in a wide range of political activities.

Stokes-Brown, Atiya Kai. 2006. "Racial Identity and Latino Vote Choice." *American Politics Research* 34(5): 627-52.

> Little empirical research has investigated the influence of racial identification on Latino vote choice. This article examines this relationship controlling for socioeconomic and demographic factors. I argue that because race is central in determining the life chances and social positions of groups in the United States, racial self-identification influence the Latino voter's decision to cast a ballot for a co-ethnic candidate over a non-Latino candidate. Ordered probit models show that race is a significant predictor of Latino vote choice. The findings raise interesting questions about Latino bloc voting, candidate preference, and participation more broadly.

Suro, Roberto and Gabriel Escobar. 2006. "Pew Hispanic Center Survey of Mexicans Living in the U.S. on Absentee Voting in Mexican Elections." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. February 22. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=60 (February 13, 2009).

> Strict requirements, insufficient information about registration procedures and lack of public interest have hobbled Mexico's first effort to conduct absentee voting among its more than ten million adult citizens living in the United States, according to a Pew Hispanic Center survey. About one-half of one percent of Mexicans in the U.S. sought absentee ballots for the presidential election in July during a registration period which ended last month. Full toplines are available under "Other Resources."

Tam Cho, Wendy K.1999. "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-) Voting." *Journal of Politics* 61(4): 1140-55.

> Socioeconomic theories have long been the cornerstone of political participation studies. However, these theories are incomplete and particularly unsuited to explaining behavior found within immigrant minority communities. While increases in age and education provide skills that ease

political participation, if these variables do not concurrently socialize an individual to stronger beliefs about the efficacy of voting and democratic ideals, they will not result in the expected higher participation levels. Prior studies oversimplify the effects of socioeconomic status on political participation. Here, evidence is presented that socioeconomic status variables merely provide the skills necessary for political activity in a suitable political context. Socialization determines how these skills will be manifested.

Uhlaner, Carole J. 2002. "The Impact of Perceived Representation on Latino Political Participation." July 1. *Center for the Study of Democracy*. Paper 02-06.

> Latinos are a large and growing portion of the US population but are less numerous among participants in politics than their numbers would suggest. Predictions of the future rates of participation among Latinos depend heavily upon understanding the causes of current rates. A substantial proportion of the disparity in participation rates between Latinos and non-Latinos can be accounted for by the numbers of non-citizens and by other factors related to a large pool of immigrants, differences in socioeconomic resources, and the young age distribution of Latinos. However, these summary statements obscure differences across types of participation. They also obscure differences across Latinos of different national origins. Much of the analysis done to date of the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) has made clear that Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Cuban-Americans can differ as much from each other as members of each group differ from non-Latinos. This paper uses the LNPS data to examine the factors related to different types of political participation among US Latinos of different national origins. Borrowing from the standard participation literature, we consider the impact of resources, engagement, and recruitment. The Latino population provides an especially useful case for testing hypotheses about the impact of mobilization upon activity. Political leaders have actively appealed to Latino ethnicity both in structuring political competition and in seeking support. I have proposed elsewhere that the success of such appeals in increasing participation will hinge in large part upon whether or not the targeted public believes itself well-represented by the leaders. The LNPS contains several items relevant to perceived representation. This paper will use the LNPS data to test the effect of perceived representation upon political participation, while taking account of the other factors that affect levels of activity.

Wrinkle, Robert, Joseph Stewart, Jr., J.L. Polinard, Kenneth J. Meier, and John Arvizu. 1996. "Ethnicity and Non-electoral Political Participation." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2): 142-53.

> The research on political behavior has generally ignored non-electoral forms of participation and has given scant attention to ethnic minorities. Part of the reason for these gaps in the literature has to do with the primary data. Taking advantage of the availability of data from the Latino national Political Survey, this work looks at whether non-electoral participation by Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans can be explained on the basis of culture, socioeconomic status, mobilization, or some combination of the three. Although mobilization appears to offer the strongest explanation, variables representing all three approaches have some utility. Furthermore, it appears that the factors affecting Cuban non-electoral participation are notably different than for other Latinos.

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 distributing 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-

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, worldviews, and leaders to Latino religions and politics over the past 150 years.

Garcia, Sonia, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, Irasema Coronado, Sharon A. Navarro, and Patricia A. Jaramillo. 2008. *Politicas: 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.

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

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.

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,

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.

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 with 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

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 100the Congress (1987-88), Hero and Tolbert (1995) conclude that the roll call voting behavior of Hispanic House members in 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 Unites 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

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 distracting 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.

Chapter Eight: Inter-group Relations

General Inter-Group Relations - Books

Note: Excluding coalitions, there are not enough books in this section to warrant the use of sub-categories similar to those utilized for journal articles.

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.

De Genova, Nicholas P., and Ana Yolanda Ramos-Zayas. 2003. *Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship*. New York: Routledge.

> Despite being lumped together by census data, there are deep divisions between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans living in the United States. Mexicans see Puerto Ricans as deceptive, disagreeable, nervous, rude, violent, and dangerous, while Puerto Ricans see Mexicans as submissive, gullible, naive, and folksy. The distinctly different styles of Spanish each group speaks reinforces racialized class differences. Despite these antagonistic divisions, these two groups do show some form of Latinidad, or a shared sense of Latin American identity.

Jennings, James. 1994. *Blacks, Latinos and Asians in Urban America: Status and Prospects for Politics and Activism*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

> This volume of essays by scholars and activists examines recent urban rebellions and riots in terms of the political relations between Blacks, Latinos, and Asians. It describes the particular status of relations between these communities of color, factors explaining conflict and consensus, and future prospects for these groups in urban America.

Mindiola, Jr., Tatcho, Yolanda Flores Niemann, and Nestor Rodriguez. 2002. *Black-Brown. Relations and Stereotypes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> Race relations in twenty-first-century America will not be just a black-and-white issue. The 2000 census revealed that Hispanics already slightly outnumber African Americans as the largest ethnic group, while together Blacks and Hispanics constitute the majority population in the five largest U.S. cities. Given these facts, black-brown relations could be a more significant racial issue in the decades to come than relations between minority groups and Whites. Offering some of the first in-depth analyses of how African Americans and Hispanics perceive and interact with each other, this path finding study looks at black-brown relations in Houston, Texas, one of the largest U.S. cities with a majority ethnic population and one in which Hispanics outnumber African Americans. Drawing on the results of several sociological studies, the authors focus on four key issues: how each group forms and maintains stereotypes of the other, areas in which the two groups conflict and disagree, the crucial role of women in shaping their communities' racial attitudes, and areas in which Hispanics and African Americans agree and can cooperate to achieve greater political power and social justice.

Inter-Group Attitudes - Articles

Cain, Bruce, Citrin, Jack, and Cara Wong. 2000. "Ethnic Context, Race Relations, and California Politics." June. *Public Policy Institute of California*. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_800BCR.pdf (February 13, 2009).

> California's increased ethnic diversity has generated heated controversies and complex policy debates. In *Ethnic Context, Race Relations, and California Politics*, Bruce Cain, Jack Citrin, and Cara Wong explore the relationship between ethnic diversity and various policy questions, including whether or not ethnicity should be used as a criterion for distributing public benefits. Focusing on the ethnic composition of a neighborhood and the racial attitudes of its residents, the authors find little evidence that these attitudes are shaped by ethnic context or that ethnic group relations are particularly troubled in diverse neighborhoods. The authors conclude that ethnic tensions in California are not preordained to increase as the state continues to cope with its changing demography.

Gay, Claudine. 2006. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 982-97.

> Rapid growth in the size of the Latino population has increased the ethnic diversity of urban neighborhoods, transforming the residential experiences of many black Americans. The competition for scarce resources is considered a central force in black-Latino relations and a source of anti-Latino sentiment among blacks. This article examines how the level and the distribution of economic resources within diverse areas affect black attitudes toward Latinos. Drawing on a multilevel dataset of individual racial attitudes and neighborhood characteristics, the analysis reveals that the relative economic status of racial groups is an important influence on black attitudes. In environments where Latinos are economically advantaged relative to their black neighbors, blacks are more likely to harbor negative stereotypes about Latinos, to be reluctant to extend to

Latinos the same policy benefits they themselves enjoy, and to view black and Latino economic and political interests as incompatible. While the results suggest that diversity without conflict is possible, they make clear that the prospects for intergroup comity depend on some resolution of blacks' economic insecurities.

Jackson, Byran O., Elisabeth R. Gerber, and Bruce E. Cain. 1994 "Coalitional Prospects in a Multi-Racial Society: African-American Attitudes toward Other Minority Groups." *Political Research Quarterly* 47(2): 277-94.

This paper analyzes the coalitional perceptions of African-Americans after incorporation in their city's dominant political condition. Our research addresses two main questions. First, how do African-Americans view their coalition prospects with other major racial and ethnic minority groups? Here we focus on the perceptions of African-Americans in one city, Los Angeles, toward Latinos and Asian-Americans, and compare their attitudes with those of blacks in other cities. Second, how do these coalitional perceptions fit into a fuller model of political attitudes? This analysis provides us with evidence of generational differences in coalitional perceptions and supports the hypothesis of coalitional entropy.

McClain, Paula D., Carter, Niambi M. Carter, Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Monique L. Lyle, Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, Shayla C. Nunally, Thomas J. Scott, J. Alan Kendrick, Gerald F. Lackey, and Kendra Davenport Cotton. 2006. "Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 571-84.

The United States is undergoing dramatic demographic change, primarily from immigration, and many of the new Latino immigrants are settling in the South. This paper examines hypotheses related to attitudes of Latino immigrants toward black Americans in a Southern city. The analyses are based on a survey of black, white and Latino residents (n=500). The results show, for the most part, Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypical views of blacks and feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks. Yet, whites do not reciprocate in their feelings toward Latinos. Latinos' negative attitudes toward blacks, however, are modulated by a sense of linked fate with other Latinos. This research is important because the South still contains the largest population of African Americans in the United States and no section of the country has been more rigidly defined along a black-white racial divide. How these new Latino immigrants situate themselves vis-à-vis black Americans has profound implications for the social and political fabric of the South.

Oliver, J. Eric, and Janelle Wong. 2003. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 567-82.

This article examines how out-group perceptions among Asian Americans, blacks, Latinos, and whites vary with the racial composition of their surroundings. Previous research on the contextual determinants of racial attitudes offers mixed expectations: some studies indicate that larger percentages of proximate out-groups generate intergroup conflict and hostility while others suggest that such environments promote interracial contact and understanding. As most of this research

has been directed at black-white relations, the applicability of these theories to a multiethnic context remains unclear. Using data that merge the 1992–1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality and 1990 Census, we find that in neighborhood contexts, interethnic propinquity corresponds with lower levels of out-group prejudice and competition, although intergroup hostility is higher in metropolitan areas with greater minority populations. Further tests suggest that these results do not occur from individual self-selection; rather ethnic spatial and social isolation bolster negative out-group perceptions. These findings suggest the value of residential integration for alleviating ethnic antagonism.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2008. "Latino Group Consciousness and Perceptions of Commonality with African Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(2): 428-444.

Objective: Currently, Latinos and African Americans constitute more than one-quarter of the U.S. population. The sheer size of these groups suggests an opportunity for increased political influence, with this opportunity providing the incentive for greater social and political interaction between them. The objective of this article is to determine the role of Latino group consciousness in the formation of attitudes toward African Americans. **Methods:** Utilizing data from the 1999 Washington Post/Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation National Survey on Latinos, a multivariate ordered logit model is employed to test the relationship between Latino group consciousness and perceptions of commonality with African Americans. **Results:** Results show that group consciousness in the form of Latino internal commonality and perceived discrimination are contributors to Latino perceptions of commonality with African Americans. **Conclusion:** This analysis demonstrates that before any meaningful political alliances can be formed between the nation's two largest minority groups, Latinos may need to develop strong levels of pan-ethnic identity.

Stein, Robert, Stephanie Shirley Post, and Allison L. Rinden. 2000. "Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes." *Political Research Quarterly* 53(2): 10-12.

The inter-group contact hypothesis states that interactions between individuals belonging to different groups will influence the attitudes and behavior between members of these different groups. The two dominant measures of inter-group contact are context (i.e. size of a minority group within a specified geographic area) and individual behavior (i.e. personal contact between members of the majority and minority groups). The contextual and behavioral measures of contact produce divergent findings. The contextual contact literature finds that whites residing in areas with high concentrations of minority populations have significantly more negative attitudes toward minorities and minority based public policies than whites residing in areas with low concentrations of minority populations. The behavioral contact literature finds that inter-group contacting among majority and minority populations significantly reduces prejudicial attitudes and opinions about minorities and minority based policies. In this paper we examine both contextual and behavioral measures of the contact hypothesis as they influence white attitudes toward immigrant populations (i.e., Hispanics) and white policy positions toward immigration policies. We offer and test an explanation for the literature's divergent findings.

Coalition Formation and Conflict - Books

Alex-Assensoh, Yvette M., and Lawrence J. Hanks, eds. 2000. *Black and Multiracial Politics in America*. New York: New York University Press.

> America is currently in the midst of a major racial and ethnic demographic shift. By the twenty-first century, the population of Hispanics and Asians will increase significantly, while the black population is expected to remain relatively stable. Non-Hispanic Whites will decrease to just over half of the nation's population. How will the changing ethnic and racial composition of American society affect the long struggle for black political power and inclusion? To what extent will these racial and ethnic shifts affect the already tenuous nature of racial politics in American society? Using the literature on black politics as an analytical springboard, *Black and Multiracial Politics in America* brings together a broad demography of scholars from various racial and ethnic groups to assess how urban political institutions, political coalitions, group identity, media portrayal of minorities, racial consciousness, support for affirmative action policy, political behavior, partisan-ship, and other crucial issues are impacted by America's multiracial landscape.

Behr, Joshua G. 2004. Race, *Ethnicity, and the Politics of City Redistricting: Minority-Opportunity Districts and the Election of Hispanics and Blacks to City Councils*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> Why do cities with similar minority populations vary greatly in the adoption of minority-opportunity districts and, by extension, differ in the number of elected Hispanic and black representatives? Through in-depth research of the districting processes of more than 100 cities, Race, Ethnicity, and the Politics of City Redistricting provides the first nationwide study of minority-opportunity districts at the local level. Joshua G. Behr explores the motives of the players involved, including incumbent legislators, Department of Justice officials, and organized interests, while investigating the roles that segregation, federal oversight, litigation, partisan elections, and resource disparity, among others, play in the election of Hispanics and blacks. Behr's book documents-for both theorists and practitioners-the necessary conditions for enhancing minority-opportunity districts at the local level.

Betancur, John. 2000. *The Collaborative City: Opportunities and Struggles for Blacks and Latinos in U.S. Cities*. New York: Routledge.

> This edited collection examines joint efforts by Latinos and African Americans to confront problems faced by populations of both groups in urban settings (in particular, socioeconomic disadvantage and concentration in inner cities). The essays address two major issues: experiences and bases for collaboration and contention between the two groups; and the impact of urban policies and initiatives of recent decades on Blacks and Latinos in central cities.

Pulido, Laura. 2006. *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> Laura Pulido traces the roots of third world radicalism in Southern California during the 1960s and 1970s in this accessible, wonderfully illustrated comparative study. Focusing on the Black Panther Party, El Centro de Acción Social y Autonomo (CASA), and East Wind, a Japanese American collective, she explores how these African American, Chicana/o, and Japanese American groups sought to realize their ideas about race and class, gender relations, and multiracial alliances. Based on thorough research as well as extensive interviews, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left* explores the differences and similarities between these organizations, the strengths and weaknesses of the third world left as a whole, and the ways that differential racialization led to distinct forms of radical politics. Pulido provides a masterly, nuanced analysis of complex political events, organizations, and experiences. She gives special prominence to multiracial activism and includes an engaging account of where the activists are today, together with a consideration of the implications for contemporary social justice organizing.

Rich, Wilbur C. 1996. *The Politics of Minority Coalitions Race, Ethnicity, and Shared Uncertainties*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

> This important new volume analyzes relations among America's minority groups, specifically the prospects of political coalitions among those usually unrelated groups: African Americans, Asian-Americans, Latinos, Jews, Arab-Americans, and Native Americans. At the end of the 20th century, the United States is faced with a situation where minority groups are no longer assimilating but rather are moving toward separate mini-societies, complete with separate languages, cultures, and economies. Even if society accepts the notion that cultural pluralism is consistent with democratic principles, the possibility of political "hyper-pluralism" (endless and nonproductive conflicts among groups) is disturbing. This volume, therefore, attempts to address the concerns, examining the background of minority organizations, voting behavior issues, and coalitional possibilities. This volume will be of interest to scholars and students alike in American government and ethnic and minority politics.

Ríos, Diana I., and A. N. Mohamed. 2003. *Brown and Black Communication: Latino and African American Conflict and Convergence in Mass Media*. Westport, CA: Greenwood Press.

> Though Latinos and African Americans have lived together in large cities as neighbors, there is much that is still misunderstood between them. Those who live in non-diverse locales have only news and entertainment representations on which to base their information about the two cultures. This new collection of essays brings together the latest interdisciplinary works by scholars examining conflicts and convergences among Latinos and African Americans in mass-mediated and cross-cultural contexts. Contributions in the form of both empirical and critical ethnographic research present compelling works in cross-cultural relations, news, entertainment, news media, education, and community relations. *Brown and Black Communication* challenges those who do not think that significant projects and key research have been conducted on the two largest ethnic communities in the United States. Of certain appeal to both scholars and those with more applied needs in media, education, and public policy, this challenging collection offers a range of perspectives on two widely diverse bodies of American people.

Rodríguez, David. 2002. *Latino Political Coalitions: Struggle and Challenge*. New York: Routledge.

> This study examines Latino national political coalitions in the United States with a focus on Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. It argues that Latino national political coalitions are an avenue of political empowerment for the Latino Community, but face social, economic, and political challenges in the Latino community.

Saito, Leland T. 1998. *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

> California's San Gabriel Valley has been called an incubator for ethnic politics. Located a mere fifteen minutes from Los Angeles, the valley is a brave new world of multiethnic complexity. Here Latinos and Asian Americans are the dominant groups, rather than the minorities they are elsewhere in the United States. Politics are Latino-dominated, while a large infusion of Chinese immigrants and capital has made the San Gabriel Valley the center of the nation's largest Chinese ethnic economy. The white population has dropped from an overwhelming majority in 1970 to a minority in 1990. Leland T. Saito presents an insider's view of the political, economic, and cultural implications of this ethnic mix. He examines how diverse residents of the region have worked to overcome their initial antagonisms and develop new, more effective political alliances. By tracing grassroots political organization along racial and ethnic lines, *Race and Politics* focuses on the construction of new identities, especially the pan-ethnic affiliation "Asian American."

Vaca, Nicholas C. 2004. *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America*. New York: Rayo.

> As Latino and African Americans increasingly live side by side in large urban centers, as well as in suburban clusters, the idealized concept of a "Rainbow Coalition" would suggest that these two disenfranchised groups are natural political allies. Indeed, as the number of Latinos has increased dramatically over the last ten years, competition over power and resources between these two groups has led to surprisingly antagonistic and uncooperative interactions. Many African Americans now view Latinos, because of their growth in numbers, as a threat to their social, economic, and political gains. Vaca debunks the myth of "The Great Union" and offers the hope he believes each community could learn from, in order to achieve a mutually agreed upon agenda. More than simply unveiling the problem, *The Presumed Alliance* offers optimistic solutions to the future relations between Latino and Black America.

Villareal, Roberto E. and Norma G. Hernández, eds. 1991. *Latinos and Political Coalitions: Political Empowerment for the 1990s*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

> This collection of essays is the first complete study of Latino political coalitions, which are steadily gaining strength in U.S. politics. Elaborating on Latino Empowerment: Progress, Problems, and Prospects (Greenwood Press, 1988), an earlier collection by the same editors, this volume explores such issues as the media, language policy, the labor movement, and voter mobilization in the context of coalition building. The contributors detail how coalitional politics have become a major avenue of empowerment for the Latino community.

Coalition Formation and Conflict - Articles

Jones-Correa, Michael. 1995-1996. "New Directions for Latinos as an Ethnic Lobby in U.S. Foreign Policy." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 9: 47-86.

> Changes in US trade and immigration policies have generated long-terms interests for Cuban- and Mexican-Americans. The unlikely coalition between Cuban- and Mexican-Americans is expected to be the key factor in the future of Hispanic foreign policy. However, ideological affinity and symbolic unity of Hispanic pan-ethnicity cannot provide Hispanic-Americans with the firm foundation for coalition-building necessary to confront policy issues. Instead, it will be common interests that will guide ethnic involvement in foreign policy.

Kaufmann, Karen M. 2003. "Cracks in the Rainbow: Group Commonality as a Basis for Latino and African-American Political Coalitions." *Political Research Quarterly* 56(2): 199-210.

> The focus of this paper is on mass attitudes and propensity of blacks and Latinos to build electoral coalitions. The theoretical argument is that perceived commonality between Latinos and African-Americans is essential to constructing mass political alliances. Using recent public opinion data, this research explores the levels of perceived commonality between blacks and Latinos and in particular studies the process by which Latinos come to feel close to blacks. This paper tests four main hypotheses: pan-ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and group consciousness. Findings suggest that pan-ethnic identity is a robust predictor of Latino/black commonality, but that long-term Latino political acculturation, is its current form, is unlikely to result in particularly high levels of closeness to blacks.

McClain, Paula D., and Albert K. Karnig. 1990. "Black and Hispanic Socioeconomic and Political Competition." *American Political Science Review* 84(2): 35-45.

> Many U.S. cities are becoming significantly multi-minority. How does the significant presence of one minority group affect the other minority group? This research explores the question of socioeconomic and political competition between blacks and Hispanics in U.S. urban centers. Based on data from the 49 U.S. cities of over 25,000 population with at least 10 percent black and 10 percent Hispanic in 1980, findings indicate that while there is little evidence of general black and Hispanic socioeconomic and political competition, Hispanics appear to prosper less well socioeconomically and politically in cities with black majorities or pluralities.

Meier, Kenneth J., Paula D. McClain, J. L. Polinard, and Robert D. Winkle. 2004. "Divided or Together? Conflict or Cooperation between African Americans and Latinos." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(3): 399-409.

> This article examines the political relationships between Latinos and African Americans in 194 multiracial school districts. The empirical results indicate that at times the relationship between

Latinos and African Americans is competitive and at times it is complimentary. When scarcity is a factor, such as in administrative and teaching positions, gains by one group often result in losses by another. When the focus changes to policy questions where scarcity is not a factor (e.g., student performance), both groups gain at the same time.

Meier, Kenneth J., and Joseph Stewart, Jr. 1991. "Cooperation and Conflict in Multiracial School Districts." *Journal of Politics* 53(4): 1123-33.

> This study examines politics in 118 multiracial urban school districts. It starts with an examination of the logic of the "rainbow coalition," suggested as feasible by both academics and politicians. A rival hypothesis based on social distance theory would suggest more intergroup conflict than would the rainbow coalition thesis. Using elections to urban school boards, we find evidence consistent with the notion that Anglos will coalesce with Latinos rather than Blacks. The evidence suggests that in future research the power thesis should be a coequal rival hypothesis with the rainbow coalition thesis.

Sonenshein, Raphael J., and Susan H. Pinkus. 2002. "The Dynamics of Latino Political Incorporation: The 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election as Seen in "Los Angeles Times" Exit Polls." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35(1): 67-74.

> In light of the June 2001 mayoral election in Los Angeles, California, in which Latino candidate Antonio Villaraigosa lost to James K. Hahn by 54 percent to 46 percent, the writers examine the kinds of coalitions that would foster Latino incorporation and discuss the prospects of electoral success for Latinos. They indicate that the surge of Villaraigosa's campaign demonstrated that liberal coalitions between and among Latinos, African-Americans, and liberal whites will continue to play a competitive part in minority struggle. They conclude that if ideology becomes less focused than it has been before, then group interest, shaped by leadership, may play a larger role in elections.

Yaffe, Jerry. 1994-95. "Prospects and Barriers to Successful Latino and African-American Coalitions." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 8: 61-82.

> This article addresses the prospects and barriers to interethnic and interracial issues-based (as compared to candidate or electoral, organizational, or community) coalitions. It describes and analyzes the history of Latino underrepresentation in the vast local government workforce of Los Angeles County, California in order to reveal interethnic and interracial intolerance and discrimination towards Latinos. These attitudes, reflecting some of the historical, political and racial perceptions towards Latinos in California, play a significant role in restricting the possibility of interethnic or interracial issue-based coalition.

Chapter Nine: Public Policy Issues

Economic and Labor Policy-Books

Bohon, Stephanie. 2000. *Latinos in Ethnic Enclaves: Immigrant Workers and the Competition for Jobs.* New York: Routledge.

> This work explores the competition for jobs between different Latin American immigrant groups in the U.S. economy. Bohon's research looks at occupational status attainment among Latino groups in Miami and three other U.S. cities with flourishing Latino enclaves.

Browne, Irene, ed. 1999. *Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

> While much social science research has centered on the problems facing black male workers, *Latinas and African American Women at Work* offers a comprehensive investigation into the eroding progress of these women in the U.S. labor market. The prominent sociologists and economists featured in this volume describe how race and gender intersect to especially disadvantage black and Latina women. Their inquiries encompass three decades of change for women at all levels of the workforce, from those who spend time on the welfare rolls to middle class professionals. Among the many possible sources of increased disadvantage, they particularly examine the changing demands for skills, increasing numbers of immigrants in the job market, the precariousness of balancing work and childcare responsibilities, and employer discrimination. While racial inequity in hiring often results from educational differences between white and minority women, this cannot explain the discrimination faced by women with higher skills. Minority women therefore face a two-tiered hurdle based on race and gender. Although the picture for young African American women has grown bleaker overall, for Latina women, the story is more complex, with a range of economic outcomes among Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Central and South Americans.

Delgado, Héctor L. 1993. *New Immigrants, Old Unions: Organizing Undocumented Workers in Los Angeles.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> Undocumented immigrant workers "cannot be organized," some believe, because fear of deportation by immigration authorities is too great. Héctor Delgado challenges this view in an intricate case study of a successful union campaign waged by undocumented workers in a Los Angeles waterbed factory. Relying on interviews with workers, union organizers, and management, and on personal observation, Delgado relates the story of undocumented workers from Mexico and Central America who voted by a two-to-one margin for union representation and negotiated a collective bargaining agreement in the face of stiff employer opposition. He identifies the primary

factors that affect immigrant unionization: their length of residency in the U.S., their roots and social networks, the demand for their labor, the commitment of unions, and the relatively low visibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Los Angeles.

de La Garza, Rodolfo O., and Briant Lindsay Lowell, eds. 2002. *Sending Money Home: Hispanic Remittances and Community Development.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

For international migrants seeking employment in the United States, the desire to remit a portion of their earnings to their home countries is a time-honored custom. The flow of money southward from the United States has evolved from a stream flowing from families through informal networks to a major river with new tributaries fed by transnational migrant organizations, channeled through an increasingly formal marketplace, and attracting the involvement of home country governments. This volume tracks the evolution of the flow of money "home," offering new data to enhance the picture and understanding of this important economic phenomenon.

Dohan, Daniel. 2003. *The Price of Poverty: Money, Work, and Culture in the Mexican-American Barrio.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

As Mexican-Americans stand poised to become the largest nonwhite minority in the United States, their struggles with poverty assume national significance. Drawing on two years of ethnographic fieldwork in two impoverished California communities – one made up of recent immigrants from Mexico, the other of U.S.-born Chicano citizens – this book provides an invaluable comparative perspective on Latino poverty in contemporary America. Daniel Dohan shows how recent immigrants get by on low-wage babysitting and dish-cleaning jobs in high-tech Silicon Valley. In the housing projects of Los Angeles, he documents how families and communities of U.S.-born Mexican-Americans manage the social and economic dislocations of persistent poverty. Taking readers into worlds where public assistance, street crime, competition for low-wage jobs, and family, pride, and cross-cultural experiences intermingle, The Price of Poverty offers vivid portraits of everyday life in these Mexican-American communities while addressing urgent policy questions such as: What accounts for joblessness? How can we make sense of crime in poor communities? Does welfare hurt or help?

Hernández, Ramona. 2002. *The Mobility of Workers under Advanced Capitalism: Dominican Migration to the United States.* New York: Columbia University Press.

What explains the international mobility of workers from developing to advanced societies? Why do workers move from one region to another? Theoretically, the supply of workers in a given region and the demand for them in another account for the international mobility of laborers. Job seekers from less developed regions migrate to more advanced countries where technological and productive transformations have produced a shortage of laborers. Using the Dominican labor force in New York as a case study, Ramona Hernández challenges this presumption of a straightforward relationship between supply and demand in the job markets of the receiving society.

She contends that the traditional correlation between migration and economic progress does not always hold true. Once transplanted in New York City, Hernández shows, Dominicans have faced economic hardship as the result of high levels of unemployment and underemployment and the reality of a changing labor market that increasingly requires workers with skills and training they do not have. Rather than responding to a demand in the labor market, emigration from the Dominican Republic was the result of a de facto government policy encouraging poor and jobless people to leave – a policy in which the United States was an accomplice because the policy suited its economic and political interests in the region.

Johnson-Webb, Karen D. 2003. *Recruiting Hispanic Labor: Immigrants in Non-Traditional Areas*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

Johnson-Webb explores how Hispanic laborers have come in large numbers to urban areas of North Carolina. She examines the roles of active recruitment and the local context. Johnson-Webb studies the labor recruitment behind the recent surge in immigration to North Carolina. Her qualitative study suggests a strong connection between employer recruitment, a tight labor market, and the growing Hispanic population. Evidence indicates that employers prefer immigrant workers and go to extraordinary lengths to recruit them. However, historical, social, economic and political factors have also contributed to the massive influx of Hispanic immigrants to North Carolina. The policy implications of this study are notable. Policy makers should consider local context when crafting immigration policy, welfare reform policy, and workforce development policy in order for these to be effective.

Lopez, Elias, Ginny Puddefoot, and Patricia Bandara, eds. 2000. *Coordinated Approach to Raising the Socio-Economic Status of Latinos in California*. Darby: Diane Publishing Company.

Addresses the problem that in California, Latinos currently have the lowest wages of any ethnic group, principally because of their lower levels of educational attainment. This problem must be addressed because 50-60% of the population growth in California is attributable to Latinos, and by 2025, Latinos will comprise over 40% of the population. & will be the largest ethnic group in the State. The economic benefits for the State are estimated at $28 billion in the form of increased wages circulating in the economy, meaning $1.7 billion more in State income tax revenues. Many of the issues raised in this report are not specific to Latinos, but can be applied to people from diverse backgrounds.

López-Garza, Marta, and David R. Diaz, eds. 2001. *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy: The Metamorphosis of Southern California*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Experiencing both the enormous benefits and the serious detriments of globalization and economic restructuring, Southern California serves as a magnet for immigrants from many parts of the world. This volume advances an emerging body of work that centers this region's future on the links between the two fastest-growing racial groups in California, Asians and Latinos, and the economic and social mainstream of this important sector of the global economy. The contributors to the anthology – scholars and community leaders with social science, urban planning, and

legal backgrounds – provide a multi-faceted analysis of gender, class, and race relations. They also examine various forms of immigrant economic participation, from low-wage workers to entrepreneurs and capital investors. *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy* documents the entrenchment of various immigrant communities in the socio-political and economic fabric of United States society and these communities' role in transforming the Los Angeles region.

MacLean, Nancy. 2006. *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

In the 1950s, the exclusion of women and of black and Latino men from higher-paying jobs was so universal as to seem normal to most Americans. Today, diversity in the workforce is a point of pride. How did such a transformation come about? In this, Nancy MacLean shows how African-American and later Mexican-American civil rights activists and feminists concluded that freedom alone would not suffice: access to jobs at all levels is a requisite of full citizenship. Tracing the struggle to open the American workplace to all, MacLean chronicles the cultural and political advances that have irrevocably changed our nation over the past fifty years. *Freedom Is Not Enough* reveals the fundamental role jobs play in the struggle for equality. We meet the grass-roots activists – rank-and-file workers, community leaders, trade unionists, advocates, lawyers – and their allies in government who fight for fair treatment, as we also witness the conservative forces that assembled to resist their demands. Weaving a powerful and memorable narrative, MacLean demonstrates the life-altering impact of the Civil Rights Act and the movement for economic advancement that it fostered. The struggle for jobs reached far beyond the workplace to transform American culture. MacLean enables us to understand why so many came to see good jobs for all as the measure of full citizenship in a vital democracy. Opening up the workplace, she shows, opened minds and hearts to the genuine inclusion of all Americans for the first time in our nation's history.

Martin, Michael E. 2007. *Residential Segregation Patterns of Latinos in the United States, 1990-2000: Testing the Ethnic Enclave and Inequality Theories*. New York: Routledge.

Historically, residential segregation of Latinos has generally been seen as a result of immigration and the process of self-segregation into ethnic enclaves. The only theoretical exception to ethnic enclave Latino segregation has been the structural inequality related to Latinos that have a high degree of African ancestry. This study of the 331 metropolitan area in the United States between 1990 and 2000 shows that Latinos are facing structural inequalities outside of the degree of African ancestry. The results of this research suggest that in 2000, Latino segregation was due to the mobility of Latinos and structural barriers in wealth creation due to limited housing equity and limited occupational mobility. In addition, Latino suburbanization appears to be a segregation force rather than an integration force. This study also shows that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans have different experiences with residential segregation. Residential segregation of Cubans does not appear to be a problem in the U.S. Puerto Ricans continue to be the most segregated Latino sub-group and inequality is a large factor in Puerto Rican segregation. A more in-depth analysis reveals that the Puerto Rican experience is bifurcated between the older highly segregated enclaves where inequality is a large problem and new enclaves where inequality and segregation are not an issue. The Mexican residential segregation experience reflects that

immigration and mobility are important factors but previous theorists have underestimated the barriers Mexicans face in obtaining generational wealth and moving from the ethnic enclave into the American mainstream.

Morales, Rebecca, and Frank Bonilla, eds. 1993. *Latinos in a Changing US Economy: Comparative Perspectives on Growing Inequality.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

> The 1980s were not good economic times for Latinos in the United States. The contributors to Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy examine the cause of this phenomenon and the long-term consequences for the Hispanic population. How much, they wonder, can be attributed to racism, to structural barriers, to the demographics of the Latino population, or to the structure of the new global economy? Is there evidence of a persistent and growing inequality in the socioeconomic position of Latinos? Using both national data and a series of case studies from cities with significant Latino populations such as New York, Los Angeles, San Antonio, Chicago, and Miami, the editors identify the widening gap in income and social status between rich and poor, Anglos and Latinos, men and women, and immigrants and native born. These celebrated scholars also document the importance of including Latino populations in the study of – and policies for – improving urban areas. They suggest policy options that will reverse the growing social inequality.

Ong, Paul, and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, eds. 2006. *Jobs and Economic Development in Minority Communities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

> Over the past four decades, the forces of economic restructuring, globalization, and suburbanization, coupled with changes in social policies have dimmed hopes for revitalizing minority neighborhoods in the U.S. Community economic development offers a possible way to improve economic and employment opportunities in minority communities. In this authoritative collection of original essays, contributors evaluate current programs and their prospects for future success. Using case studies that consider communities of African-Americans, Latinos, Asian immigrants, and Native Americans, the book is organized around four broad topics. "The Context" explores the larger demographic, economic, social, and physical forces at work in the marginalization of minority communities. "Labor Market Development" discusses the factors that shape supply and demand and examines policies and strategies for workforce development. "Business Development" focuses on opportunities and obstacles for minority-owned businesses. "Complementary Strategies" probes the connections between varied economic development strategies, including the necessity of affordable housing and social services.

Verdaguer, Maria Eugenia. 2009. *Class, Ethnicity, Gender, and Latino Entrepreneurship.* New York, NY: Routledge Press.

> Drawing on surveys and in-depth interviews, this book examines the social and economic relations of first-generation Latino entrepreneurs. Verdaguer explores social patterns between and within groups, situating immigrant entrepreneurship within concrete geographical, demographic and historical spaces. Her study not only reveals that Latinos' strategies for access to business

ownership and for business development are cut across class, ethnic and gender lines, but also that immigrants' options, practices, and social spaces remain largely shaped by patriarchal gender relations within the immigrant family, community and economy. This book is a necessary addition to the literature on immigration, class, gender relations, and the intersectionality of these issues.

Ward, Peter M. 2002. *Colonias and Public Policy in Texas and Mexico: Urbanization by Stealth.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Today in Texas, over 1500 colonias in the counties along the Mexican border are home to some 400,000 people. Often lacking basic services, such as electricity, water and sewerage, fire protection, policing, schools, and health care, these "irregular" subdivisions offer the only low-cost housing available to the mostly Hispanic working poor. This book presents the results of a major study of colonias in three trans-border metropolitan areas and uncovers the reasons why colonias are spreading so rapidly. Peter Ward compares Texas colonias with their Mexican counterparts, many of which have developed into fully integrated working-class urban communities. He describes how Mexican governments have worked with colonia residents to make physical improvements and upgrade services-a model that Texas policymakers can learn from, Ward asserts. Finally, he concludes with a hard-hitting checklist of public policy initiatives that need to be considered as colonia housing policy enters its second decade in Texas.

Economic and Labor Policy-Articles

Cobb-Clark, Deborah A., and Vincent A. Hildebrand. 2006. "The Portfolio of Choices of Hispanic Couples." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1344-1363.

Objectives: The objective of this article is to assess the overall wealth level and portfolio choices of Hispanic families. **Methods:** We use Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) data to first estimate the determinants of net worth. Conditioning on overall wealth levels, we then estimate a model of asset portfolios. **Results:** Our results reveal that Hispanic couples as a group are less wealthy than otherwise similar white couples, although there is substantial variation across Hispanic-origin groups. Accounting for these wealth disparities, Hispanic couples hold less financial wealth, but more real estate and business equity than do white couples. **Conclusions:** Much of the disparity in portfolio choices of Hispanics as a group relative to whites appears to stem from the fact that they are less wealthy. At the same time, it is important to separately analyze the wealth position of distinct Hispanic-origin groups.

Gonzalez, Arturo. 2002. "The Impact of the 2001/2002 Economic Recession on Hispanic Workers: A Cross-Sectional Comparison of Three Generations." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. January 24. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=4 (February 13, 2009).

Currently there are nearly 35 million Hispanics in the U.S., making them the second-largest ethnic group in the country. But the effect of the current recession on this important group is

unknown. Yet, it is unlikely that all Hispanics have been similarly affected by the recession. Hispanics are a varied group not just in terms of national origin, but also in terms of time in the U.S., ranging from newly arrived immigrants to U.S.-born Hispanics. This report examines how three generations of Hispanics have fared in September and October 2001, compared to September 2000 and September 1999.

Kochar, Rakesh. 2006. "Latino Labor Report 2006: Strong Gains in Employment." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. September 27. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=70 (February 13, 2009).

The Hispanic unemployment rate reached a historic low in the second quarter of 2006. The gap between the seasonally-adjusted unemployment rates for Latinos and non-Latinos was the smallest since 1973, when employment data on Latinos first became available. Wages for Latino workers also rose at a faster rate than for other workers in 2005-06. The healthy job market for Hispanic workers has been driven by the construction industry. But construction is showing signs of a slowdown that could impact Latino employment in the near future, especially for foreign-born workers.

Kochar Rakesh, 2006. "Growth in the Foreign-Born Workforce and Employment of the Native Born." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. August 10. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=69 (February 13, 2009).

Rapid increases in the foreign-born population at the state level are not associated with negative effects on the employment of native-born workers. An analysis of the relationship between growth in the foreign-born population and the employment outcomes of native-born workers revealed wide variations but no consistent pattern across the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The size of the foreign-born workforce, its relative youth and low education level are also unrelated to the employment prospects for native workers. These findings emerge from the analysis of Census Bureau data for the boom years of the 1990s and the subsequent recession and slowdown.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2003. "Jobs Lost, Jobs Gained: The Latino Experience in the Recession and Recovery." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. October 7. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=21 (February 13, 2009).

Latinos in the U.S. labor force were slow to recover from the effects of the 2001 recession, lagging non-Hispanic whites in restoring employment growth and the unemployment rate to their pre-recession levels. Immigrants and young Latinos encountered particularly hard times but college-educated Hispanics experienced substantial improvements in employment levels. These are among the key findings of this report on the labor market experience of Latino workers since the economic slowdown began at the end of 2000. The report examines a variety of trends in employment, unemployment and wage rates for both Hispanics and non-Hispanics from the end of 2000 to the end of 2002 and it also explores outcomes by industry, occupation, geographic region, age, nativity and education.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2004. "Latino Labor Report, 2003: Strong but Uneven Gains in Employment." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. February 23. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=26 (February 13, 2009).

> Latinos experienced substantial gains in the U.S. labor market in 2003. The number of Hispanics added to the employment rolls was twice as high as in 2002, and unemployment eased downward. For the first time since January 2000, Latinos experienced increases in employment that consistently outpaced their population growth in the United States.

Kochlar, Rakesh. 2005. "Survey of Mexican Migrants, Part Three: The Economic Transition to America." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. December 6. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=58 (February 13, 2009).

> This study analyzes the employment experience of migrants before they left Mexico, their transition into the U.S. labor market, and their economic status in their new jobs. It uses the Pew Hispanic Center's Survey of Mexican Migrants, which interviewed 4,836 migrants, mostly believed to be undocumented, as they were applying for identity cards issued by Mexican consulates. The vast majority were gainfully employed before they left for the U.S. Failure to find work at home does not seem to be the primary reason that the estimated 6.3 million undocumented migrants from Mexico have come to the U.S.

Morales, Maria Cristina. 2008. The Ethnic Niche as an Economic Pathway for the Dark Skinned: Labor Market Incorporation of Latina/o Workers. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(3): 280-298.

> A significant number of Latina/os are turning to employment in ethnic niches as an alternative to general labor markets. This study places special focus on how skin color segmentation or colorism influences job-market allocation. The hypothesis is that dark-skinned Latina/os are more likely to be employed in ethnically homogeneous jobsites or niches. The author tests the hypothesis using survey logistic regression on a sample of 322 Central American-(Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran) and Mexican-origin workers utilizing data from the Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality. The results show that dark-skinned Latina/o workers are more likely to be employed in ethnic niches as opposed to lighter-skinned individuals. It is concluded that skin color stratifies Latina/o workers into distinct markets that can have implications for their socioeconomic incorporation.

Takei, Isao, Rogelio Saenz, and Jing Li. 2009. "Cost of Being a Mexican Immigrant and Being a Mexican Non-Citizen in California and Texas." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 31(1): 73-95.

> This study examines the labor market costs associated with being foreign-born and not having U.S. citizenship among Mexicans in California and Texas, the two largest states. Data from the 2000 5% Public Use Microdata Sample are used to conduct the multivariate regression analysis. The results show that being an immigrant, particularly a non-citizen immigrant, is associated with lower hourly wages in California as compared with Texas. The results also indicate that these costs are greater for those who arrived after 1990, especially in California. Findings suggest that

Mexican immigrants faced harsher social context in California in the post-IRCA (Immigration Reform and Control Act) period, as represented in anti-immigrant policies and sentiments. Partly, larger population concentration of immigrants, especially non-citizens, could be a source of intensive within-group labor market competition among the foreign-born workers.

Education - Books

Aragon de McKissack, Elena. 1999. *Chicano Educational Achievement: Comparing Escuela Tlatelolco, A Chicanocentric School, and a Public High School*. New York: Routledge.

This study compares two urban schools based on their ability to provide an effective education for Hispanic students. Broderick High School began as an elite, Anglo-dominated institution and evolved into a school whose student body was 82% Hispanic. It is large, public and with a history of sporadic racial tension, walkouts, and a high dropout rate for Hispanic students. Escuela Tlatelolco is small, private, and Chicano-centric. Founded in 1970 by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, it was designed to provide Chicano students the opportunity to reinforce pride in their language, culture, and identity. Through interviews of administrators, teachers, graduates, and students at both schools as well as personal observations, a significant difference was discovered between the experiences and attitudes of those who attended the public school in the 1960s through 1980s and those who graduated in the 1990s. As the public school increased Hispanic administration, teaching and operating staff, and changed its curriculum to include Hispanic history, Hispanic students expressed a greater degree of satisfaction and fulfillment.

Bigler, Ellen. 1999. *American Conversations: Puerto Ricans, White Ethnics, and Multicultural Education*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Growing numbers of working-class Puerto Ricans are migrating from larger mainland metropolitan areas into smaller, "safer" communities in search of a better quality of life for themselves and their families. What they may also encounter in moving to such communities is a discourse of exclusion that associates their differences and their lower socioeconomic class with a lack of effort and an unwillingness to assimilate into mainstream culture. In this ethnographic study of a community in conflict, educator and anthropologist Ellen Bigler examines such discourses as she explores one city's heated dispute that arose over bringing multiculturalism and bilingual education into their lives and their schools' curricula. The impassioned debate that erupted between long-time white ethnic residents and more recently arrived Puerto Rican citizens in the de-industrialized city the author calls "Arnhem" was initially sparked by one school board member's disparaging comments about Latinos. The conflict led to an investigation by the New York State Education Department and to attempts to implement multicultural reforms in the city's schools. *American Conversations* follows the ensuing conflict, looks at the history of racial formation in the United States, and considers the specific economic and labor histories of the groups comprising the community in opposition. Including interviews with students, teachers, parents, and community leaders, as well as her own observations of exchanges among them inside and outside the classroom, Bigler's book explores the social positions, diverging constructions of history,

and polarized understandings of contemporary racial/ethnic dynamics in Arnhem. Through her retelling of one community's crisis, Bigler illuminates the nature of racial politics in the United States and how both sides in the debate over multicultural education struggle to find a common language. *American Conversations* will appeal to anyone invested in education and multiculturalism in the United States as well as those interested in anthropology, sociology, racial and ethnic studies, educational institutions, migration and settlement, the effects of industrial restructuring, and broad issues of community formation and conflict.

Brice, Alejandro E. 2001. *The Hispanic Child: Speech, Language, Culture and Education*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

The Hispanic Child: Speech, Language, Culture and Education is a multicultural book that addresses the issues and struggles of today's Hispanic school-age children. As Hispanics and Latinos are the fastest growing minority population, school-based speech-language pathologists and special educators need appropriate information in order to provide appropriate services. This book is a comprehensive volume that serves this necessary function. The book is made practical and accessible through the inclusion of "Best Practice" suggestions and the author's experiences. This book is meant to help all clinicians and educators understand their bilingual caseload, provide appropriate services and approach all their interactions with their bilingual students in an informed and compassionate manner. This book assists clinicians and educators working with Hispanic children.

Carter, Prudence L. 2005. *Keeping It Real: School Success Beyond Black and White*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Why are so many African American and Latino students performing less well than their Asian and White peers in classes and on exams? Researchers have argued that African American and Latino students who rebel against "acting white" doom themselves to lower levels of scholastic, economic, and social achievement. In *Keepin' It Real: School Success beyond Black and White*, Prudence Carter turns the conventional wisdom on its head arguing that what is needed is a broader recognition of the unique cultural styles and practices that non-white students bring to the classroom. Based on extensive interviews and surveys of students in New York, she demonstrates that the most successful negotiators of our school systems are the multicultural navigators, culturally savvy teens who draw from multiple traditions, whether it be knowledge of hip hop or of classical music, to achieve their high ambitions. *Keeping it Real* refutes the common wisdom about teenage behavior and racial difference, and shows how intercultural communication, rather than assimilation, can help close the black-white gap.

DebBurman, Noyna. 2005. *Immigrant Education: Variations by Generation, Age-at-Immigration, and Country of Origin*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

DebBurman studies the differences in education among immigrants: compared by generation, age-at-immigration, and country-of-origin. Educational attainment of adults and school enrollment among high school and pre-school children are evaluated using Becker's theories of

human capital investment and demand for schooling. Second-generation adult immigrants have the highest level of schooling, exceeding that of both first-generation and U.S. born, while the first-generation possess the highest level of pre- and high school enrollment. Teenage immigrants complete fewer school years and are less likely enroll in high school. Hispanics and Blacks lag non-Hispanic Whites. This gap narrows with higher order immigrant generations among Hispanics, but widens among blacks. However, schooling differences by country-of-origin are more complex.

Delgado-Gaitan, Concha. 2005. *The Power of Community: Mobilizing for Family and Schooling*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

> Fifteen years ago, Concha Delgado-Gaitan began literacy research in Carpinteria, California. At that time, Mexican immigrants who labored in nurseries, factories, and housekeeping, had almost no voice in how their children were educated. Committed to participative research, Delgado-Gaitan collaborated with the community to connect family, school, and community. Regular community gatherings gave birth to the Comite de Padres Latinos. Refusing the role of the victim, the Comite participants organized to reach out to everyone in the community, not just other Latino families. Bound by their language, cultural history, hard work, respect, pain, and hope, they created possibilities that supported the learning of Latino students, who until then had too often dropped out or shown scant interest in school. In a society that accentuates individualism and independence, these men and women look to their community for leadership, support, and resources for children. "The Power of Community" is a critical work that shows how communities that pull together and offer caring ears, eyes, and hands, can ensure that their children thrive-academically, socially, and personally. It offers a fresh approach and workable solution to the problems that face schools today.

Castellanos, Jeanett, and Lee Jones, eds. 2003. *The Majority in the Minority: Expanding the Representation of Latina/o Faculty, Administrators, and Students in Higher Education*. Sterling: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

> Latinas/os are the largest ethnic minority group in the U.S. They are propelling minority communities to majority status in states as disparate as California, Florida, New Jersey, New York and Texas. Their growth in the population at large is not reflected in higher education. In fact Latinos are the least represented population in our colleges and universities, whether as administrators, faculty or students; and as students have one of the highest levels of attrition. Opening access to Latinas/os, assuring their persistence as students in higher education, and their increased presence in college faculty and governance, is of paramount importance if they are to make essential economic gains and fully to participate in and contribute to American society. In this ground-breaking book, twenty-four Latina/o scholars provide an historical background; review issues of student access and achievement, and lessons learned; and present the problems of status and barriers faced by administrators and faculty. The book also includes narratives by graduate students, administrators and faculty that complement the essays and vividly bring these issues to life.

Castellanos, Jeanett, Alberta M. Gloria, and Mark Kamimura, eds. *The Latina/o Pathway to the Ph.D.: Abriendo Caminos.* Sterling: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

> The Latina/o population constitutes the largest racial and ethnic minority group in the U.S. and is disproportionately under-represented in college and in graduate programs. This is the first book specifically to engage with the absence of Latinas/os in doctoral studies. It proposes educational and administrative strategies to open up the pipeline, and institutional practices to ensure access, support, models and training for Latinas/os aspiring to the Ph.D. The under-education of Latina/o youth begins early. Given that by twelfth grade half will stop out or be pushed out of high school, and only seven percent will complete a college degree, it is not surprising so few enter graduate studies. When Latina/o students do enter higher education, few attend those colleges or universities that are gateways to graduate degrees. Regardless of the type of higher education institution they attend, Latinas/os often encounter social and academic isolation, unaffordable costs, and lack of support. This historic under-representation has created a vicious cycle of limited social and economic mobility. There is a paucity of the Latina/o faculty and leaders whom research shows are essential for changing campus climate and influencing institutions to adapt to the needs of a changing student body. As a result, Latina/o graduate students often have few role models, advocates or mentors, and limited support for their research agendas. By reviewing the pipeline from kindergarten through university, this book provides the needed data and insights to effect change for policy makers, administrators, faculty, and staff; and material for reflection for aspiring Latina/o Ph.D.s on the paths they have taken and the road ahead. The book then addresses the unique experiences and challenges faced by Latina/os in doctoral programs, and offers guidance for students and those responsible for them. Chapters cover issues of gender and generational differences, the role of culture in the graduate school, mentorship, pursuing research, and professional development opportunities for Latina/os.

Darder, Antonia. 1997. *Latinos and Education*. New York: Routledge.

> Despite generations of protest, activism and reform efforts, Latinos continue to be among the nation's most educationally disadvantaged and economically disenfranchised groups. Challenging static notions of culture, identity and language, *Latinos and Education* addresses this phenomenon within the context of a rapidly changing economy and society. This reader establishes a clear link between educational practice and the structural dimensions which shape institutional life, and calls for the development of a new language that moves beyond disciplinary and racialized categories of difference and structural inequality. The essays discuss themes such as political economy, historical views of Latinos and schooling, identity, the politics of language, cultural democracy in the classroom, community involvement and Latinos in higher education. Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, Mexican and Chicano viewpoints are all included and the volume reflects the educational experiences of students in urban centers like New York and Chicago, as well as the South, Southwest and West.

Donato, Rubén. 1997. *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans During the Civil Rights Era*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> Contrary to popular belief that the struggle for educational opportunity during the civil rights era was waged exclusively by African Americans, this fascinating book shows that the Mexican American population challenged discriminatory educational practice more than was portrayed by the media. Examining the Mexican American struggle for equal education during the 1960s and 1970s in the Southwest in general and in a California community in particular, Donato challenges conventional wisdom that Mexican Americans were passive victims, accepting their educational fates. He looks at how Mexican American parents confronted the relative tranquility of school governance, how educators responded to increasing numbers of Mexican Americans in schools, how school officials viewed problems faced by Mexican American children, and why educators chose specific remedies. Finally, he examines how federal, state, and local educational policies corresponded with the desires of the Mexican American community.

Espinoza-Herold, Mariella. 2002. *Issues in Latino Education: Race, School Culture, and the Politics of Academic Success*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

> Educators and social researchers spend considerable time and effort studying issues in multicultural/bilingual education, but have few opportunities to experience the subjective realities of the students themselves, this book compares these realities to a variety of viewpoints offered by high school teachers on matters of community, learning, race, culture, and school politics. The book transports aspiring teachers and others interested in race relations, educational sociology and anthropology, and Latino/Chicano studies into the daily school life of Latino high school students, revealing their feelings and often startling insights into the processes of American schooling. The book reveals shortcomings in the American educational system but offers new paths and paradigms for effective change. Sections of the text that highlight transcribed student interviews make it particularly useful as a reference for research and writing about multicultural education. For aspiring teachers and anyone interested in multicultural and multiethnic education.

Gándara, Patricia C. 1995. *Over the Ivy Walls: The Educational Mobility of Low Income Chicanos*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> Gandara explores social factors that lead to academic success for low-income Chicanos. Unique among literature on minority and Chicano academic achievement, *Over the Ivy Walls* focuses on factors that create academic *successes* rather than examining school *failure*. It weaves existing research on academic achievement into an analysis of the lives of 50 low-income Chicanos for whom schooling "worked" and became an important vehicle for social mobility. Gandara examines their early home lives, school experiences, and peer relations in search of clues to what "went right."

Gándara, Patricia C. and Frances Contreras. 2009. *The Latino Education Crisis: The Consequences of Failed Social Policies*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

> Will the United States have an educational caste system in 2030? Drawing on both extensive demographic data and compelling case studies, this powerful book reveals the depths of the educational crisis looming for Latino students, the nation's largest and most rapidly growing minority group. Richly informative and accessibly written, *The Latino Education Crisis* describes the cumulative disadvantages faced by too many children in the complex American school systems, where one in five students is Latino. Many live in poor and dangerous neighborhoods, attend impoverished and underachieving schools, and are raised by parents who speak little English and are the least educated of any ethnic group. The effects for the families, the community, and the nation are sobering. Latino children are behind on academic measures by the time they enter kindergarten. And while immigrant drive propels some to success, most never catch up. Many drop out of high school and those who do go on to college – often ill prepared and overworked – seldom finish. Revealing and disturbing, *The Latino Education Crisis* is a call to action and will be essential reading for everyone involved in planning the future of American schools.

Garcia, Eugene E. 2001. *Hispanic Education in the United States: Raices y Alas*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

> Among the many recent books on educational reform, Eugene E. Garcia's Hispanic Education in the United States stands out as a landmark work. Garcia vibrantly portrays what works in creating better educational opportunities and effective school reform. He also offers a telling reflection on the bicultural experience of minority groups in the U.S. Culture is an asset in any individual's educational attainment. Garcia shows how and why our educational reforms therefore must seek to build upon rather than downplay the native culture and language of minority students.

Gonzalez, Gabriella C. 2005. Educational *Attainment in Immigrant Families: Community Context and Family background*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Gonzalez studies the differences in likelihood to enter post-secondary schooling among white, black, Latino and Asian children who have two parents who are immigrants, one parent who is foreign-born, and children of native-born parents. Children from homes with two parents who are immigrants go further in school. Children in homes with one parent who is an immigrant have educational trajectories similar to their counterparts in homes with no immigrant parents. Additionally, parental educational attainment and the social capital of the family are clear predictors in determining how far children of native parents go in school, but are not as strong determinants for children of immigrant parents.

Horn, Catherine L., Stella M. Flores, and Gary Orfield, eds. 2006. *Latino Educational Opportunity: New Directions for Community Colleges*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

> The studies presented in this volume of *New Directions for Community Colleges* aim to foster a better understanding of the ways in which community colleges provide Latino students with

educational access and opportunity. State and federal policy has increasingly looked to the community college to educate Latinos – the largest minority group in the United States – and other students traditionally underrepresented in higher education. Indeed, Latinos enroll in community colleges at rates higher than those for any other racial or ethnic group. Although research has been done to study the influence of various contributors to Latino opportunity, such as immigration policy, language, and academic opportunity, the profound and confounding influence of these factors remains underexplored. This volume provides and underscores the importance of serious scholarship towards this vital set of institutions and their students.

Huertas-Macias, Ana. 2002. *Workforce Education for Latinos: Politics, Programs, and Practices*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

> The author examines political, curricular, and instructional issues in workforce education, and concludes that such policies are inequitable and that they are marginalizing Latinos. She proposes changes that will provide avenues for economic and educational advancement for Latino adults with low levels of formal education and literacy. Huerta-Macias explores the current state of long-term educational possibilities in the United States for Latino adults with low levels of literacy and schooling. After looking at the general picture and providing some background information, the current legislative environment and its negative impact on Latinos is provided. Educational programs and instructional programs that are successful in promoting Latino workers' advancement are described. Finally, recommendations for policy changes are pushed forward.

Keller, Gary D., James R. Deneen, and Rafael J. Magallan, eds. 1991. *Assessment and Access: Hispanics in Higher Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> This book treats the major issues of assessment and access as they relate to the Hispanic communities of the United States. For the purpose of increasing Hispanic access to higher education, it explores a variety of developments in educational assessment and test familiarization, both theoretical and practical. The book is divided into four parts: an analysis of the major elements and issues that affect Hispanic performance on tests and influence Hispanic access to higher education; a review of several critical elements in test-construction as they affect Hispanics; an analysis of the factors related to testing and Hispanic access into the teaching profession; and a research, evaluation, and historical orientation to the issues involved in the development of a landmark educational product jointly conceived and produced by the College Board, the Educational Testing Service, and the Hispanic Higher Education Coalition: *TestSkills: A Kit for Teachers of Hispanic Students*.

Ketner Ream, Robert. 2006. *Uprooting Children: Mobility, Social Capital, and Mexican-American Underachievement*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Ream's work shows that student mobility, like the frequent uprooting of plants, impinges on social networks in a way that reinforces Mexican-American educational underachievement. A critical issue facing U.S. schools is the persistent disparity in achievement between racial/ethnic groups. The achievement gap is particularly pronounced for Mexican-Americans. By employ-

ing mixed-methods research techniques, Ream links emergent literature on social capital with research on student mobility to investigate student performance among Mexican-American and non-Latino White adolescents. Findings underscore the prevalence of student mobility, particularly among Mexican-origin youth, and its impingement on both the availability and convertibility of the resources embedded in their social networks. Results also suggest that minority and non-minority students fortify social ties in different ways, and that these differences have implications for the educational utility of social capital.

MacGregor Mendoza, Patricia. 1999. Spanish *and Academic Achievement Among Midwest Mexican Youth: The Myth of the Barrier.* New York: Routledge.

This study explores the factors that are associated with academic achievement among Mexican Americans. MacGregor-Mendoza compares the academic, sociodemographic, and sociolinguistic traits of Midwestern youths from three separate academic levels: high school dropouts, high school students, and college students. Among the significant findings are that Spanish language skills are not detrimental to academic achievement. Instead, Spanish may aid in retaining students in school. Also, neither positive attitudes toward English nor proficiency in English served to guarantee academic success. This study reveals that many of the factors that are traditionally cited as indicators of school failure (e.g. large family, low socioeconomic status) did not hold any true explanatory power for the population examined.

Meier, Kenneth, and Joseph Stewart, Jr. 1991. *The Politics of Hispanic Education: Un Paso Pa'lante y Dos Pa'tras.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

This is the first systematic study of the politics of "second generation discrimination" against Hispanic students. Despite the fact that Hispanics are the second largest and fastest growing minority in the United States, little attention has been paid to the efforts of Hispanics to achieve equal educational opportunity. Quantitative, historical, and legal analysis are used to examine the access of Hispanic students to equal educational opportunities in school districts throughout the U.S.

Moreno, Jose F., Ed. 1999. *The Elusive Quest for Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education.* Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review.

The history of the Chicano community's quest for educational equality is long and rich. Since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo formalized the conquest of half of Mexico's territory into what is now the U.S. Southwest, Chicanos have fought to claim what was promised them in the Treaty – the enjoyment of all the rights of U.S. citizens. In terms of education, they certainly have never had equal access, opportunity, or resources, despite legal victories. In this volume, some of the leading scholars analyze why the quest for equality in education has remained so elusive. They do so by documenting both the plight and the struggle of Chicano communities over the past 150 years, using the guiding themes of the role of language, segregation, Americanization, and resistance in the history of education for Chicanos/Chicanas.

Padilla, Raymond V., and Rudolfo Chávez, eds. 1995. *The Leaning Ivory Tower: Latino Professors in American Universities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> Here are several narratives by Latino Professors in American universities addressing issues of racism, marginalization, and self-valuation as the narrators tell their stories of survival and success. Latino professors in American universities tell their own stories of survival within academia. Each story is a perspective, a slice of academic life. Collectively, the multiple perspectives in this volume provide a totality that is penetrating and disturbing but essential if we are to genuinely diversify our present and future professoriate. The accounts capture and challenge the academic cultural terrain as it is constructed and perceived by the writers – a cultural terrain that has been created to limit and exclude, based on and bound to cultural, racial, gender, religious, and class manifestations and oppressive traditions. Each author, struggling with her and his own reality, is a study in authenticity and the engagement of liberation through self-critique. Through struggle with an oppressive academic world, the authors not only pursue their own liberation but simultaneously serve as liberating sponsors by restoring humanity back to those who oppress them. Thus, The Leaning Ivory Tower is not just a metaphor for what it is. It also confronts, reconfigures, and challenges us to redraw our paradigmatic and conceptual borders so that the democratic process will be a liberating practice evidenced throughout academia.

Romo, Harriett D., and Toni Falbo. 1996. *Latino High School Graduation: Defying the Odds*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> While high school drop-out rates have steadily declined among white and African American students over the last twenty years, a constant 35 percent of Latino students continue to quit school before graduation. In this pioneering work, Harriett Romo and Toni Falbo reveal how a group of at-risk Latino students defied the odds and earned a high school diploma. Romo and Falbo tracked the progress of 100 students in Austin, Texas, from 1989 to 1993. Drawing on interviews with the students and their parents, school records, and fieldwork in the schools and communities, the authors identify both the obstacles that caused many students to drop out and the successful strategies that other students and their parents pursued to ensure high school graduation. The authors conclude with seven far-reaching recommendations for changes in the public schools. Sure to provoke debate among all school constituencies, this book will be required reading for school administrators, teachers, parents, legislators, and community leaders.

Rothstein, Stanley William, ed. 1995. *Class, Culture, and Race in American Schools: A Handbook*. Westport, MD: Greenwood Press.

> Class, culture, and race have influenced the educational experiences of children for centuries. As a new wave of Latin American and Asian peoples enters the United States, public schools are faced with the challenge of educating children from a culture of poverty, and who have varying racial and cultural backgrounds. This reference work employs historical, anthropological, sociological, and theoretical perspectives to overview current information on class, culture, and race in U.S. schools. The volume is organized systematically, with broad sections on class, culture, race, and prospects for the future. Each section begins with an introductory chapter that defines the theme of the section and places it within a larger context. The chapters that follow then examine the impact of class, culture, or race on schooling, with special regard to particular groups. The volume

focuses primarily on Hispanics, African Americans, and Asians, as they struggle to survive and prosper in the United States. Because of its approach, the book is also a guide to the effects of poverty.

San Miguel, Guadalupe, Jr. 2001. *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Strikes, boycotts, rallies, negotiations, and litigation marked the efforts of Mexican-origin community members to achieve educational opportunities and oppose discrimination in Houston schools in the early 1970s. The Houston Independent School District sparked these responses because it circumvented a court order to desegregate by classifying Mexican American children as "white" and integrating them with African American children – leaving Anglos in segregated schools. In Brown, Not White Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., traces the evolution of the community's political activism in education during the Chicano Movement era of the early 1970s. San Miguel also identifies the important implications of this struggle for Mexican Americans and for public education. The political mobilization in Houston signaled a shift in the activist community's identity from the assimilationist "Mexican American Generation" to the rising Chicano Movement with its "nationalist" ideology. It also introduced Mexican American interests into educational policy making in general and into the national desegregation struggles in particular. This important study will engage those interested in public school policy as well as scholars of Mexican American history and the history of desegregation in America.

San Miguel, Guadalupe, Jr. 2001. *Let All of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

The Mexican American community's relationship with the Anglo-dominated public school system has been multifaceted, complex, and ambiguous to say the least. On one level, an organized community has consistently struggled for equality in the existing educational institutions. Its story, although full of crushed hopes and legal frustrations, is imbued with a sense of accomplishment. At another level, individual Mexican Americans who have attended segregated public schools over the years also have a complex and diverse story to tell. For some, there are fond memories of school activities gone by. For others, the school years have been negative in general – children have been victims of humiliating and depressing incidents of racial discrimination and social ostracism. Texas' public school system is of particular historical interest because of the state's record, according to Guadalupe San Miguel, for providing the least amount of public education for Mexican Americans while fiercely defending its record of inferior and separate schooling. Additionally, Texas was the first state in which Mexican Americans organized to seek educational equality. In "Let All of Them Take Heed," first published in 1987 and one of the earliest books to focus on this plight of the Hispanic community, San Miguel traces the Mexican American quest for educational equality in Texas over a period of fifty years. In describing this struggle over the years, he emphasizes the socioeconomic factors affecting it and the strategies the Hispanic community used to reach its goals.

Stritikus, Tom. 2002. *Immigrant Children and the Politics of English-Only: Views from the Classroom*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Stritikus examines restrictions on bilingual education in California, demonstrating complex relationships between educational practice and political and pedagogical ideologies. Stritikus examines the effect of California's anti-bilingual initiative, Proposition 227, on the education of Latinos. He highlights the teachers' role in enacting the policy, studying two schools which developed their own Proposition 227 implementation plans. One ended its bilingual program and began a program of English immersion, and a second maintained its bilingual program through obtaining parental waivers. Using socio-cultural analysis of classroom observation data, Stritikus shows how Proposition 227 implementation legitimized questionable educational practice and made effective teaching more difficult. His research documents how teachers' actions under the policy were closely connected to their political and pedagogical ideologies.

Sampson, William A. 2003. *Poor Latino Families and School Preparation: Are They Doing the Right Things?* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Education.

> The failure of many urban schools to adequately teach their mostly poor and often non-white pupil populations has been a very serious policy issue. In an effort to improve this situation, policymakers and politicians have tried myriad solutions, but to no avail. This work stresses the role of Latino families in shaping educational preparation. Author William Sampson argues that the family is more important in the effort to improve schools than the schools themselves and that school improvement efforts should therefore focus more upon efforts to influence family change.

Shirley, Dennis. 2002. *Valley Interfaith and School Reform: Organizing for Power in South Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> Can public schools still educate America's children, particularly in poor and working class communities? Many advocates of school reform have called for dismantling public education in favor of market-based models of reform such as privatization and vouchers. By contrast, this path finding book explores how community organizing and activism in support of public schools in one of America's most economically disadvantaged regions, the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, has engendered impressive academic results. Dennis Shirley focuses the book around case studies of three schools that have benefited from the reform efforts of a community group called Valley Interfaith, which works to develop community leadership and boost academic achievement. He follows the remarkable efforts of teachers, parents, school administrators, clergy, and community activists to take charge of their schools and their communities and describes the effects of these efforts on students' school performance and testing results. Uniting gritty realism based on extensive field observations with inspiring vignettes of educators and parents creating genuine improvement in their schools and communities, this book demonstrates that public schools can be vital "laboratories of democracy," in which students and their parents learn the arts of civic engagement and the skills necessary for participating in our rapidly changing world. It persuasively argues that the American tradition of neighborhood schools can still serve as a bedrock of community engagement and academic achievement.

Valencia, Richard R. 2002. *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present, and Future*. New York: Routledge Farmer.

> The contributors include experts in the fields of anthropology, psychology, educational history and policy, special education, and child and family studies, reflecting the wide and complex range of issues affecting Chicano school students. The book is in five parts: Part I: A comprehensive review of schooling conditions and outcomes; the implications of a rapidly growing Chicano population; segregation, desegregation and integration; issues arising from the high dropout rate of Chicano students. Part II: Language, public policy and schooling issues for English language learners; the effectiveness of bilingual education in the US. Part III: Chicano/Latino ethnography of education; the relationship between Chicano families and schools. Part IV: Select testing issues that impact on Chicano students; the role of special education in the history of Chicano schooling. Part V: Analysis of the factors contributing to the success or failure of Chicano education; a synthesis of ideas to help promote success.

Valenzuela, Angela, ed. 2004. *Leaving Children Behind: How "Texas-Style" Accountability Fails Latino Youth*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> The federal government has based much of its education policies on those adopted in Texas. This book examines how "Texas-style" accountability – the notion that decisions governing retention, promotion, and graduation should be based on a single test score – fails Latina/o youth and their communities. The contributors, many of them from Texas, scrutinize state policies concerning high-stakes testing and provide new data that demonstrate how Texas' current system of testing results in a plethora of new inequalities. They argue that Texas policies exacerbate historic inequities, fail to accommodate the needs and abilities of English language learners, and that the dramatic educational improvement attributed to Texas' system of accountability is itself questionable. The book proposes a more valid and democratic approach to assessment and accountability that would combine standardized examinations with multiple sources of information about a student's academic performance.

Valverde, Leonard A. 2003. *Improving Schools for Latinos: Creating Better Learning Environments*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.

> As a result of multiple unfavorable circumstances, public schools have been unable to effectively educate America's most disadvantaged student population – Latinos. In this book, author Leonard Valverde contends that it is imperative to reinvent schools in order to provide a viable education for these students. *Improving Schools for Latinos* starts with the past, points out the present, and speaks to the future. It exposes the negative mental models and practices that must be discarded and proposes what favorable elements need to be put into place.

Vega Vargas-Reighley, Rosalva. 2005. Bi-*Cultural Competence and Academic Resilience among Immigrants*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Vargas-Reighley's work with Latina/o and Southeast Asian immigrant youth, explores variants

between the groups and different strategies for coping socially and academically. Vargas-Reighley examines the relationship among bicultural competence, stress and coping processes, adaptive processes, and academic resilience. Participants were Latina/o and Southeast Asian youth from two high schools in California. The Latina/o group was more likely to experience greater family stress, including greater parental marital dysfunction, more severe stressors, and greater stress ratings. The Southeast Asians were more likely to be of lower socioeconomic status, but more likely to show higher academic goals and achievement. Results indicate that bicultural competence was related to greater self-esteem, social support coping and coping efficacy in the familial stressful situation, and direct action coping and coping efficacy in the academic stressful situation. Bicultural competence does appear to be related to adaptive outcomes.

Wortham, Stanton, Enrique G. Murillo, Jr., and Edmund T. Hamann, eds. 2001. *Education in the New Latino Diaspora: Policy and the Politics of Identity.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

> The authors describe a new demographic phenomenon – the settlement of Latino families in areas of the United States where previously there has been little Latino presence. This New Latino Diaspora places pressures on host communities, both to develop conceptualizations of Latino newcomers and to provide needed services. These pressures are particularly felt in schools; in some New Latino Diaspora locations the percentage of Latino students in local public schools has risen from zero to thirty or even fifty percent in less than a decade. Latino newcomers, of course, bring their own language and their own cultural conceptions of parenting, education, inter-ethnic relations and the like. Through case studies of Latino Diaspora communities in Georgia, North Carolina, Maine, Colorado, Illinois, and Indiana, the eleven chapters in this volume describe what happens when host community conceptions of and policies toward newcomer Latinos meet Latinos' own conceptions. The chapters focus particularly on the processes of educational policy formation and implementation, processes through which host communities and newcomer Latinos struggle to define themselves and to meet the educational needs and opportunities brought by new Latino students. Most schools in the New Latino Diaspora are unsure about what to do with Latino children, and their emergent responses are alternately cruel, uninformed, contradictory, and inspirational. By describing how the challenges of accommodating the New Latino Diaspora are shared across many sites the authors hope to inspire others to develop more sensitive ways of serving Latino Diaspora children and families.

Education - Articles

Bali, Valentina A., and R. Michael Alvarez. 2003. "Schools and Educational Outcomes: What Causes the "Race Gap" in Student Test Scores?" *Social Science Quarterly* 84(3): 485-507.

> **Objective:** African-American and Hispanic students often have lower test scores than white students at all levels of education. In this article, we examine whether school factors impact racial groups differentially, helping reduce the test score gaps, and whether school policies benefit one racial group at the expense of another. **Methods:** The data is individual-level data from a school district in California. Multivariate analysis (FGLS) is used to study the effect of school factors and race on test scores, after controlling for individual and school attributes. **Results:** School fac-

tors have a small differential effect by race on test scores. The school policies that have a positive influence on minorities' scores often involve an environment where closer attention is paid to the needs of students. **Conclusion:** Most school policies have a small effect on test scores, impacting all racial groups in a similar manner, without redistributing benefits across groups.

Battle, J. 2002. "Longitudinal Analysis of Academic Achievement among a Nationwide Sample of Hispanic Students in One- Versus Dual-Parent Households." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 24(4): 430-447.

Previous researchers have found that, on average, students in single-parent households do not perform as well in school as their counterparts in dual-parent households. Another frequent finding is that the higher a student's socioeconomic status, the higher her or his educational achievement. However, there has been little attention paid to how family configuration and socioeconomic status interact to affect educational achievement of Hispanic students. Using a nationally representative sample, this research found that for 12th grade outcomes, in the presence of socioeconomic status, family configuration is not statistically significant. Furthermore, results for two years after high school showed, among other things, that socioeconomic status is much more important in predicting outcomes than is family configuration. The article ends with a discussion of policy implications.

Conchas, Gilberto, and Kimberly Goyette. 2000-2001. "The Race is Not Even: Minority Education in a Post-Affirmative Action Era." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 13: 87-102.

Affirmative action policies are intrinsically linked with the long history of social stratification and racial inequality in the United States. Despite the fact that inequality persists today, these policies were strongly eliminated with the passing of proposition 209. New initiatives must re-conceptualize how best to educate American children to circumvent the damaging effects of Proposition 209. In an effort to take us in this important direction, this mixed-methods case study concentrates on two racial and ethnic groups: Vietnamese American and Mexican American.

Both groups share similar demographic and socioeconomic profiles but diverse educational outcomes. Hence, the case study shows how inequality exists and plays out in American schools. Contrary to popular and academic views, Vietnamese American youth do not outperform Mexican American youth because of resources gained at home. Rather, the peer and teacher relationships that these youth form at the school level matter most. Most significantly, these relationships are mediated through race and ethnicity. These results led us to suggest that affirmative action was abandoned too early since inequality in schools mirrors stratification and racial inequality in larger society.

Crosnoe, Robert, Lorena Lopez-Gonzalez, and Chandra Muller. 2004. "Immigration from Mexico into the Math/Science Pipeline in American Education." *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (5): 1208-26.

Objectives: The purpose of this study was to explore generational differences in math/science enrollment and achievement among Mexican-American students and the role of family and school

contexts in these differences. **Methods:** We applied survey regression techniques to data from 12,020 adolescents in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. **Results:** Native-born Mexican-American students had lower math/science enrollment than their peers, especially after differences in family and school contexts were taken into account. Mexican-American immigrants had lower achievement when enrolled in such classes, but this was explained by their greater level of family and school disadvantages. **Conclusions:** Persistence and success in the math/science pipeline, a mechanism of social mobility in the modern economy, would likely be enhanced in the fast-growing population of Mexican-American students by improvements in family resources and school organization.

Davalos, Deana B., Ernest L. Chavez, and Robert J. Guardiola. 1999. "The Effects of Extracurricular Activity, Ethnic Identification, and Perception of School on Student Dropout Rates." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 2(1): 61-77.

> With a growing Mexican American population and an increasing dropout rate predicted for this group, research is needed to examine ways of deterring this trend and increasing retention rates. The current study examined extracurricular activity, perception of school, and ethnic identification, and the association with school retention rates among Mexican American and White non-Hispanics. Individuals reporting participation in extra-curricular activity were 2.30 times more likely to be enrolled in school than were those not participating in extracurricular activity. Those Mexican Americans reporting a higher White non-Hispanics ethnic identity level were 2.41 times more likely to be enrolled in school and had a more positive perception of school than did Mexican American individuals reporting low levels of White non-Hispanics ethnic identification.

Fry, Rick. 2005. "Recent Changes in the Entry of Hispanic and White Youth into College." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. November 1. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=56 (February 13, 2009).

> A report on college enrollment finds that the number of young Hispanics going to college is increasing.

Fry Rick, 2006. "The Changing Landscape of American Public Education: New Students, New Schools." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. October 5. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=72 (February 13, 2009).

> This report examines the intersection of two trends that have transformed the landscape of American public education in recent years: a rapid increase in enrollment and a surge in the opening of new schools. The report describes the racial and ethnic components of enrollment growth at various levels of the K-12 system. It also examines the composition of enrollment in newly-opened schools and older schools still in operation as well as the impact of rapid growth in Hispanic enrollment. Detailed statistics at the state level are also provided.

Fry, Rick. 2004. "Latino Youth Finishing College: The Role Of Selective Pathways." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. Available at: <http://www.pewhispanic.org>

> This new study from the Pew Hispanic Center finds that the white/Latino gap in finishing college is larger than the high school completion gap. The study reveals that Latino undergraduates are at a disadvantage in competing for college degrees because of two important factors: many Hispanic undergraduates disproportionately enroll on campuses that have low bachelor's degree completion rates, and they have different experiences than white students even when they enroll on the same campuses.

Fry, Rick. 2005. "The High Schools Hispanics Attend: Size and Other Key Characteristics." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. November 1. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=54 (February 13, 2009).

> A report on the characteristics of high schools attended by different racial and ethnic groups finds that Hispanic teens are more likely than blacks and whites to attend the nation's largest public high schools.

Fry, Rick. 2002. "Latinos In Higher Education: Many Enroll, Too Few Graduate." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. September 5. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=11 (February 13, 2009).

> This report shows that by some measures a greater share of Latinos are attending college classes than non-Hispanic whites, and yet they lag every other population group in attaining college degrees, especially bachelor's degrees. A detailed examination of data for enrollment shows a high propensity among Latino high school graduates to pursue post-secondary studies. However, most are pursuing paths associated with lower chances of attaining a bachelor's degree. Many are enrolled in community colleges, many also only attend school part-time and others delay or prolong their college education into their mid-20s and beyond. These findings clearly show that large numbers of Latinos finish their secondary schooling and try to extend their education but fail to earn a degree. Heretofore, policy-makers and researchers concerned with Hispanic educational achievement have focused most intently on issues related to primary and secondary education, especially high school dropout rates. Those issues are undoubtedly important. This report, however, demonstrates that significant gains can be made with policy initiatives targeted at Latinos who graduated from high school, and who applied for and were granted admission to a two- or four-year college and who have enrolled.

Fry, Rick. 2002. "Work or Study: Different Fortunes of U.S. Latino Generations." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. May 28. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=9 (February 13, 2009).

> The Latino labor force is experiencing a major generational shift as increasing numbers of today's young native-born Latino Americans become workers. This report describes the wage, employment outcomes, and labor market attachment of Latino adults by age and generation during the economic expansion of the late 1990s. This report's key contribution is generational comparisons by age that show that generational outcomes vary strongly by age. The behavior of teens and

young adults diverges sharply from adults over the age of 25. The teenage years appear to be a critical period for Latino youth as they make very important choices on working full-time versus part-time and whether to pursue schooling or not. Overall, the data analyzed in this report present a mixed picture with as many optimistic indicators as there are troubling ones. Clearly, when the U.S. economy is growing rapidly, as it did in the late 1990's, the labor market affords extraordinary opportunities to immigrant youth. Even those with very little experience in the U.S. labor market can find steady work. When they are in their late teens, immigrant youth do better than the native born. This is a short-lived advantage, however. Wages for immigrant youth start low and stay low through adulthood. By age 25, second generation Latinos eclipse their immigrant counterparts. Lacking exposure to U.S. schools, the immigrants' narrow focus on the employment world puts them on a sub par earnings path relative to second generation teens. Meanwhile, the schooling endeavors of second-generation teens likely will reap larger labor market payoffs later in life because rates of return to educational attainment are substantial for native-born Latinos.

Fry, Rick. 2006. "The Changing Landscape of American Public Education: New Students, New Schools." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. October 5. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=72 (February 13, 2009).

> This report examines the intersection of two trends that have transformed the landscape of American public education in recent years: a rapid increase in enrollment and a surge in the opening of new schools. The report describes the racial and ethnic components of enrollment growth at various levels of the K-12 system. It also examines the composition of enrollment in newly-opened schools and older schools still in operation as well as the impact of rapid growth in Hispanic enrollment. Detailed statistics at the state level are also provided.

Garcia, Phillip. 2000. "Understanding Obstacles and Barriers to Latino Baccalaureates." A Report for the RAND Corporation by the Inter-University Program for Latino Research, Notre Dame University.

> The report begins with a brief description of the extent of the substandard baccalaureate attainment among Hispanics and recent trends in Hispanic and non-Hispanic differences. The comparative statistics derived from national data indicate that many intergroup differences remain unchanged over time, even though the general status of Hispanics in higher education has improved somewhat from previous years. Next there is a description and analysis of where in the educational pipeline Hispanics fail to attain normative achievement. Official data on California students suggest that the national problem to be resolved is systemic. There is no single point in the California educational pipeline that accounts for the entire observed gap between Hispanic baccalaureate attainment and the corresponding state norm. Thus all concerned must make decisions about how resources will be allocated to the various points of the pipeline that need amelioration.

Gormley, Jr., William T. 2008. "The Effects of Oklahoma's Pre-K Program on Hispanic Children." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(4): 916-936.

> **Objective:** The objective of this work is to determine how much Hispanics benefit from a high-quality pre-K program and which Hispanic students benefit the most. **Methods:** Hispanic students in Tulsa, Oklahoma were tested (in English, Spanish) in August 2006. A regression discontinuity design addressed potential selection bias by comparing pre-K alumni (treatment group) with pre-K entrants (control group), controlling for age and other demographic variables. **Results:** Hispanic students experienced substantial improvements in pre-reading, prewriting, and pre-math skills. Hispanic students whose parents speak Spanish at home or whose parents were born in Mexico benefited the most. English-language test gains were stronger than Spanish-language test gains, but the latter were sometimes significant. **Conclusions:** Preschool education has considerable potential to improve educational outcomes for Hispanic children.

Gonzalez, Rosemary, and Amado Padilla. 1997. "The Academic Resilience of Mexican American High School Students." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 19(3): 301-17.

> This study sought to identify factors that contribute to the academic resilience and achievement among Mexican American high school students. High-and low-achieving students were selected from a database that included 2,169 Mexican American students in three California high schools. Resilient students (N = 133) reported receiving mostly A grades in high school, whereas non-resilient students (N = 81) reported mostly grades of D or below. Variables were formed from items on a questionnaire that all students had previously competed. Items selected for analysis included role of family, teachers, and peers toward school; the school environment and belonging; and the importance of culture and family. Regression analysis on student grade point average (GPA) revealed that a sense of belonging to school was the only significant predictor of academic resilience. An ANOVA revealed that teacher feedback was greater resilient males in comparison to non-resilient males.

Jasinski, Jana L. 2000. "Beyond High School: An Examination of Hispanic Educational Attainment." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 276-90.

> Low educational attainment has been a barrier to the advancement of Hispanic Americans in the United States, and a number of explanations for this have been suggested. Once group of explanations centers around Hispanic Americans use and exposure to English. A second group of explanations focuses more on socioeconomic disadvantages facing this population. Much of the research that looks at educational attainment among Hispanic Americans, however, does not consider group differences. The results suggest the importance of both the diversity of the Hispanic population and socioeconomic factors in explaining participation in postsecondary education. Effective policies targeted toward Hispanic postsecondary educational attainment need to address economic circumstances of these students rather than focus primarily on language deficiencies or immigration status.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2005. "The Higher Drop-Out Rate of Foreign-Born Teens: The Role of Schooling Abroad." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. November 1. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=55 (February 13, 2009).

> A report on high school enrollment points to the importance of schooling abroad in understanding the dropout problem for immigrant teens, finding that those teens have often fallen behind in their education before reaching the United States.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2004. "Latino Labor Report, First Quarter 2004: Wage Growth Lags Gains in Employment." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. June 16. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=29 (February 13, 2009).

> The "jobless recovery" may have turned around, but gains for Latinos have not been widespread. Immigrant Latinos, especially the most recent arrivals, have captured the most jobs.

Leal, David. L., and Frederick M. Hess. 2000. "The Politics of Bilingual Education Expenditures in Urban School Districts". *Social Science Quarterly* 81(4): 1064-72.

> **Objective:** This article examines the political, demographic, and fiscal determinants of urban school district spending on bilingual education. **Methods:** It applies OLS regression analysis to the 1992 Council of Urban Boards of Education (CUBE) survey and U.S. census data. **Results:** Bilingual expenditures are associated not just with student enrollment in bilingual education programs, but also with the percentage of Latinos and Asian Americans on the local school board, median family income, which is likely a proxy for policy liberalism, and state and local spending. The percentage of women on school boards may also play a role. **Conclusions:** Spending is not simply determined by the objective need for bilingual education services. Multiple political factors are at work.

Leal, David L. 2004. "Latinos and School Vouchers: Testing the Minority Support Hypothesis." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(5): 1227-37.

> **Objectives:** Voucher proponents, as well as some researchers, argue that minorities and individuals of relatively low socioeconomic status (SES) particularly favor school vouchers. Little work has specifically explored Latino attitudes, with the focus typically on African-American opinions. This article will therefore examine whether Latinos hold unique attitudes toward vouchers. **Methods:** Ordinal probit regression analysis of a recent national survey of Latinos, African Americans, and Anglos (non-Latino whites). **Results:** In the aggregate, Latinos and African Americans are more likely than Anglos to support vouchers. The Latino population variable is statistically insignificant, however, while the African-American measure is significant and positive. When the aggregate Latino variable is disaggregated into four major Latino national-origin groups, Puerto Ricans are shown to hold uniquely favorable opinions about vouchers. In addition, there are no opinion differences by income and education. **Conclusions:** When Catholicism is taken into account, the voucher opinions of Latinos and Anglos are generally indistinct. This suggests that aggregate Latino support for vouchers may drop if Catholic affiliation further declines.

Lowell, Lindsay, and Roberto Suro. 2002. "The Improving Educational Profile Of Latino Immigrants." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. December 4.http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report. php?ReportID=14 (February 13, 2009).

> It is a commonplace claim that the education level of the Latino immigrant population is continually falling behind that of the U.S.-born population. However, the Pew Hispanic Center finds that the educational profile of the adult population of foreign-born Latinos has improved significantly during the past three decades. These gains, however, have not yet produced a notable convergence with the level of education in the native-born U.S. population. During the period 1970 to 2000 the native-born population also experienced improvements of education that outpaced the progress among Latino immigrants. Nonetheless, the trends identified in this report suggest that the gap between immigrants and natives will narrow in the future.

Magnuson, Katherine, Claudia Lahaie, and Jane Waldfogel. 2006. "Preschool and School Readiness of Children of Immigrants." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1241-62.

> **Objective:** In this article, we use data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey – Kindergarten Cohort to analyze the links between preschool attendance and the school readiness of children of immigrants. **Methods:** Using data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey – Kindergarten Cohort, we estimate multivariate regression models for the effects of preschool on school readiness for children of immigrants and children of natives. **Results:** We find that children whose mothers were born outside the United States are less likely to be enrolled in school or center-based preschool programs than other children. We find that preschool attendance raises reading and math scores as much for children of immigrants as it does for other children. Attending preschool also raises the English-language proficiency of children of immigrants. Although not the main focus of our study, we examined the effects of Head Start, and found that this program improves children's English proficiency, with especially large effects for children of immigrants whose mothers have less than a high school education; in this latter group, Head Start also improved math scores. **Conclusions:** Given that preschool benefits children of immigrants as much as it does children of natives and given that children of immigrants are less likely to be enrolled, our findings strongly suggest that enrolling more children of immigrants in preschool would help reduce inequality in skills at school entry.

Martinez, Charles R., David S. DeGarmo, and J. Mark Eddy. 2004. "Promoting Academic Success Among Latino Youths." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 26: 128-51.

> This article describes results from the Oregon Latino Youth Survey, which was designed to identify factors that promote or hinder academic success for Latino middle school and high school youngsters. The study samples included a total of 564 Latino and non-Latino students and parents. Analyses showed that Latino students reported a high frequency of discriminatory experiences and institutional barriers at school, and Latino students and their parents were more likely to experience institutional barriers compared to non-Latinos. Furthermore, Latino students and parents reported that they and/or their youngsters were more likely to drop out of school compared to non-Latinos. Path models showed that lower acculturation and more institutional barriers were related to less academic success for Latino students. More parent academic encour-

agement and staff extracurricular encouragement were associated with better academic outcomes for Latino students. Finally, family socioeconomic disadvantage had an indirect effect on Latino youngster academic success, through effects on parent monitoring and school involvement.

Osei-Kofi, Nana, and Laura Rendón. 2006. "Latinos, Higher Education, and the "Needs" of the Market." *Latino Studies* 3(2): 249-260.

In this essay, we consider the current state of Latinos in higher education. In our analysis, we offer a critique of mainstream discourse on Latinos and higher education. In doing so, we foreground contemporary capitalist formations as critical to understanding the structural realities faced by Latinos in higher education today.

Pappas, Georgia, Maria Guajardo Lucero, and Elva D. Ahlin. 1995. "Colorado's Community Speaks out about School Discipline Legislation that Impacts the Latino Community." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 9: 87-111.

The Safe School Act was enacted in Colorado to provide a safe learning environment. The bill calls for mandatory expulsion of students for use or possession of a deadly weapon, sale of an illegal substance, robbery, assault and habitual disruptive behavior. However, the law does not provide exceptions due to special circumstances and the definition of disruptive behavior is very subjective. Furthermore, schools have not been rewarded for preventive measure or providing alternative schooling for expelled students. The law has disproportionally affected Latino and Afro-American students in Colorado.

Ryabov, Igor, and Jeniffer Van Hook. 2007. "School Segregation and Academic Achievement among Hispanic Children." *Social Science Research* 36(2): 767-788.

Although prior research suggests that Latino children of immigrants are segregated in low-income, high-minority schools, no prior work has examined the effects of race and class composition on Latino student's academic achievement or the extent to which compositional effects vary by generational status. We analyze the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data using hierarchical linear models. Academic achievement is measured by grade point average (GPA) and adds health picture vocabulary test (AHPVT) score. We find that socioeconomic composition of the school but not racial composition is an important predictor of AHPVT test scores of Latino adolescents. The findings vary by generational status in the case of GPA. School SES has a positive effect and school minority composition has a negative effect on grades only in the case of foreign-born Latinos. Although GPA and AHPVT scores vary significantly by generational status and ethnicity, these achievement differences are better explained by family background than by variations in school composition. A possible reason, one which is supported by the results, is that high levels of social capital in immigrant families help buffer children from the disadvantages associated with the schools they attend.

Santiago, Deborah A., and Sarita Brown. 2004. "Federal Policy and Latinos in Higher Education." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. June 23. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=32 (February 13, 2009).

> The purpose of this study is to describe federal legislation and programs that support higher education and to assess Latino participation in these programs. While there are many programs at the state, institutional, and community levels that facilitate access to higher education for Latinos, the Higher Education Act (HEA), due for reauthorization this year, is the main policy vehicle at the federal level for postsecondary education programs. These programs provide concrete examples of educational activities that can inform – and be informed by – local activities and programs to facilitate Latino student access, persistence, and completion of higher education. A series of developments in the costs and financing of colleges and universities set the context for HEA reauthorization.

Seif, Hinda. 2004. ""Wise Up!" Undocumented Latino Youth, Mexican-American Legislators, and the Struggle for Higher Education Access." *Latino Studies* 2(2): 210-30.

> The successful struggle for California's Assembly Bill 540 (AB 540), which waives out-of-state tuition for undocumented California youth who attend public higher education institutions, challenges two assumptions: that legislators only serve citizen voters and that legislative activists are adult citizens. It points to the significance of youth and educational struggles in 20th century Latino politics, which has responded to demographic and political change by incorporating undocumented youth. The author discusses the historical trajectory of Latino educational struggles through the experiences of legislative professionals from working class backgrounds. She introduces a Los Angeles-based youth group called Get Smart!* that organized in support of AB 540 and includes undocumented members. The fight for AB 540 united Latino citizen professionals with undocumented youth and suggests channels to confront the global tragedy of the undocumented raised on the borderlands of the nation-state.

> *This organizational name is a pseudonym to protect the confidentiality of its members.

Solórzano, Armando. 2006. "Latinos' Education in Mormon Utah, 1910-1960." *Latino Studies* 4(3): 282–301.

> Looking at the history of education of Latinos in Utah, I suggest that the lack of educational opportunities has been the most effective mechanism to keep Latinos from achieving equal representation and from gaining cultural and historical identity. In comparison to other Latinos in the rest of the nation, the predominant factor that shapes the education of Latinos in Utah is religion, that is, Mormonism. As a set of beliefs, and as set of practices, Mormonism is embedded with racial underpinnings, theological premises, and social class undertones which undermine the Latinos' educational efforts and place them in a system of socio-religious apartness. The idiosyncratic characteristics of Utah's educational system allows for the reinterpretation of national educational policies, such as the Americanization Programs, within cultural-religious parameters that produces different levels of educational discrimination within the Latino population. None-

theless, Latinos challenged the educational practices of the state by creating their own schools, by proposing alternative methods of education, and by unraveling the intrinsic connections between religion, race, and socio-economic class. As a consequence, Latinos in Utah have proposed educational alternatives that are more holistic and inclusive.

Soto-Carlo, Antonio, Edward A. Delgado-Romero, and Nallely Galván. 2005. "Challenges of Puerto Rican Islander Students in the US." *Latino Studies* 3(2): 288-94.

The authors review the issues raised by Puerto Rican Islanders (whom we refer to as Islander Puerto Ricans or isleño/as) when they come to the United States to pursue graduate education. We review the decision to attend graduate school in the US, perceptions of race, ethnicity and identity in the US, language barriers, the impact of weather, the absence of traditional food, music and cultural events, separation from family and friends, and potential political subordination and educational adjustment. We conclude with recommendations for educators.

Stamps, Katherine, and Stephanie A. Bohon. 2006. "Educational Attainment in New and Established Latino Metropolitan Destinations." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1225-40.

Objective: This study examines the educational attainment of Latinos who immigrated to the United States by age 12. We compare the educational attainment of Latino immigrants in established and emerging Latino immigrant gateway cities in order to identify whether there are any significant differences in educational attainment between immigrants in these two gateways types and why such differences might exist. **Methods:** We employ OLS regression using the 2000 5% Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample. **Results:** Our results suggest that contrary to speculation, educational attainment among Latino immigrants is significantly higher in new Latino destinations than in established Latino metropolitan areas, although much of the difference is mediated by demographic factors. Migration history, English proficiency, ethnicity, and citizenship status account for a substantial portion of the differences in educational attainment between destination types. The migration history of these immigrants suggests a selection effect: only those immigrants who are relative newcomers to their new Latino destination have significantly higher educational attainment than those in established metropolitan areas. **Conclusions:** We find that educational attainment among Latino immigrants is higher in new Latino destinations. Our study suggests that more highly educated Latino immigrants are choosing new Latino destinations, while longer-term immigrant residents of new destinations are faring no better (in terms of educational levels) than those in established destinations. English proficiency, ethnicity, and citizenship status are confirmed as factors strongly associated with educational attainment among immigrants.

Swail, Scott, Alberto F. Cabrera, and Chul Lee. 2004. "Latino Youth and the Pathway to College." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. June 23. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=31 (February 13, 2009).

> This study was conducted by the Educational Policy Institute through a grant from the Pew Hispanic Center to provide the most up-to-date analysis of Latino achievement through postsecondary education. The study analyses the latest installment of the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS), begun in 1988 with eighth grade students and followed up several times, with the last follow-up survey in 2000: eight years after scheduled high school graduation.

Sy, Susan R. 2006. "Family and Work Influences on the Transition to College Among Latina Adolescents." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28: 368-86.

> This study investigates the effect of family obligations and part-time work on Latina adolescents' stress and academic achievement during the transition to college. One hundred seventeen Latina college students from immigrant families completed surveys assessing the mother-daughter relationship, family obligations, work-school conflict, school and work-related stress, and academic achievement. Path analyses revealed a complex set of relations among family, work, and school variables. Latina students who spent more time with family experienced lower school stress and higher academic achievement. However, those who more frequently engaged in language brokering (i.e., translating for parents) experienced higher school stress. In addition, students experiencing higher levels of work-school conflict had increased stress levels in work and school, as well as lower academic achievement. This study has important implications for educators and community-based organizations wishing to promote Latina adolescents' pursuit of higher education.

Tedin, Kent L., Richard Matland, and Gregory Weihner. 2001. "Age, Race, Self-Interest, and Financing Public Schools through Referenda." *The Journal of Politics* 63(1): 270-94.

> Using a sample of 628 white, black, and Hispanic voters in a large urban school district, we test a series of hypotheses about voting in a school bond election. We find that there is a core of similar results across racial/ethnic groups. All three groups show string, directly measures, self-interest effects. We also find some distinct group differences. Symbolic values displayed a limited role for white voters, but a stronger role for minorities. In addition, for white voters we find a substantial drop in support for the bond across age cohorts, but no such drop among black and Hispanic voters.

Valencia, Richard R. 2000. "Inequalities and the Schooling of Minority Students in Texas: Historical and Contemporary Conditions." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 22(4): 445-59.

> In the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills case, the State argued that the differences in current schooling conditions and outcomes experienced by Whites and African American/ Mexican American students are not due to historical discrimination, and such history is irrelevant to the litigation in GI Forum et al. vs. Texas Education Agency et al. By contrast, this article asserts that the contemporary widespread school failure of many African American and Mexican American

students in Texas public schools is strongly connected to long-standing systemic public school inequalities and the subsequent limited opportunities to learn. This article lays down a framework for understanding the link between historical and contemporary discrimination. As an example of this past-present association, the issue of school segregation is discussed. Furthermore, data on the issue of substandard teachers and how this inequality shortchanges minority students is presented. The article's major conclusion is that the State's a historical position is both faulty and indefensible.

Valencia, Elvia Y., and Valerie Johnson. 2006. "Latino Students in North Carolina: Acculturation, Perceptions of School Environment, and Academic Aspirations." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28: 350-67.

> This study describes results from an investigation of Latino students attending a Hispanic Education Summit (HES) in North Carolina. Findings from data gleaned from 275 middle and high school students' perceptions are presented. Self-report data assessed level of acculturation, as well as students' perceptions with regard to a variety of issues, including school programs, barriers to participation in programs, problems in the school environment, and academic aspirations. Results revealed that students reported few perceived barriers to school and aspirations. However, there was a significant relationship between acculturation level and the frequency with which students reported selected barriers and future life goals. Gender differences were found with regard to acculturation level, perception of barriers, and academic aspirations. Directions for further research are discussed.

Weiher, Gregory R. 2000. "Minority Student Achievement: Passive Representation and Social Context in Schools." *Journal of Politics* 62(3): 886-95.

> Previous research indicates that the academic performance of minority students improves when school facilities include minority teachers. This research addresses this issue using data from some 540 school districts and 688 campuses in Texas. It finds that the greater the shortfall between the district/campus percentage of minority teachers and the district/campus percentage of minority students, the lower the percentage of district/campus students passing the state achievement test. When controls are entered for the rate of increase in minority student percentage, the association disappears for Hispanic students but not for African American Students.

Zsembik, Barbara, and Daniel Llanes. 1996. "Generational Differences in Educational Attainment among Mexican Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 77(2): 363-74.

> Recent research on generational differences in the educational attainment of Latinos provides evidence in support of both the classis and segmented models of assimilation. The goal of this study is to evaluate which model best accounts for the generational patterns of educational attainment among Mexican Americans. Using a newly released data set, the Latino Panel Study of Income Dynamics, the generational differences in three educational outcomes among Mexican Americans are examined. It is found that generational status significantly affects educational outcomes, though the specific pattern is outcome-specific. The number of years of completed

schooling increases sharply between the immigrant and second generation, then levels of in the third generation. The proportion of Mexican Americans completing high school increases with successive generations of U.S. residence. College completion peaks in the second generation, and declines in the third generation. The segmented assimilation framework best accounts for college completion and the years of completed schooling. Only high school completion is in accord with classic assimilation predictions.

Health Care/Health Policy - Books

Note: The authors could not locate any books within this category.

Health Care/Health Policy - Articles

Angel, Ronald. 1991. "Intra-group Differences in the Health of Hispanic Children." *Social Science Quarterly* 72(2): 361-78.

> Studies of Hispanic adults in the United States have documented large differences in socioeconomic status and health between specific groups. A growing body of research shows that Cuban Americans are similar to non-Hispanic whites in socioeconomic status, Puerto Ricans are similar to blacks, and Mexican Americans are intermediate. These differences are reflected in the health levels of these adults. The analyses of the Hispanic Health and Nutrition Examination Survey in this study indicate that these differences affect the health of children as well. The findings reveal that among Hispanic children, Puerto Ricans make up a seriously health-disadvantaged minority group.

Araújo, Beverly Y., and Luisa N. Borrell. 2006. "Understanding the Link Between Discrimination, Mental Health Outcomes, and Life Chances Among Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28(2): 245-66.

> Discriminatory experiences have been found to be related to poor mental health outcomes and negative life chances among marginalized communities in the United States. However, little is known about the impact of perceived discrimination on the Latino population. The present article reviews and critiques existing empirical evidence linking perceived discrimination to life chances and mental health outcomes among Latinos. The gaps in the literature reveal that most of the discrimination research was conducted in the 1980s and early 1990s, focused on Mexicans, and excluded other Latino/Hispanic populations, such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. The findings of this study will help to inform the understanding of the discriminatory experiences of Latinos in the United States

Durdan, T. Elizabeth, and Robert A. Hummer. 2006. "Access to Healthcare Among Working-Aged Hispanic Adults in the United States." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1319-43.

> **Objectives:** The purpose of this research is to examine differences in access to and sources of healthcare for working-aged adults among major Hispanic subpopulations of the United States. Nativity, duration in the United States, citizenship, and sociodemographic factors are considered as key predictors of access to and sources of care. **Methods:** Using pooled National Health Interview Surveys from 1999–2001, logistic and multinomial logistic regression models are estimated that compare Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and other Hispanics with non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites. **Results:** Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanics display significantly less access to care than non-Hispanics whites, with immigrant status and socioeconomic status variables accounting for some, but not all, of the differences. For sources of care, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanic adults were all much more likely than non-Hispanic whites to report clinics or emergency rooms as their source of regular care. **Conclusions:** There are wide differences in access to and sources of care across racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Mexican-American adults, regardless if born in Mexico or the United States, appear to be most in need of access to regular and high-quality care. Naturalization may be an especially important factor in greater access to regular and high-quality care for Hispanic immigrants.

Granados, Gilberto, Jyoti Puvvula, Nancy Berman, and Patrick T. Dowling. 2001. "Health Care for Latino Children: Impact of Child and Parental Birthplace on Insurance Status and Access to Health." *American Journal of Public Health* 91(11): 1806-07.

> **Objectives:** This study sought to assess the impact of child and parental birthplace on insurance status and access to health care among Latino children in the United States. **Methods:** A cross-sectional, in-person survey of 376 random households with children aged 1 to 12 years was conducted in a predominantly Latino community. Children's insurance status and access to routine health care were compared among 3 child–parent groups: US born–US born (UU), US born–immigrant (UI), and immigrant–immigrant (II). **Results:** Uninsured rates for the 3 groups of children were 10% (UU), 23% (UI), and 64% (II). Rates for lack of access to routine health care were 5% (UU), 12% (UI), and 32% (II). **Conclusion:** Latino children of immigrant parents are more likely to lack insurance and access to routine health care than are Latino children of US-born parents.

Hamilton, Erin R., Robert A. Hummer, Xiuhong H. You, and Yolanda C. Padilla. 2006. "Health Insurance and Health-Care Utilization of U.S.-Born Mexican American Children." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1280-94.

> **Objectives:** We document and model health insurance coverage and health-care utilization of very young, U.S.-born Mexican-American children relative to their non-Hispanic white and black counterparts. **Methods:** We use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study and multivariate regression methods. **Results:** Based on descriptive and multivariate analyses, the findings show that compared to non-Hispanic white children, Mexican-American children have lower rates of health insurance coverage and less health-care utilization. Mexican-American children born in the United States to foreign-born mothers utilize health care the least and are

much more likely to be fully uninsured compared to other children. **Conclusion:** The early health advantage of Mexican-origin children at birth runs the risk of being compromised by the time they reach age three as a result of poor access to healthcare. Greater health insurance coverage for Mexican-American children and, in particular, Mexican-American children of immigrants is needed.

Padilla, Yolanda C., Melissa Dalton Radey, Robert A. Hummer, and Eunjeong Kim. 2006. "The Living Conditions of U.S.-Born Children of Mexican Immigrants in Unmarried Families." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28(3): 331-49.

> Recent research has brought attention to the hardship faced by children of immigrants in the United States, particularly in the Mexican-origin population. In this study, the authors are concerned with the extent to which U.S.-born children of Mexican immigrants who live in unmarried families may face exceptional risks. Using data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, the authors find that young children of Mexican immigrants in unmarried families face significant disadvantages on a variety of levels compared with children of U.S.-born mothers. Mexican immigrant mothers have significantly lower levels of education and employment and much higher rates of poverty, as well as less access to social services. Although characterized by low rates of low birth weight and more positive maternal health behaviors, their poor socioeconomic and social service profile suggests that even when healthy at the starting gate, they may potentially face poor outcomes during childhood and beyond.

Villa, Valentine M., Steven P. Wallace, and Anh-Luu T. Huynh-Hohnbaum. 2005. "The Aging Hispanic Population: Prescriptions for Health and Economic Security in Old Age." Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy 18: 59-73.

> Security in old age is dependent on three pillars – an adequate retirement income, accessible quality health care and affordable housing. The security of the population age sixty-five and over has become a pressing policy concern in large part because of the aging of the U.S. population and the reliance of that segment of the population on the largest social programs of the country – Social Security and Medicare. Often overlooked is the increase in diversity that will accompany the aging of the population, especially the rapid growth that will occur in the next few decades in the Hispanic population age sixty-five and over. The older Hispanic population has continued to experience disparities in social, health and economic status. In order for this growing segment of the U.S. elderly population to achieve the three pillars that constitute security in old age, U.S. policy makers must explore programs and services that afford an adequate set of health and income benefits, as well as renew their commitment to policies that promote social justice.

Zambrana, Ruth E., and Laura A. Logie. 2000. "Latino Child Health: Need for Inclusion in the US National Discourse." *American Journal of Public Health* 90(12): 1827-33.

> The "rediscovery" of poverty, as echoed in concepts of social inequality, has contributed to the goal of eliminating racial/ethnic and social class disparities in the United States. This commentary focuses on what we know about the pressing health care needs and issues relevant to Latino chil-

dren and families and how extant knowledge can be linked to priority policy recommendations to ensure the inclusion of Latino health issues in the national discourse. A systematic review of the literature on Latino children and of expert opinion revealed 4 evidence-based themes focused on poverty: economic factors, family and community resources, health system factors, and pitfalls in Latino subgroup data collection. Consensus was found on 4 priority policy recommendations: (1) reduce poverty and increase access to health care coverage, (2) increase funding in targeted primary and preventive health care services, (3) provide funds needed to fully implement relevant health legislation, and (4) improve measurement and quality of data collection. If these recommendations are not instituted, the goals of Healthy People 2010 will not be achieved for the Latino population.

Housing / Segregation - Books

Note: The authors could not locate any books within this category.

Housing / Segregation - Articles

Clark, William A. V., and Sarah A. Blue. 2004. "Race, Class, and Segregation Patterns in U.S. Immigrant Gateway Cities." *Urban Affairs Review* 39(6): 667-88.

> Previous studies have shown some tendency toward increased residential racial and ethnic integration, especially in large West Coast metropolitan areas. They have also shown in limited studies that integration, or at least declines in separation, occurs with increases in socioeconomic status. The results of this study, using recently released 2000 census data for metropolitan areas with large numbers of foreign born, show that indeed separation does decline with increases in socio-economic status though it also varies by geography, education, and income and is significantly variable across different ethnic groups in the large immigrant cities. The research in this study also documents the continuing hierarchy of greater integration of Whites with Asians and Whites with Hispanics than with African Americans. It is clear that the changing patterns of separation have moved beyond Black-White contexts. Still, class clearly matters, as integration is greater at higher education levels, and suburban areas in general are more integrated than urban cores.

Fischer, Mary J. 2003. "The Relative Importance of Income and Race in Determining Residential Outcomes in U.S. Urban Areas, 1970-2000." *Urban Affairs Review* 38(5): 669-96.

> The author uses the unique properties of the entropy index to explore trends in segregation by race/ethnicity and income class for families from 1970 to 2000. Declines in segregation by race and increases in segregation by income class were found until the 1990s, when segregation by income declined. Segregation among certain subgroups was then examined; some groups remain more segregated, even as segregation in general has declined. In particular, the poor families experience greater segregation from others than do families in other income groups from each other. Blacks experience higher levels of segregation from other groups than those other groups

do from each other. Finally, the segregation of poor, black families compared to the poor of other race/ethnic groups was examined. The author finds that poor black families are uniquely segregated and that this segregation declines only slightly with time.

Logan, John. 2001. "Ethnic Diversity Grows, Neighborhood Integration Lags Behind." *Lewis Mumford Center*. December 18. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/WholePop/WPreport/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

> The 2000 Census shows that residential segregation, particularly between blacks and whites, remains high in cities and suburbs across the country. Despite growing ethnic diversity nationwide and a substantial shift of minorities from cities to suburbs, these groups have not gained access to largely white neighborhoods. Since 1980 there has been a modest decline in black-white segregation, particularly in metropolitan areas with small black populations; there has been no net change in segregation of the growing Hispanic and Asian minorities.

Logan, John. 2001. "The New Ethnic Enclaves in America's Suburbs." *Lewis Mumford Center*. July 9. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/suburban/SuburbanReport/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

> America's suburbs are being radically transformed growth of their minority population. This report analyzes suburbanization by African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians in all metro areas between 1990 and 2000, focusing on the formation and strengthening of ethnic enclaves in many large suburban regions.

Logan, John, Deirdre Oakley, and Jacob Stowell, 2003. "Segregation in Neighborhoods and Schools: Impacts on Minority Children in the Boston Region." *Lewis Mumford Center Report*. September 1. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/colorlines/colorline01.htm (February 13, 2009).

> Nearly 30 years after the beginning of court-ordered busing in Boston, black and Hispanic children in the Boston metropolitan region are largely excluded from schools in the more affluent residential suburbs. This report describes residential patterns and their consequences for school segregation and school inequality using data from the 2000 census and 1999-2000 school year.

Logan, John. 2002. "Separate and Unequal: The Neighborhood Gap for Blacks and Hispanics in Metropolitan America." *Lewis Mumford Center*. October 15. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/SepUneq/SUReport/SURepPage1.htm (February 13, 2009).

> Persistent residential segregation still prevents many blacks and Hispanics from moving to better neighborhoods. In many metro areas, minorities with incomes over $60,000 live in less advantaged neighborhoods than whites earning under $30,000. This report summarizes national trends in income inequality and neighborhood disparities across groups, and compares the situation among the metro areas with the largest minority populations.

Logan, John. 2002. "Choosing Segregation: Racial Imbalance in American Public Schools, 1990-2000." *Lewis Mumford Center*. January 18 (revised March 29). http://mumford.albany.edu/census/SchoolPop/SPReport/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

> In many metropolitan regions, desegregation evident in the 1989-90 school year has given way to substantial increases of black-white segregation. New national data for 1999-2000 show that segregation from whites has edged upwards not only for black children, but also for Hispanic, and Asian children. Segregation places black and Hispanic children, on average, in schools where two-thirds of students are at or near the poverty line.

Logan, John, Oakley, Deidre, Smith, Polly, Stowell, Jacob, and Brian Stults. 2001. "Separating the Children." *Lewis Mumford Center*. December 28 (original version posted May 6). http://mumford.albany.edu/census/Under18Pop/U18Preport/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

> The 2000 Census shows that America's children are living in neighborhoods separated by race and ethnicity, experiencing higher segregation than does the population of all ages. Segregation trends mirror those of the total population – with a modest decrease in the very high segregation of black children, and no change for Hispanics and Asians. Hispanic children are increasingly growing up in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods. In fact, children of all groups are being raised in environments where their own group's size is inflated, and where they are under-exposed to children of other racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Logan, John. 2001. "Ethnic Diversity Grows, Neighborhood Integration Lags Behind." *Lewis Mumford Center*. December 18 (original version issued April 3). http://mumford.albany.edu/census/WholePop/WPreport/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

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Logan, John. 2002. "Hispanic Populations and Their Residential Patterns in the Metropolis." *Lewis Mumford Center*. May 8. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/HispanicPop/HspReportNew/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

> What we call the Hispanic population in America is actually a mixture of many different groups. This report looks particularly at differences in the residential patterns of people from specific Hispanic national origins, analyzing trends in segregation and formation of distinctive Hispanic enclaves in the metropolis.

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Logan, John. 2002. "Separate and Unequal: The Neighborhood Gap for Blacks and Hispanics in Metropolitan America." *Lewis Mumford Center*. October 15. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/SepUneq/SUReport/SURepPage1.htm (February 13, 2009).

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Logan, John. 2002. "Hispanic Populations and Their Residential Patterns in the Metropolis. *Lewis Mumford Center*. May 8. http://mumford.albany.edu/census/HispanicPop/HspReportNew/page1.html (February 13, 2009).

> What we call the Hispanic population in America is actually a mixture of many different groups. This report looks particularly at differences in the residential patterns of people from specific Hispanic national origins, analyzing trends in segregation and formation of distinctive Hispanic enclaves in the metropolis.

Mossberger, Karen, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Michele Gilbert. 2006. "Race, Place, and Information Technology." *Urban Affairs Review* 41(5): 583-620.

> Technology inequalities based on race and ethnicity presents a paradox. African-Americans and Latinos have lower rates of access and skill, even controlling for socioeconomic factors. Yet African-Americans, and to a lesser extent, Latinos, also have more positive attitudes toward information technology than similarly situated whites. Because attitudes cannot explain lower rates of access and skill, we hypothesize that racial segregation and concentrated poverty have restricted opportunities to learn about and use technology. Using hierarchical linear modeling and multilevel data to control for both community-level socioeconomic and demographic character-

istics and individual-level factors, we find that disparities among African-Americans are due to place effects rather than race. Ethnicity still exercises an independent influence for Latinos. These findings contribute to our understanding of the "digital divide," and to research on the effects of concentrated poverty.

Strait, John B. 2006. "Poverty Concentration in the Prismatic Metropolis: The Impact of Compositional and Redistributive Forces within Los Angeles, California, 1990-2000." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28(1): 71-94.

> The degrees to which poor populations are spatially concentrated within metropolitan areas are influenced by two sets of forces. In this article, I refer to the first set of forces as redistributive forces, which includes intra-metropolitan forces that redistribute populations among different neighborhoods. The second set of forces includes metropolitan-wide processes that alter the relative poverty composition of the overall metropolitan population. These latter processes are referred to here as compositional forces. This research investigates the degrees to which these two sets of forces impacted poverty concentration among racial and ethnic groups within Los Angeles County, CA from 1990 to 2000. Both forces generally functioned to increase poverty concentration among all groups considered, with compositional forces having the stronger effect. Evidence suggests that the residential experiences of poor whites, African Americans, and Hispanics were strongly influenced by the migratory behavior of the non-poor in Los Angeles. The Asian population, however, exhibited some evidence of ethnic (or racial) "self-selectivity," as this population exhibited less interclass segregation over time. Despite increased poverty concentration, findings demonstrate that Los Angeles became slightly less segregated by race and ethnicity during the 1990s.

Suro, Roberto, and Sonya Tafoya. 2004. "Dispersal and Concentration: Patterns of Latino Residential Settlement." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. December 27. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=36 (February 13, 2009).

> This Pew Hispanic Center report reveals that some 20 million Hispanics – 57 percent of the total – live in neighborhoods mostly populated by non-Hispanics. Rather than clustering in ethnic enclaves, these Latinos, including large shares of the immigrant and low-income populations, are scattered in neighborhoods where on average only seven percent of the residents are Hispanics. The remaining 43 percent of Latino population lives in densely Hispanic neighborhoods that are large and growing especially in major metropolitan areas with long-standing Latino populations. There is diversity, however, even in these neighborhoods where Latinos are the dominant population. A mix of native-born and immigrant Latinos, Spanish and English speakers, the poor and middle income all live together in these heavily Hispanic areas.

Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald, Catherine Zimmer, Kevin Stainback, Corre Robinson, Tiffany Taylor, and Tricia McTague. 2006. "Documenting Desegregation: Segregation in American Workplaces by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1966-2003." *American Sociological Review* 71(4): 565-88.

> Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made employment discrimination and segregation on the basis of race, ethnicity, or sex illegal in the United States. Previous research based on analyses of aggregate national trends in occupational segregation suggests that sex and race/ethnic employment segregation has declined in the United States since the 1960s. We add to the existing knowledge base by documenting for the first time male-female, black-white, and Hispanic-white segregation trends using private sector workplace data. The general pattern is that segregation declined for all three categorical comparisons between 1966 and 1980, but after 1980 only sex segregation continued to decline markedly. We estimate regression-based decompositions in the time trends for workplace desegregation to determine whether the observed changes represent change in segregation behavior at the level of workplaces or merely changes in the sectoral and regional distribution of workplaces with stable industrial or local labor market practices. These decompositions suggest that, in addition to desegregation caused by changes in the composition of the population of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission monitored private sector firms, there has been real workplace-level desegregation since 1964.

Van Ryzin, Gregg G., Douglas Muzzio, and Stephen Immerwahr. 2004. "Explaining the Race Gap in Satisfaction with Urban Services." *Urban Affairs Review* 39(5): 613-632.

> Although racial differences in satisfaction with urban services have been observed for decades, perhaps the most consistent finding in the literature on citizen satisfaction and urban service delivery, little systematic effort has been directed at explaining this gap. Using two years of survey data from New York City, the authors find that socioeconomic status (SES) and neighborhood of residence explain only a small part of the gap in satisfaction across a range of urban services. Residents' trust of government appears to account for a fairly large proportion of the race gap. Still, significant differences in satisfaction remain between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics for a number of services even after controlling for SES, neighborhood, and trust.

Immigration and Naturalization - Books

Barajas, Manuel. 2009. *The Xaripu Community Across Borders: Labor Migration, Community, and Family*. South Bend, IA: Notre Dame University Press.

> During the past three decades there have been many studies of transnational migration. Most of the scholarship has focused on one side of the border, one area of labor incorporation, one generation of migrants, and one gender. In this path-breaking book, Manuel Barajas presents the first cross-national, comparative study to examine a Mexican-origin community's experience with international migration and transnationalism. He presents an extended case study of the Xaripu community, with home bases in both Xaripu, Michoacán, and Stockton, California, and elaborates how various forms of colonialism, institutional biases, and emergent forms of domination have shaped Xaripu labor migration, community formation, and family experiences across the Mexican/U.S. border for over a century. Of special interest are Barajas's formal and informal in-

terviews within the community, his examination of oral histories, and his participant observation in several locations. Barajas asks, What historical events have shaped the Xaripus' migration experiences? How have Xaripus been incorporated into the U.S. labor market? How have national inequalities affected their ability to form a community across borders? And how have migration, settlement, and employment experiences affected the family, especially gender relationships, on both sides of the border?

Bean, Frank D., and Gillian Stevens. 2003. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

With a comprehensive social scientific assessment of immigration over the past thirty years, *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity* provides the clearest picture to date of how immigration has actually affected the United States, while refuting common misconceptions and predicting how it might affect us in the future. Frank Bean and Gillian Stevens show how, on the whole, immigration has been beneficial for the United States. Although about one million immigrants arrive each year, the job market has expanded sufficiently to absorb them without driving down wages significantly or preventing the native-born population from finding jobs. Immigration has not led to welfare dependency among immigrants, nor does evidence indicate that welfare is a magnet for immigrants. With the exception of unauthorized Mexican and Central American immigrants, studies show that most other immigrant groups have attained sufficient earnings and job mobility to move into the economic mainstream. Many Asian and Latino immigrants have established ethnic networks while maintaining their native cultural practices in the pursuit of that goal. While this phenomenon has led many people to believe that today's immigrants are slow to enter mainstream society, Bean and Stevens show that intermarriage and English language proficiency among these groups are just as high - if not higher - as among prior waves of European immigrants. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity* concludes by showing that the increased racial and ethnic diversity caused by immigration may be helping to blur the racial divide in the United States, transforming the country from a biracial to multi-ethnic and multi-racial society.

Borjas, George J. 2001. *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The U.S. took in more than a million immigrants per year in the late 1990s, more than at any other time in history. For humanitarian and many other reasons, this may be good news. But as George Borjas shows in *Heaven's Door*, it's decidedly mixed news for the American economy – and positively bad news for the country's poorest citizens. Widely regarded as the country's leading immigration economist, Borjas presents the most comprehensive, accessible, and up-to-date account yet of the economic impact of recent immigration on America. He reveals that the benefits of immigration have been greatly exaggerated and that, if we allow immigration to continue unabated and unmodified, we are supporting an astonishing transfer of wealth from the poorest people in the country, who are disproportionately minorities, to the richest. In the course of the book, Borjas carefully analyzes immigrants' skills, national origins, welfare use, economic mobility, and impact on the labor market, and he makes groundbreaking use of new data to trace current trends in ethnic segregation. He also evaluates the implications of the evidence for the

type of immigration policy that the U.S. should pursue. Borjas considers the moral arguments against restricting immigration but he concludes that in the current economic climate – which is less conducive to mass immigration of unskilled labor than past eras – it would be fair and wise to return immigration to the levels of the 1970s (roughly 500,000 per year) and institute policies to favor more skilled immigrants.

Borjas, George J., ed. 2007. *Mexican Immigration to the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

From debates on Capitol Hill to the popular media, Mexican immigrants are the subject of widespread controversy. By 2003, their growing numbers accounted for 28.3 percent of all foreign-born inhabitants of the United States. *Mexican Immigration to the United States* analyzes the astonishing economic impact of this historically unprecedented exodus. Why do Mexican immigrants gain citizenship and employment at a slower rate than non-Mexicans? Does their migration to the U.S. adversely affect the working conditions of lower-skilled workers already residing there? And how rapid is the intergenerational mobility among Mexican immigrant families? This authoritative volume provides a historical context for Mexican immigration to the U.S. and reports new findings on an immigrant influx whose size and character will force us to rethink economic policy for decades to come. *Mexican Immigration to the United States* will be necessary reading for anyone concerned about social conditions and economic opportunities in both countries.

Burke, John Francis. 2002. *Mestizo Democracy: The Politics of Crossing Borders*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

It can come as no surprise that the ethnic makeup of the American population is rapidly changing. In this volume, John Francis Burke offers a *mestizo* theory of democracy and traces its implications for public policy. *Mestizo*, meaning "mixture," is a term from the Mexican socio-political experiences that represents a blend of indigenous, African, Spanish genes and cultures in Latin America. This mixture is not a "melting pot" experience; rather, the influences of the different cultures remain identifiable but influence each other in dynamic ways. Burke analyzes democratic theory and multiculturalism to develop a model for cultivating a community that can deal effectively with its cultural diversity. He applies this model to official language(s), voting and participation, equal employment opportunity, housing and free trade. He concludes that in the United States we are becoming *mestizo* whether we know it or not and whether we like it or not. By embracing this, we can forge a future together that will be greater that the sum of its parts.

Canul, Rafael D. 2005. *Mexican Illegal Aliens: A Mexican American Perspective*. Mountain View: Floricanto Press.

This book provides the first comprehensive socio-political, economic and historical analysis from a Mexican American perspective of Mexican illegal immigration to and Mexican immigrants and Mexican immigration in the United States during the last 50 years and how this human influx impacts on current Mexican American politics and discourse, and Hispanic Americans

in general. Latino books, Hispanic books, Mexican immigration, Mexican illegal immigration. The lack of American political will to address in orderly manner the issue of foreign workers has victimized the weakest link of a dynamic and highly profitable economic process: the Mexican illegal aliens. Dr. Canul provides an ample historical background of how the federal government has attempted to deal with, and how it has failed to stem the tide of illegal migration. He also addresses within a historical context the reactions of Americans to the various waves of immigration from the rise of the anti-foreign Nativists, the restrictive immigration laws and quotas of the 1920s; through the World War II era, the Bracero Program, the Amnesty declared by Republican President Ronald Reagan to the present concerns with the War on Terror.

Castañeda, Alejandra. 2006. *The Politics of Citizenship of Mexican Migrants*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

Castañeda aims at bridging the divide between a critique of a state-centered notion of citizenship and the recognition of Mexican migrants as political actors, as well as subjects of the law. Migrants' stories and the transnational space they inhabit are political. Struggles for belonging, for citizenship – legal, cultural, or both – take place in migrants' everyday lives. Based on data from Aguililla, Michoacan (Mexico) and Redwood City, California (United States), Castaneda argues that citizenship lies at the crossroads of legal definitions of membership and senses of belonging. She maintains that citizenship is a site of political struggle, a struggle that takes place in everyday interactions and in the relation between state and people.

Chavez, Leo. 2008. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

From volunteers ready to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border to the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who have marched in support of immigrant rights, the United States has witnessed a surge of involvement in immigration activism. In *The Latino Threat*, Leo R. Chavez critically investigates the media stories about and recent experiences of immigrants to show how prejudices and stereotypes have been used to malign an entire immigrant population – and to define what it means to be an American. Pundits – and the media at large – nurture and perpetuate the notion that Latinos, particularly Mexicans, are an invading force bent on reconquering land once considered their own. Through a perceived refusal to learn English and an "out of control" birthrate, many say that Latinos are destroying the American way of life. But Chavez questions these assumptions and offers facts to counter the myth that Latinos are a threat to the security and prosperity of our nation. His breakdown of the "Latino threat" contests this myth's basic tenets, challenging such well-known authors as Samuel Huntington, Pat Buchanan, and Peter Brimelow. Chavez concludes that citizenship is not just about legal definitions, but about participation in society. Deeply resonant in today's atmosphere of exclusion, Chavez's insights offer an alternative and optimistic view of the vitality and future of our country.

Chavez, Linda. 1992. *Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation*. New York: Basic Books.

> Are Hispanics "making it" – achieving the American dream following the pattern of other ethnic groups? This controversial book shatters the myth that 20 million His panics – fast becoming the nation's largest minority – are a permanent underclass. Chavez considers the radical implications for bilingual education, immigration policy, and affirmative action.

Chavez, Leo R. 1996. *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*. Farmington Hills, MI: Wadsworth Publishing.

> One of the few case studies of undocumented immigrants available, this insightful anthropological analysis humanizes a group of people too often reduced to statistics and stereotypes. The hardships of Hispanic migration are conveyed in the immigrants' own voices while the author's voice raises questions about power, stereotypes, settlement, and incorporation into American society.

DeSipio, Louis, and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 1998. *Making Americans, Remaking America: Immigration and Immigrant Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press.

> Immigration policy has defined the United States as few other nations on earth. The central political dilemma is how we define who we should admit as a resident and who may become a citizen. These investigations lead us to the questions of how many immigrants we should admit, what traits these immigrants should have, and what standards we should set for naturalization. The nation must also determine what the rights and privileges of non-citizens should be. The authors present a historical overview of U.S. immigration, followed by an examination of these questions and the legislative and legal debates waged over immigration and settlement policies today. The authors also discuss the relationship between minorities and immigrants. They find that the public policy needs of immigrants are often confused with those of U.S.-born minorities. The book closes with the question: If the nation understood the kinds of demands that immigrants legitimately make, would we change the contract between the state and the immigrant?

Dunn, Timothy. 2009. *Blockading the Border and Human Rights: The El Paso Operation that Remade Immigration Enforcement*. Austin, TX: U.T. Press.

> To understand border enforcement and the shape it has taken, it is imperative to examine a groundbreaking Border Patrol operation begun in 1993 in El Paso, Texas, "Operation Blockade." The El Paso Border Patrol designed and implemented this radical new strategy, posting 400 agents directly on the banks of the Rio Grande in highly visible positions to deter unauthorized border crossings into the urban areas of El Paso from neighboring Ciudad Juárez – a marked

departure from the traditional strategy of apprehending unauthorized crossers after entry. This approach, of "prevention through deterrence," became the foundation of the 1994 and 2004 National Border Patrol Strategies for the Southern Border. Politically popular overall, it has rendered unauthorized border crossing far less visible in many key urban areas. However, the real effectiveness of the strategy is debatable, at best. Its implementation has also led to a sharp rise in the number of deaths of unauthorized border crossers. Here, Dunn examines the paradigm-changing Operation Blockade and related border enforcement efforts in the El Paso region in great detail, as well as the local social and political situation that spawned the approach and has shaped it since. Dunn particularly spotlights the human rights abuses and enforcement excesses inflicted on local Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants as well as the challenges to those abuses. Throughout the book, Dunn filters his research and fieldwork through two competing lenses, human rights versus the rights of national sovereignty and citizenship.

Dunn, Timothy J. 1996. *The Militarization of the US-Mexico Border, 1978–1992: Low-Intensity Conflict Doctrine Comes Home.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

This provocative study argues that during the 1978-1992 period, U.S. immigration and drug enforcement policies and practices in the U.S.-Mexico border region became increasingly militarized. Timothy J. Dunn examines these policies and practices in detail and also considers them in relation to the strategy and tactics of the Pentagon doctrine of "low-intensity conflict." Developed during the 1980s for use in Central America and elsewhere, this doctrine is characterized by broad-ranging provisions for establishing social control over specific civilian populations, and its implementation has often been accompanied by widespread human rights violations. Dunn demonstrates that U.S. immigration and drug enforcement practices in the southwestern border region have coincided with many key features of low-intensity conflict doctrine. His findings are supported extensively by material from U.S. government documents, investigative reports from mainstream and alternative presses, interviews with federal law enforcement personnel in South Texas, and reports from human rights advocacy organizations. The study reflects a concern for human rights conditions in the U.S.-Mexico border region and is informed by the belief that the "official" story is usually but one version of events and should not be accepted uncritically.

Foner, Nancy, ed. 2001. *New Immigrants in New York.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Thoroughly updated to reflect changes in the composition of New York City's immigrant population, this book brings together contributions from leaders in their respective fields to show how new immigrants are transforming the city – and how New York, in turn, has affected the newcomers' lives. The contributors consider the four largest groups – Dominicans, former Soviets, Chinese, and Jamaicans – as well as Mexicans, Koreans, and West Africans. An introduction highlights the groups' commonalities and differences. The book also includes an analysis of the city's altered demographic structure and its labor market.

Foner, Nancy, and George M. Fredrickson, eds. 2004. *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

> *Not Just Black and White* opens with an examination of historical and theoretical perspectives on race and ethnicity. The late John Higham, in the last scholarly contribution of his distinguished career, defines ethnicity broadly as a sense of community based on shared historical memories, using this concept to shed new light on the main contours of American history. The volume also considers the shifting role of state policy with regard to the construction of race and ethnicity. Former U.S. census director Kenneth Prewitt provides a definitive account of how racial and ethnic classifications in the census developed over time and how they operate today. Other contributors address the concept of pan-ethnicity in relation to whites, Latinos, and Asian Americans, and explore socioeconomic trends that have affected, and continue to affect, the development of ethno-racial identities and relations. Joel Perlmann and Mary Waters offer a revealing comparison of patterns of intermarriage among ethnic groups in the early twentieth century and those today. The book concludes with a look at the nature of inter-group relations, both past and present, with special emphasis on how America's principal non-immigrant minority – African Americans – fits into this mosaic.

Fox, Jonathan, and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, eds. 2004. *Indigenous Mexican Migrants in the United States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

> The multiple pasts and futures of the Mexican nation can be seen in the faces of the tens of thousands of indigenous people who each year set out on their voyages to the north, and of the many others who decide to settle in countless communities within the United States. This collection explores these migration processes and their social, cultural, and civic impacts in both the United States and Mexico. The authors reflect diverse perspectives, but they share a concern with how sustained migration and the emergence of organizations of indigenous migrants influence social and community identity. They focus, as well, on how the creation and re-creation of collective ethnic identities among indigenous migrants influences their economic, social, and political relationships in the United States.

Goerman, Patricia. 2006. *The Promised Land?: The Lives and Voices of Hispanic Immigrants in the New South*. New York: Routledge.

> Through analysis of in-depth interviews with seventy-three Hispanic immigrants in Central Virginia, this book offers a rare in-depth look at the views and circumstances of immigrants in a new receiving area. It provides an examination of the new migration trend including an analysis of immigrants' living and working conditions, their family life, and their plans for the future.

Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., and Susan F. Martin, eds. 2005. *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

> A small but growing number of immigrants today are moving into new settlement areas, such as Winchester, Va., Greensboro, N.C., and Salt Lake City, Utah, that lack a tradition of accepting newcomers. Just as the process is difficult and distressing for the immigrants, it is likewise a significant cause of stress for the regions in which they settle. Long homogeneous communities experience overnight changes in their populations and in the demands placed on schools, housing, law enforcement, social services, and other aspects of infrastructure. Institutions have not been well prepared to cope. Local governments have not had any significant experience with newcomers and nongovernmental organizations have been overburdened or simply nonexistent. There has been a substantial amount of discussion about these new settlement areas during the past decade, but relatively little systematic examination of the effects of immigration or the policy and programmatic responses to it. *Beyond the Gateway* is the first effort to bridge the gaps in communication not only between the immigrants and the institutions with which they interact, but also among diverse communities across the United States dealing with the same stresses but ignorant of each others' responses, whether successes or failures.

Gutiérrez, David G. 1995. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> Covering more than one hundred years of American history, *Walls and Mirrors* examines the ways that continuous immigration from Mexico transformed – and continues to shape – the political, social, and cultural life of the American Southwest. Taking a fresh approach to one of the most divisive political issues of our time, David Gutiérrez explores the ways that nearly a century of steady immigration from Mexico has shaped ethnic politics in California and Texas, the two largest U.S. Border States. Drawing on an extensive body of primary and secondary sources, Gutiérrez focuses on the complex ways that their pattern of immigration influenced Mexican Americans' sense of social and cultural identity – and, as a consequence, their politics. He challenges the most cherished American myths about U.S. immigration policy, pointing out that, contrary to rhetoric about "alien invasions," U.S. government and regional business interests have actively recruited Mexican and other foreign workers for over a century, thus helping to establish and perpetuate the flow of immigrants into the United States. In addition, Gutiérrez offers a new interpretation of the debate over assimilation and multiculturalism in American society. Rejecting the notion of the melting pot, he explores the ways that ethnic Mexicans have resisted assimilation and fought to create a cultural space for themselves in distinctive ethnic communities throughout the southwestern United States.

Hayes, Helene. 2001. U.S. *Immigration Policy and the Undocumented: Ambivalent Laws, Furtive Lives*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

> Hayes analyzes the situation of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. and what happens to them in the aftermath of implementation of two key provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) legalization and employer sanctions. Referred to by legislators as a generous and compassionate bill that would legalize much of the undocumented population in our midst, it resulted instead in placing a highly vulnerable silent subclass in deeper jeopardy. Hayes traces

the history of undocumented immigration, Congressional debate and implementation of IRCA and provides direct access to the "faces" of the undocumented through original empirical research on the social and economic impact of IRCA on specific groups of undocumented Haitian, Irish, and Salvadoran immigrants. The general theme is America's ambivalence towards its historic lifeline, new immigrants whether legal or undocumented, and how the two central provisions of IRCA uniquely embodied within the same piece of legislation contradictory and ambivalent attitudes toward immigrants which became the seeds of its implementation difficulties. Hayes looks at the issue of undocumented immigration from a legislative, policy, human rights, and implementation perspective, but she also points beyond national strategies to "push factors" emanating from the home countries of the undocumented and makes the case that undocumented immigration is a global social problem that needs global solutions. The book is of particular interest to policy makers, scholars, and other researchers and students involved with social policy and welfare, immigration law, and ethnic studies.

Jaynes, Gerald, ed. 2000. *Immigration and Race: New Challenge for American Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

The real and potential impact of immigration policy decisions on African Americans is profound. Yet policy makers today lack systematic knowledge of crucial social, political, and economic issues relating to the formulation of wise immigration policies, charges the editor of this book. Gerald D. Jaynes argues that little is known about important questions regarding the relations and attitudes between African Americans and minority immigrant groups, the impact of recent immigration trends on the socioeconomic status of poor African Americans, the comparative social positions of Asian Americans and Latinos, and many other related topics. In this book, the editor and thirteen other distinguished contributors consider how the large-scale influx of immigrants in recent times has affected African American communities and racial and ethnic relations. The insights about conflicts and competition derived from the work of these authors are vital to those who formulate immigration policies – policies that directly affect the well-being of the disadvantaged and indeed all Americans.

Karas, Jennifer. 2001. *Bridges and Barriers: Earnings and Occupational Attainment among Immigrants*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

Exploring income and occupational status among recent immigrants, Karas finds marked differences based on national origin. Karas compares the earnings and occupational attainment of Chinese, Cuban, Filipino, Korean, and Mexican immigrants to those of foreign-born non-Hispanic whites. Using census data, she tests three models of attainment: a human and social capital model, a local labor market model, and a model combining human capital and local labor market indicators against a baseline ethnic heritage model. She finds a double hierarchy of inequality. Asian and Hispanic immigrants are lower on socio-economic scales than foreign-born non-Hispanic whites, but Asians have higher earnings than Latinos. Ethnic differences on human and social capital factors and local labor market indicators explain the variation in socioeconomic attainments and contribute to differences in immigrant attainments. However, foreign-born non-Hispanic whites retain an advantage over the other groups even after differences in human and social capital and local labor market conditions are eliminated.

Kasinitz, Philip, John Mollenkopf, and Mary C. Waters. 2004. *Becoming New Yorkers*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

> *Becoming New Yorkers* looks at the experience of specific immigrant groups, with regard to education, jobs, and community life. Exploring immigrant education, Nancy López shows how teachers' low expectations of Dominican males often translate into lower graduation rates for boys than for girls. In the labor market, Dae Young Kim finds that Koreans, young and old alike, believe the second generation should use the opportunities provided by their parents' small business success to pursue less arduous, more rewarding work than their parents. Analyzing civic life, Amy Forester profiles how the high-ranking members of a predominantly black labor union, who came of age fighting for civil rights in the 1960s, adjust to an increasingly large Caribbean membership that sees the leaders not as pioneers but as the old-guard establishment. In a revealing look at how the second-generation views itself, Sherry Ann Butterfield and Aviva Zeltzer-Zubida point out that black West Indian and Russian Jewish immigrants often must choose whether to identify themselves alongside those with similar skin color or to differentiate themselves from both native blacks and whites based on their unique heritage. Like many other groups studied here, these two groups experience race as a fluid, situational category that matters in some contexts but is irrelevant in others.

Kiy, Richard, and Christopher Woodruff. 2005. *The Ties that Bind Us: Mexican Migrants in San Diego County*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

> *The Ties That Bind Us* addresses the difficult living and working conditions of Mexican migrant workers in San Diego County, California, considering policy implications for both sides of the US-Mexico border. The authors highlight the circumstances of individuals who, seeking to escape poverty, come to San Diego hoping to exchange hard work for a chance to get ahead – and who often meet rampant discrimination, substandard and severely overcrowded housing, a paucity of appropriate health information and services, and untenable labor condition. In exploring the migrants' situation and some of the forces that drive them into the migration stream, the authors also suggest steps for alleviating their compromised life circumstances. They argue, as well, for legalization of the migrant population so that migrants can access the full range of services available in the trans-border region.

Lee, Matthew T. 2003. *Crime on the Border: Immigration and Homicide in Urban Communities*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Lee finds that increased immigration is not directly related to increased homicide. Instead immigrants seem to play a positive role in creating social cohesion. Studying El Paso, Miami, and San Diego over the years 1985-1995, Lee explores the complex relationship between ethnicity, immigration, and homicide. Popular opinion and sociological theory, particularly the social disorganization perspective, predict that immigration should increase levels of homicide where immigrants settle, but Lee's analysis (statistical, spatial, and temporal) generally finds that this is not the case. His results cast doubt on the taken-for-granted idea that immigration disrupts communities, weakens social control, and increases homicide levels. Rather, recent arrivals appear to play a positive role in these three cities, suggesting that conventional theories of crime be re-examined in light of the potentially revitalizing impact of immigration.

Light, Ivan. 2006. *Deflecting Immigration: Networks, Markets, and Regulation in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

> As international travel became cheaper and national economies grew more connected over the past thirty years, millions of poor people from the Third World emigrated to richer countries. A tenth of the population of Mexico relocated to the United States between 1980 and 2000. Globalization theorists claimed that reception cities could do nothing about this trend, since nations make immigration policy, not cities. In *Deflecting Immigration*, sociologist Ivan Light shows how Los Angeles reduced the sustained, high-volume influx of poor Latinos who settled there by deflecting a portion of the migration to other cities in the United States. In this manner, Los Angeles tamed globalization's local impact, and helped to nationalize what had been a regional immigration issue. Los Angeles deflected immigrants elsewhere in two ways. First, the protracted network-driven settlement of Mexicans naturally drove up rents in Mexican neighborhoods while reducing immigrants' wages, rendering Los Angeles a less attractive place to settle. Second, as migration outstripped the city's capacity to absorb newcomers, Los Angeles gradually became poverty-intolerant. By enforcing existing industrial, occupational, and housing ordinances, Los Angeles shut down some unwanted sweatshops and reduced slums. Their loss reduced the metropolitan region's accessibility to poor immigrants without reducing its attractiveness to wealthier immigrants. Additionally, ordinances mandating that homes be built on minimum-sized plots of land with attached garages made home ownership in L.A.'s suburbs unaffordable for poor immigrants and prevented low-cost rental housing from being built. Local rules concerning home occupancy and yard maintenance also prevented poor immigrants from crowding together to share housing costs. Unable to find affordable housing or low-wage jobs, approximately one million Latinos were deflected from Los Angeles between 1980 and 2000.

Magaña, Lisa. 2003. *Straddling the Border: Immigration Policy and the INS*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

> With the dual and often conflicting responsibilities of deterring illegal immigration *and* providing services to legal immigrants, the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is a bureaucracy beset with contradictions. Critics fault the agency for failing to stop the entry of undocumented workers from Mexico. Agency staff complain that harsh enforcement policies discourage legal immigrants from seeking INS aid, while ever-changing policy mandates from Congress and a lack of funding hinder both enforcement and service activities. In this book, Lisa Magaña convincingly argues that a profound disconnection between national-level policymaking and local-level policy implementation prevents the INS from effectively fulfilling either its enforcement or its service mission. She begins with a history and analysis of the making of immigration policy which reveals that federal and state lawmakers respond more to the concerns, fears, and prejudices of the public than to the realities of immigration or the needs of the INS. She then illustrates the effects of shifting and conflicting mandates through case studies of INS implementation of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, Proposition 187, and the 1996 Welfare Reform and Responsibility Act and their impact on Mexican immigrants. Magaña concludes with fact-based recommendations to improve the agency's performance.

Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone. 2003. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

> *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors* shows how U.S. immigration policies enacted between 1986-1996 – largely for symbolic domestic political purposes – harm the interests of Mexico, the United States, and the people who migrate between them. The costs have been high. The book documents how the massive expansion of border enforcement has wasted billions of dollars and hundreds of lives, yet has not deterred increasing numbers of undocumented immigrants from heading north. The authors also show how the new policies unleashed a host of unintended consequences: a shift away from seasonal, circular migration toward permanent settlement; the creation of a black market for Mexican labor; the transformation of Mexican immigration from a regional phenomenon into a broad social movement touching every region of the country; and even the lowering of wages for legal U.S. residents. What had been a relatively open and benign labor process before 1986 was transformed into an exploitative underground system of labor coercion, one that lowered wages and working conditions of undocumented migrants, legal immigrants, and American citizens alike.

Menjívar, Cecilia. 2000. *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> In one of the most comprehensive treatments of Salvadoran immigration to date, Cecilia Menjívar gives a vivid and detailed account of the inner workings of the networks by which immigrants leave their homes in Central America to start new lives in the Mission District of San Francisco. Menjívar traces crucial aspects of the immigrant experience, from reasons for leaving El Salvador, to the long and perilous journey through Mexico, to the difficulty of finding work, housing, and daily necessities in San Francisco. *Fragmented Ties* argues that hostile immigration policies, shrinking economic opportunities, and a resource-poor community make assistance conditional and uneven, deflating expectations both on the part of the new immigrants and the relatives who preceded them. In contrast to most studies of immigrant life that identify networks as viable sources of assistance, this one focuses on a case in which poverty makes it difficult for immigrants to accumulate enough resources to help each other. Menjívar also examines how class, gender, and age affect immigrants' access to social networks and scarce community resources. The immigrants' voices are stirring and distinctive: they describe the dangers they face both during the journey and once they arrive, and bring to life the disappointments and joys that they experience in their daily struggle to survive in their adopted community.

Millard, Ann, and Jorge Chapa. 2004. *Apple Pie & Enchiladas: Latino Newcomers in the Rural Midwest*. Austin, TX: U.T. Press.

> The sudden influx of significant numbers of Latinos to the rural Midwest stems from the recruitment of workers by food processing plants and small factories springing up in rural areas. Mostly they work at back-breaking jobs that local residents are not willing to take because of the low wages and few benefits. The region has become the scene of dramatic change involving major issues facing our country – the intertwining of ethnic differences, prejudice, and poverty; the social impact of a low-wage workforce resulting from corporate transformations; and public policy questions dealing with economic development, taxation, and welfare payments. In this thorough

multidisciplinary study, the authors explore both sides of this ethnic divide and provide the first volume to focus comprehensively on Latinos in the region by linking demographic and qualitative analysis to describe what brings Latinos to the area and how they are being accommodated in their new communities. The fact is that many Midwestern communities would be losing population and facing a dearth of workers if not for Latino newcomers. This finding adds another layer of social and economic complexity to the region's changing place in the global economy. The authors look at how Latinos fit into an already fractured social landscape with tensions among townspeople, farmers, and others. The authors also reveal the optimism that lies in the opposition of many Anglos to ethnic prejudice and racism.

Nevins, Joseph. 2001. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the 'Illegal Alien' and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge.

In 1994, the INS launched *Operation Gatekeeper*, the Clinton administration's drastic effort to regain control of the U.S.-Mexico border. However, even as miles of new fence and hundreds of trained agents were added, the border was enjoying unprecedented economic growth. As Joseph Nevins details in this book, the effort has failed to significantly reduce unauthorized immigration, but has undoubtedly contributed to the hardship, and sometimes death, for many unauthorized border crossers. With a journalist's eye for detail, Nevins provides an immensely readable account of what has become an increasingly central concern for developed nations: keeping third world immigrants out.

Ngai, Mae M. 2005. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

This book traces the origins of the "illegal alien" in American law and society, explaining why and how illegal migration became the central problem in U.S. immigration policy – a process that profoundly shaped ideas and practices about citizenship, race, and state authority in the twentieth century. Mae Ngai offers a close reading of the legal regime of restriction that commenced in the 1920s – its statutory architecture, judicial genealogies, administrative enforcement, differential treatment of European and non-European migrants, and long-term effects. In well-drawn historical portraits, Ngai peoples her study with the Filipinos, Mexicans, Japanese, and Chinese who comprised, variously, illegal aliens, alien citizens, colonial subjects, and imported contract workers. She shows that immigration restriction, particularly national-origin and numerical quotas, re-mapped the nation both by creating new categories of racial difference and by emphasizing as never before the nation's contiguous land borders and their patrol. This yielded the "illegal alien," a new legal and political subject whose inclusion in the nation was a social reality but a legal impossibility – a subject without rights and excluded from citizenship. Questions of fundamental legal status created new challenges for liberal democratic society and have directly informed the politics of multiculturalism and national belonging in our time. Ngai's analysis is based on extensive archival research, including previously unstudied records of the U.S. Border Patrol and Immigration and Naturalization Service. Contributing to American history, legal history, and ethnic studies, Impossible Subjects is a major reconsideration of U.S. immigration in the twentieth century.

Odem, Mary, and Elaine Lacy. 2009. *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

> The Latino population in the South has more than doubled over the past decade. The mass migration of Latin Americans to the U.S. South has led to profound changes in the social, economic, and cultural life of the region and inaugurated a new era in southern history. This multidisciplinary collection of essays, written by U.S. and Mexican scholars, explores these transformations in rural, urban, and suburban areas of the South. Using a range of different methodologies and approaches, the contributors present in-depth analyses of how immigration from Mexico and Central and South America is changing the South and how immigrants are adapting to the southern context. Among the book's central themes are the social and economic impact of immigration, the resulting shifts in regional culture, new racial dynamics, immigrant incorporation and place-making, and diverse southern responses to Latino newcomers. Various chapters explore ethnic and racial tensions among poultry workers in rural Mississippi and forestry workers in Alabama; the "Mexicanization" of the urban landscape in Dalton, Georgia; the costs and benefits of Latino labor in North Carolina; the challenges of living in transnational families; immigrant religious practice and community building in metropolitan Atlanta; and the creation of Latino spaces in rural and urban South Carolina and Georgia.

Payan, Tony. 2006. *The Three U.S.–Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration, and Homeland Security.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

> As the United States' response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, begins to take its final shape, perhaps the most affected area of the country is the U.S. borderlands with Mexico. The optimistic talk of the 1990s regarding trade, investment, and economic integration in North America has given way to a rhetoric focused on security, particularly securing and controlling all points of entry to and exit from the United States. Cities and towns across the Southwestern border have experienced firsthand the consequences of the new, security-oriented national ethos and practices embodied in the Homeland Security Act of 2002. The comprehensive security strategy now in place permeates the three border wars examined in this insightful work – the war on drugs, the war over the enforcement of immigration laws, and the war on terror. As Payan demonstrates, the effects of these three wars have been significant. They include a loss of local autonomy and a disconnect between the priorities of Washington, D.C., and the local populations. Perhaps more important, they have created a rigid international line that represents a barrier to economic, social, and cultural integration – and a source of fear and suspicion between neighbors. Payan traces the history of these policies on the border to discern and understand the evolutionary patterns and common threads that join all three policies together today. He argues that historically the border has experienced a gradual tightening and increasing militarization, culminating in today's restrictive environment. This book illuminates the ways in which border residents are coping with the stricter border security environment, and how they navigate their daily lives in the face of an increasing number of federal bureaucrats and programs designed to close the border. It examines the significant conflict between the government's efforts to close the border and the border communities' efforts to open it.

Prieto, Yolanda. 2009. *The Cubans of Union City: Immigrants and Exiles in a New Jersey Community*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

> As a result of the conflicts between Cuba and the United States, especially after 1959, Cubans immigrated in great numbers. Most stayed in Miami, but many headed north to Union City, making it second only to Miami in its concentration of Cubans. In *The Cubans of Union City*, Yolanda Prieto discusses why Cubans were drawn to this particular city and how the local economy and organizations developed. Central aspects of this story are the roles of women, religion, political culture, and the fact of exile itself. As a member of this community and a participant in many of its activities, Prieto speaks with special authority about its demographic uniqueness. Far from being a snapshot of the community, *The Cubans of Union City* conveys an ongoing research agenda extending over more than twenty years, from 1959 to the 1980s. As a long-term observer who was also a resident, Prieto offers a unique and insightful view of the dynamics of this community's evolution.

Richardson, Chad. 1999. *Batos, Bolillos, Pochos, and Pelados: Class and Culture on the South Texas Border*. Austin, TX: U.T. Press.

> "The Valley of South Texas," a recent joke goes, "is a great place to live. It's so close to the United States." Culturally, this borderland region is both Mexican and Anglo-American, and its people span the full spectrum, from a minority who wish to remain insulated within strictly Anglo or Mexican communities and traditions to a majority who daily negotiate both worlds. This fascinating book offers the fullest portrait currently available of the people of the South Texas borderlands. An outgrowth of the Borderlife Research Project conducted at the University of Texas-Pan American, it uses the voices of several hundred Valley residents, backed by the findings of sociological surveys, to describe the lives of migrant farm workers, colonia residents, undocumented domestic servants, maquila workers, and Mexican street children. Likewise, it explores race and ethnic relations among Mexican Americans, permanent Anglo residents, "Winter Texans," Blacks, and Mexican immigrants. From this firsthand material, the book vividly reveals how social class, race, and ethnicity have interacted to form a unique border culture.

Smith, Robert. 2005. *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

> Drawing on more than fifteen years of research, *Mexican New York* offers an intimate view of globalization as it is lived by Mexican immigrants and their children in New York and in Mexico. Robert Courtney Smith's groundbreaking study sheds new light on transnationalism, vividly illustrating how immigrants move back and forth between New York and their home village in Puebla with considerable ease, borrowing from and contributing to both communities as they forge new gender roles; new strategies of social mobility, race, and even adolescence; and new brands of politics and egalitarianism. Smith's deeply informed narrative describes how first-generation men who have lived in New York for decades become important political leaders in

their home villages in Mexico. Smith explains how relations between immigrant men and women and their U.S.-born children are renegotiated in the context of migration to New York and temporary return visits to Mexico. He illustrates how U.S.-born youth keep their attachments to Mexico, and how changes in migration and assimilation have combined to transnationalize both U.S.-born adolescents and Mexican gangs between New York and Puebla. *Mexican New York* profoundly deepens our knowledge of immigration as a social process, convincingly showing how some immigrants live and function in two worlds at the same time and how transnationalization and assimilation are not opposing, but related, phenomena.

Stavans, Ilan. 2008. *Immigration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Immigration is a topic on the minds of a large portion of Americans. In 2006, a series of large marches and political debates shook the nation to the core. With the 2008 presidential campaign under way, the controversy is alive and well. However, it is essential to approach it in an informed, balanced fashion, and the material presented in this volume is designed to accomplish the task. To what extent are immigrants from Mexico and Central America different from their predecessors from say Italy, Poland, and Finland? Is the process of assimilation expected to be as successful today as it was a century ago? Has globalization changed the perspective of newcomers, making them remain loyal for a longer period of time to the place once called home? In what way is the Spanish language helping or impeding that assimilation? This volume features the most significant articles including peer-review essays, interviews, and reviews to bring together the best scholarship on the topic. Ten signed articles, essays, and interviews are included in the volume. Also featured is an introduction by Ilan Stavans, one of the foremost authorities on Latino culture, to provide historical background and cultural context; and suggestions for further reading to aid students in their research.

Suro, Roberto. 1998. *Strangers Among Us: Latino Lives in a Changing America*. New York: Vintage Books.

Strangers Among Us is a lucid, informed, and cliché-shattering examination of Latino immigration to the United States – its history, the vast transformations it is fast producing in American society, and the challenges it will present for decades to come. In making vivid an array of people, places, and events that are little known to most Americans, the author – an American journalist who is himself the son of Latino immigrants – makes an often bewildering phenom-enon vastly more understandable.

He tells the stories of a number of large Latino communities, linked in a chronological narrative that starts with the Puerto Rican migration to East Harlem in the 1950s and continues through the California-bound rush of Mexicans and Central Americans in the 1990s. He takes us into the world of Mexican-American gang members; Guatemalan Mayas in suburban Houston; Cuban businessmen in Miami; Dominican bodega owners in New York. We see people who represent a unique transnationalism and a new form of immigrant assimilation – foreigners who come from close by and visit home frequently, so that they virtually live in two lands. Like other groups of immigrants who preceded them onto American shores, Latinos, as they begin to find a place for themselves here, are changing the way this nation thinks of itself. These are people who defy easy categorization: they are neither white nor black; their households often include both legal

and illegal immigrants; most struggle toward some kind of economic stability, but so many others fall short that they have become the new face of the urban poor. Some Latinos endure the special poverty of people who work long hours for wages that barely ensure survival. Their children grow up learning more from their televisions than from their teachers, knowing what they want from America but not how to get it.

Looking to the future, we see clearly that the sheer number of Latino newcomers will force the United States to develop new means of managing relations among diverse ethnic groups and of creating economic opportunity for all. But we also see a catalog of conflict and struggle: Latinos in confrontation with blacks; Latinos wrestling with the strain of illegal immigration on their communities; Latinos fighting the backlash that is denying legal immigrants access to welfare programs. Critical both of incoherent government policies and of the failures of minority-group advocacy, the author proposes solutions of his own, including a rejection of illegal immigration by Latinos themselves paired with government efforts to deter unlawful journeys into the United States, and a new emphasis on English-language training as an aid to successful assimilation.

Roberto Suro has written a timely, controversial, and hugely illuminating book.

Williams, Phillips, Timothy J. Steigenga, and Manuel A Vásquez. 2009. *Brazilian, Guatemalan, and Mexican Immigrants in Florida's New Destinations*. Camden, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

A Place to Be is the first book to explore migration dynamics and community settlement among Brazilian, Guatemalan, and Mexican immigrants in America's new South. The book adopts a fresh perspective to explore patterns of settlement in Florida, including the outlying areas of Miami and beyond. The stellar contributors from Latin America and the United States address the challenges faced by Latino immigrants, their cultural and religious practices, as well as the strategies used, as they move into areas experiencing recent large-scale immigration. Contributors to this volume include Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola, Carol Girón Solórzano, Silvia Irene Palma, Lúcia Ribeiro, Mirian Solís Lizama, José Claúdio Souza Alves, Timothy J. Steigenga, Manuel A. Vásquez, and Philip J. Williams.

Wong, Carolyn. 2006. *Lobbying for Inclusion: Rights Politics and the Making of Immigration Policy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

In every decade since passage of the Hart Cellar Act of 1965, Congress has faced conflicting pressures: to restrict legal immigration and to provide employers with unregulated access to migrant labor. *Lobbying for Inclusion* shows that in these debates immigrant rights groups advocated a surprisingly moderate course of action: expansionism was tempered by a politics of inclusion. Rights advocates supported generous family unification policies, for example, but they opposed proposals that would admit large numbers of guest workers without providing a clear path to citizenship. As leaders of pro-immigrant coalitions, Latino and Asian American rights advocates were highly effective in influencing immigration lawmakers even before their constituencies gained political clout in the voting booth. Success depended on casting rights demands in universalistic terms, while leveraging their standing as representatives of growing minority populations.

Wong, Janelle S. 2006. *Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

> Given the massive demographic changes in the United States during the past few decades, understanding the place of immigrants in the public sphere has never been more critical. Democracy's Promise examines both the challenges and opportunities posed to American civic institutions by the presence of increasing numbers of immigrants. Author Janelle Wong argues that the low levels of political participation among contemporary immigrants are not due to apathy or preoccupation with their homeland, but to the inability of American political parties and advocacy organizations to mobilize immigrant voters. Wong's rich study of Chinese and Mexican immigrants in New York and Los Angeles complements traditional studies of political behavior and civic institutions while offering a nuanced examination of immigrants' political activity.

Zlolniski, Christian. 2006. *Janitors, Street Vendors, and Activists: The Lives of Mexican Immigrants in Silicon Valley*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

> This highly accessible, engagingly written book exposes the underbelly of California's Silicon Valley, the most successful high-technology region in the world, in a vivid ethnographic study of Mexican immigrants employed in Silicon Valley's low-wage jobs. Christian Zlolniski's on-the-ground investigation demonstrates how global forces have incorporated these workers as an integral part of the economy through subcontracting and other flexible labor practices and explores how these labor practices have in turn affected working conditions and workers' daily lives. In Zlolniski's analysis, these immigrants do not emerge merely as victims of a harsh economy; despite the obstacles they face, they are transforming labor and community politics, infusing new blood into labor unions, and challenging exclusionary notions of civic and political membership. This richly textured and complex portrait of one community opens a window onto the future of Mexican and other Latino immigrants in the new U.S. economy.

Immigration and Naturalization - Articles

Abrego, Leisy Janet. 2006. ""I Can't Go to College Because I Don't Have Papers": Incorporation Patterns Of Latino Undocumented Youth." *Latino Studies* 4(3): 212-231.

> Undocumented immigration has gained unprecedented prominence in many of the world's wealthiest nation-states. In the United States, a substantial population of undocumented youth is growing up with legal access to public education through high school, but facing legal and economic barriers to higher education, even when attaining college admission. The legal and social contradictions associated with undocumented status limit these youths' chances for upward mobility through traditional means. Based on ethnography and in-depth interviews, this article examines the experiences of documented and undocumented children of working-class Latino immigrants in Los Angeles. Because their educational and home environments are not differentiated, undocumented youth undergo similar social incorporation processes as their documented peers early on. However, their legal protections end after high school, greatly limiting their

chances for upward mobility through education. In some cases, knowledge of future barriers to college attendance leads to a decline in educational motivation. Existing assimilation theories need to be expanded to include this novel and sizeable phenomenon.

Aguilera, Michael Bernabé. 2004. "Deciding Where to Retire: Intended Retirement Location Choices of Formerly Undocumented Mexican Migrants." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(2): 340-360.

Objective: I use transnational theory to address how transnational relationships, behavior, and context influence retirement location choices of recently legalized immigrants. I also account for the relationship between assimilation and retirement location choices. **Methods:** To test these theories, I use the 1992 Legalized Population Survey to examine formerly undocumented Mexican immigrants' attachment to the United States through their intended retirement location, either the United States or Mexico. I use logistic regression to test whether the two theories are related with retirement location choices. **Results:** I find strong support for the role of transnational factors, thus widening the scope of the literature to include variables linking immigrants to their communities within Mexico. **Conclusion:** This study empirically tests and quantifies transnational theory using multivariate analysis, and adds to the transnational literature by suggesting that national boundaries are political constructs that do not completely contain social and economic systems.

Alvarez, R. Michael, and Tara L. Butterfield. 2000. "The Resurgence of Nativism in California? The Case of Proposition 187 and Illegal Immigration." *Social Sciences Quarterly* 81(1): 167-69.

We offer a new explanation for the appeal of Proposition 187 to California voters during the 1994 election. We argue that support for this proposition was an example of cyclical nativism which was provoked primarily by California's economic downturn during the early 1990s. We also argue that the issue of illegal immigration was politicized during this election by the gubernatorial and senatorial candidates and that this endogeneity must be considered in any analysis of voter support for this proposition. To test this theory, we analyze voter exit-poll data from the 1994 California election using a two-stage probit model to allow for the endogeneity. We find support for our nativist theory and our endogeneity argument in the data. These findings cause us to conclude, specifically, that nativism, fueled by economic conditions, was a salient factor leading many Californians to support Proposition 187 and, generally, that it is necessary to consider the effects of candidate endorsements on proposition voting.

Bansak, Cynthia. 2005. "The Differential Wage Impact of the Immigration Reform and Control Act on Latino Ethnic Subgroups." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(5): 1279-98.

Objective: This article tests whether employer sanctions for hiring undocumented workers, a provision of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), adversely affected the hourly earnings of Latino workers. **Methods:** Using the Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group Files from 1983–1990, a natural experiment framework is developed to assess the differential wage impact of employer sanctions on Latino ethnic subgroups. **Results:**

Estimates of wage changes indicate that workers of Mexican descent saw a sizeable pre-post IRCA decline in their hourly earnings relative to Cuban or Puerto Rican workers. Moreover, this change in wages is not observed among non-Latino white workers. Controlling for the level of enforcement explains part of this decline immediately following the passage of IRCA, and enforcement efforts continue to be a significant factor several years later. **Conclusions:** The majority of evidence is consistent with the contention that employer sanctions adversely affected the earnings of Mexican workers.

Bean, Frank D., Susan K. Brown, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2006. "Mexican Immigrant Political and Economic Incorporation." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(2): 297-307.

As the United States begins the twenty-first century, it remains the world's leading immigration country. In 2000 (the latest year for which migration data are available on a global basis) the United States was home to almost 35 million legal and unauthorized migrants, or 2.7 times as many as any other country. Although other nations have higher proportions of foreign-born residents (e.g., nearly 25 percent in Australia and 20 percent in Canada), the globally dominant position of the United States in regard to numbers of new immigrants reinforces its self-image as a "nation of immigrants," as does the fact that immigration is generally seen as contributing to the country's economic and demographic strength. However, over the past three decades, more and more new arrivals with non-European origins have come to the country (more than four-fifths are Latino and Asian), many with very low levels of education and illegal status at entry. These changes have fueled public concerns and led to heated debates over whether U.S. admissions and settlement-related policies ought to be modified.

Bean, Frank D., Van Hook, Jennifer, and Karen Woodrow-Lafield. 2002. "Estimates of Numbers of Unauthorized Migrants Residing In the United States: The Total, Mexican, and Non-Mexican Central American Unauthorized Populations in Mid-2001." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. January 24. http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/2.pdf (February 13, 2009).

This brief report presents estimates of the number of unauthorized immigrants in the United States in mid-2001 for three separate groups: the total unauthorized population, the Mexican unauthorized population, and the non-Mexican Central American unauthorized population. The approach to estimation used is one set forth recently by Bean, et al (2001) that extends and amplifies work originally begun as part of the Mexico/U.S. Bi-national Migration Study (1997; Bean, et al. 1998). The specific features of the approach are described in detail in Bean, et al (2001). Basically, the method involves subtracting estimates of the numbers of persons residing in the country legally from the numbers of foreign born persons in official government surveys (which are known to contain both legal and unauthorized persons), and then adjusting for extra undercount of such persons in the surveys. The resulting figures give estimates of various unauthorized populations in the country.

Binder, Norman, J.L Polinard, and Robert D. Wrinkle. 1997. "Mexican American and Anglo Attitudes toward Immigration Reform: A View from the Border." *Social Science Quarterly* 78(2): 324-337.

> This paper identifies and analyzes factors that influence the views that Mexican Americans and Anglos hold toward immigration issues. The data come from a survey of 756 individuals conducted in two counties along the Texas-Mexico border. These border communities are among the poorest in the nation, with a traditionally double-digit unemployment rate. The proximity to the border means that there is a constant migration stream. Anglos tend to support more restrictive immigrant politics than do Mexican Americans. Other variables also are statistically significant, including variables from all four of our variable clusters; SES, culture, personal awareness, and attitude. All variables are in the expected direction. In terms of age, generation, and income, the older a respondent, the longer the respondent has been in the US. And the higher a respondent's income, the greater the respondents support for restrictive immigration policies.

Bleakly, Hoyt, and Aimee Chin. 2004. "What Holds Back the Second Generation? The Intergenerational Transmission of Language Human Capital Among Immigrants." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 104, October, 2004.

> Research on the effect of parental human capital on children's human capital is complicated by the endogeneity of parental human capital. This study exploits the phenomenon that younger children learn languages more easily than older children to construct an instrumental variable for language human capital. Thus, among U.S.-born children with childhood immigrant parents, those whose parents arrived to the U.S. as younger children tend to have more exposure to English at home. We find a significant positive effect of parent's English-speaking proficiency on children's English-speaking proficiency while the children are young, but eventually all children attain the highest level of English-speaking proficiency as measured by the Census. We find evidence that children with parents with lower English-speaking proficiency are more likely to drop out of high school, be below their age-appropriate grade, and not attend preschool. Strikingly, parental English-language skills can account for 60% of the difference in dropout rate between non-Hispanic whites and U.S.-born Hispanic children of immigrants.

Castañeda, Alejandra. 2004. "Roads to Citizenship: Mexican Migrants in the United States." *Latino Studies* 2(1): 70-89.

> The present article addresses Mexican migrants' practices of citizenship and their relations with the nation-states they inhabit by bringing together three elements: law, belonging, and the formal political arena. Citizenship, formed and protected by laws, lived and enacted by individuals, both forbids and necessitates migrants. How do migrants enact citizenship and impact the nation-state? Rather than accepting migrants as marginal actors facing the nation-state, I argue that citizenship is constructed both by nation-states and by migrants' transnational practices. The article reviews the set of laws formed by the Mexican Non-loss of Nationality law and the constitutional reform to Article 36 that opened the possibility for the vote-abroad. Likewise, it examines the 1996 US immigration law, the 1996 Welfare Reform legislation (in the aspects that

pertain to immigration), as well as California's 1994 Proposition 187. This work also presents stories of Mexican migrants and some of their transnational practices of belonging, particularly as they engage with the legal framework they encounter. Finally, the article introduces the story of a Mexican migrant who participates in Mexican politics and, in so doing, sets in motion the legal structure developed in 1996, thus revealing the contradictions and limitations entailed in these laws.

Cervantes-Rodriguez, Ana Margarita. 2006. "Nicaraguans in Miami-Dade County: Immigration, Incorporation, and Transnational Entrepreneurship." *Latino Studies* 4(3): 232-57.

This article examines major characteristics of immigration from Nicaragua to Miami Dade County (MDC). It focuses on the post-revolution period and addresses issues pertaining to major immigration trends and labor market incorporation in light of certain characteristics such as human capital, gender, and immigration status. The ethnic economy of Nicaraguans in MDC is studied against a backdrop of labor market incorporation and immigrant entrepreneurship theories by placing them in a transnational perspective. It demonstrates that Nicaraguans have not developed an "ethnic enclave," a "trade-oriented community," or a "middleman minority." Elements of all three types coexist among Nicaraguans in a truncated fashion in an entrepreneurial formation framed by increasing transnationalism, since the early 1990s. The article addresses several empirical and theoretical issues on these topics.

Cornelius, Wayne A. 2001. "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy." *Population and Development Review* 27(4): 661–685.

This article assesses the efficacy of the strategy of immigration control implemented by the US government since 1993 in reducing illegal entry attempts, and documents some of the unintended consequences of this strategy, especially a sharp increase in mortality among unauthorized migrants along certain segments of the Mexico–US border. The available data suggest that the current strategy of border enforcement has resulted in re-channeling flows of unauthorized migrants to more hazardous areas, raising fees charged by people-smugglers, and discouraging unauthorized migrants already in the US from returning to their places of origin. However, there is no evidence that the strategy is deterring or preventing significant numbers of new illegal entries, particularly given the absence of a serious effort to curtail employment of unauthorized migrants through worksite enforcement. An expanded temporary worker program, selective legalization of unauthorized Mexican workers residing in the United States, and other proposals under consideration by the US and Mexican governments are unlikely to reduce migrant deaths resulting from the current strategy of border enforcement.

De Genova, Nicholas. 2004. "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant 'Illegality.'" *Latino Studies* 2(2): 160–85.

Mexican migration to the United States is distinguished by a seeming paradox that is seldom examined: while no other country has supplied nearly as many migrants to the US as Mexico, major changes in US immigration law since 1965 have created ever more severe restrictions on "legal"

migration from Mexico in particular. This paper delineates the historical specificity of Mexican migration as it has come to be located in the legal economy of the US nation-state, and thereby constituted as an object of the law. More precisely, this paper examines the history of changes in US immigration law through the specific lens of how these revisions with respect to the Western Hemisphere, and thus, all of Latin America, have had a distinctive and disproportionate impact upon Mexicans in particular.

Durand, Jorge, Douglass Massey, and Fernando Charvet. 2000. "The Changing Geography of Mexican Immigration to the United States: 1910-1996." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 1-15.

> **Objective:** We seek to describe trends in the geographic destination of Mexican immigrants to the United States. **Methods:** Using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples for 1910-1990 and the 1996 Current Population Survey, we tabulate the distribution of all foreign-born Mexicans and recent Mexican immigrants by state and metropolitan area. **Results:** We find that early in the century, Mexicans went primarily to Texas, but after 1910, California emerged as a growing pole of attraction. California continued to gain at the expense of Texas through the 1920's and 1930's, but it did not surpass Texas until the Bracero Program of 1942-1964. Following the demise of this program, California came to dominate all other destinations; but since 1990, Mexican immigration has shifted away from it toward new states that never before have received significant numbers of Mexican Americans.

Enchautegui, María E. 1998. "Low-Skilled Immigrants and the Changing American Labor Market." *Population and Development Review* 24(4): 811–24.

> Low-skilled immigrants are an integral part of the US labor market: almost 30 percent of US workers without a high school diploma are immigrants. If current trends persist, immigrants will become the majority of US low-skilled workers in the near future. While low-skilled immigrants maintain strong employment levels, they are concentrated in the most menial low-skilled jobs, and their wages are declining relative to those of natives. The substantial deterioration of the economic status of low-skilled immigrants in the last decade raises important policy questions concerning ways to address the plight of this growing segment of US workers.

Escobar, Cristina. 2004. "Dual Citizenship and Political Participation: Migrants in the Interplay of United States and Colombian Politics." *Latino Studies* 2(1): 45-69.

> Colombian migrants, who have their own agenda of carving a place in their country of residence while maintaining their formal and informal links with their country of origin, have naturalized in great numbers following the enactment of Colombian dual citizenship legislation in 1990 and the US immigration reforms of 1990s. Contrary to fears that dual citizenship is detrimental to political engagement and a threat to US democracy, I argue that the maintenance of formal ties to their home-country does not result in migrants' political disengagement from their country of residence. Rather, transnational migrant organizations have played a critical role as agents of political engagement. Colombian dual citizenship has also facilitated migrants' decision to nationalize in order to prevent the loss of privileges that the US has restricted to those that hold citizen

status. Contrary to fears that this "instrumental" use of naturalization poses a danger to the nation, I argue that this motive for naturalization does not necessarily exclude migrants' interest in political participation and can, instead, be considered an opportunity for inclusion. Increasing migration of people who do not sever their ties with their home-countries is creating a political dynamic in which both the countries of origin and the countries of residence are becoming mutually influential. Naturalization and political participation have to be understood within this dynamic.

Espenshade, Thomas J., Jessica L. Baraka, and Gregory A. Huber. 1997. "Implications of the 1996 Welfare and Immigration Reform Acts for US Immigration." *Population and Development Review* 23(4):769-801.

> Major changes in non-citizen eligibility for welfare and in US immigration policy are contained in two pieces of federal legislation signed into law in 1996. The first, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, reforms the entitlement policy for poor families and imposes new limits on alien access to welfare benefits and other social services. The second, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, strengthens efforts to combat illegal immigration and creates higher standards of financial self-sufficiency for the admission of sponsored legal immigrants. The authors suggest that these reforms will produce unintended, and possibly undesirable, consequences. They argue in particular that the 1996 reform measures, instead of preserving legal immigration and discouraging illegal immigration, are more likely to reduce the former and expand incentives for the latter. In addition, the Personal Responsibility Act creates added pressures for eligible legal immigrants to apply for US citizenship. To the extent that higher rates of naturalization were unanticipated by reformers of welfare policy, the actual cost savings attributable to reduced benefits for non-citizens will be smaller than expected

Estrada, Alfredo. 1993 "A Nation of Immigrants: Benefit or Burden?" *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 7.

> Panelists at the 'A Nation of Immigrants: Benefit or Burden?' forum held at the John F. Kennedy School of Government discussed several topics related to immigration, the debate over immigration and its effects, especially on a Hispanic population. They also stressed the need for placing immigration in a broader content, the need for a cogent Federal policy to provide more funds at the local level, the emotional aspects of immigration, the myths of immigration and the role of immigration in the country's economy.

Fetzer, Joel S. 2006. "Why Did House Members Vote for H.R. 4437?" *International Migration Review* 40(3): 698-706.

> This article examines why members of the U.S. House of Representatives voted for H.R. 4437, the controversial 2005 bill to construct a 700-mile immigration barrier along the U.S.-Mexican border and to criminalize illegal presence and aid to undocumented immigrants. Logit analysis

suggests that being a first-term House member or a Republican and representing a district that was in the South or the West or heavily blue-collar substantially boosted the odds of supporting H.R. 4437. If a member's district was disproportionately Asian, Latino, or, especially, African American, he or she was instead more likely to oppose the measure.

Fox, Jonathan. 2006. "Reframing Mexican Migration as a Multi-Ethnic Process." *Latino Studies* 4(1-2): 39–61.

> The Mexican migrant population in the US increasingly reflects the ethnic diversity of Mexican society. To recognize Mexican migration as a multi-ethnic process raises broader conceptual puzzles about race, ethnicity, and national identity. This essay draws from recent empirical research and participant-observation to explore implications of the indigenous Mexican migrant experience for understanding collective identity formation, including the social construction of community membership, regional and pan-ethnic identities, territory, and transnational communities.

Freeman, Gary P., and Bob Birrell. 2001. "Divergent Paths of Immigration Politics in the United States and Australia." *Population and Development Review* 27(3): 525-55.

> The United States and Australia converged by the mid-1980s on receptive and expansive immigration policies reflecting "client" politics. Australia has since pursued a more restrictive and selective course while the United States has resisted pressures toward such a stance. The authors account for these differences by assessing the theoretical perspectives of interests, rights, and states. Conflicts among groups with direct interests in policy outcomes are the principal source of immigration politics, but a comparison of the roles of rights and state institutions helps explain peculiarities of the two cases. The distinctive Australian policy trajectory is shaped by greater volatility of public opinion about immigration and multiculturalism, and by political institutions that are more responsive to popular sentiment.

Frey, William H. 1996. "Immigration, Domestic Migration, and Demographic Balkanization in America: New Evidence for the 1990s." *Population and Development Review* 22(4): 741-63.

> The recent scrutiny given to the impact of post-1965 immigration to the United States has largely overlooked an important long-term consequence: social and demographic divisions, across regions that are being created by distinctly different migration patterns of immigrants and domestic, mostly native-born migrants. Evidence for 1990-95 shows a continuation of: highly focused destinations among immigrants whose race-ethnic and skill-level profiles differ from those of the rest of the population; migration patterns among domestic migrants favoring areas that are not attracting immigrants; and accentuated domestic out-migration away from high immigration areas that is most evident for less educated and lower-income long-term residents. These separate migration patterns are leading to widening divisions by race-ethnicity and population growth across broad regions of the country. These patterns are likely to make immigrant assimilation more difficult and social and political cleavages more pronounced.

Fry, Richard. 2006. "Gender and Migration." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. July 5. http://pewhispanic. org/reports/report.php?ReportID=64 (February 13, 2009).

> This report examines the gender composition of migration to the U.S. The report shows that while females have been an increasing share of migrants worldwide in recent decades, the U.S. has defied the trend. Legal migration to the U.S. is in fact more female as it is elsewhere, but the effects of a growing and largely male unauthorized migration has meant that women are slightly smaller share of the foreign born population than 25 years ago. The report also shows that the profile of the female immigrant to the U.S. has changed considerably over the past quarter century. In 2004, recently arrived female migrants were better educated, older and less likely to have children than their counterparts in 1980.

Garcia, Carlos. 2005. "Buscando Trabajo: Social Networking Among Immigrants From Mexico to the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 27(1): 3-22.

> The growth of the Latino population in the United States has placed a sharp focus on immigration. Previous research on immigration has taken for granted the existence of immigrant networks. This is a significant oversight given their importance in both conveying social capital and their contribution to the growth of immigrant communities. Using data collected in the summer of 2002, the author looks at the development of an immigrant network in a rural town in northeastern Oklahoma. It is determined that the immigrant network in the community under study includes three distinct yet interconnected sub-networks, a traditional sub-network, a church sub-network, and a contract sub-network. Although each of these secondary networks is made up of different social arrangements, they all provide similar services in a similar manner. The services provided within the greater immigrant network have increased the size, strength, and density of the local immigrant community.

Gilbertson, Greta A. 2004. "Regulating Transnational Citizens in the Post-1996 Welfare Reform Era: Dominican Immigrants in New York City." *Latino Studies* 2(1): 90-110.

> Drawing on interviews and observations of Dominican immigrants in New York City, in this paper I explore how immigrants articulate ideas of membership and belonging in the context of anti-immigrant legislation. I situate naturalization and citizenship as a process whereby immigrants accommodate and resist different forms of state power within transnational social spaces. How immigrants view and articulate citizenship in the contemporary period is tied to how state power produces complex and contradictory ideas regarding the meaning and nature of membership. I argue that immigrants both reject and embrace various aspects of state constructions of citizenship.

Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2005. "Assessing the Advantages of Bilingualism for the Children of Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 39(3): 721-53.

> This article responds to the current academic debate on the advantages of bilingualism to the children of immigrants in the United States. The author utilizes data from the 1992-1993 and

1995-1996 Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study to estimate the effects of bilingualism on educational outcomes. In contrast to a recent study, the author provides conclusive evidence that there are advantages to bilingualism beyond the functional ability to communicate with one's parents. The author also provides evidence that demonstrates that bilingualism is only advantageous in those communities with low levels of English proficiency and high levels of resources and networks.

Gonzales Baker, Susan, and Marilyn Espitia. 2000. "From Latin American Immigrants to "Hispanic" Citizen: The Role of Social Capital in seeking U.S. Citizenship." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(4): 1053-63.

> Burgeoning citizenship rates in the past five years are attributable to an increased propensity to naturalize among more recent cohorts from developing countries, particularly from Latin America. We evaluate the intention to naturalize for a key subgroup of Latin American immigrants; those who adjusted to legal status via the main legalization program of the 1985 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). We merge 3,117 responses from the 1989 and 1992 wave of the Legalized person Survey with a data set we have constructed on characteristics of the eighty-three Metropolitan Statistical Areas in which respondents resided. While the financial and social investments in the home country reduce the odds of intending to naturalize for IRCA beneficiaries, financial and social connections to the United States are substantial and facilitate the plan to become U.S. citizens. These aspirations are further facilitated by the ways in which Latin American immigrants are situated in geographic space in metropolitan U.S. communities.

Haubert, Jeannie, and Elizabeth Fussell. 2006. "Explaining Pro-Immigrant Sentiment in the U.S.: Social Class, Cosmopolitanism, and Perceptions of Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 40(3): 489-507.

> In the U.S., research on attitudes toward immigrants generally focuses on anti-immigrant sentiment. Yet, the 1996 General Social Survey indicates that half the population believes that immigrants favorably impact the U.S. economy and culture. Using these data, we analyze theories of both pro- and anti-immigrant sentiment. While we find some support for two theories of intergroup competition, our most important finding connects a cosmopolitan worldview with favorable perceptions of immigrants. We find that cosmopolitans – people who are highly educated, in white-collar occupations, who have lived abroad, and who reject ethnocentrism – are significantly more pro-immigrant than people without these characteristics.

Henken, Ted. 2005. "Balseros, Boteros, and El Bombo: Post-1994 Cuban Immigration to the United States and the Persistence of Special Treatment." *Latino Studies* 3(3): 393-416.

> Special treatment of Cuban immigrants to the United States since 1959 seemed to end abruptly in May 1995 as a result of migration accords between the US and Cuba following the rafter crisis of 1994. Cubans picked up at sea would now be sent home like other "illegal" immigrants. This paper argues that changes in US immigration policy toward Cuba were neither sudden nor complete. Rafters intercepted at sea are now repatriated to Cuba by the US Coast Guard (USCG) but few are deported to Cuba if they reach US soil. While dramatic landings and contested repa-

triations have drawn media attention over the decade, a more significant result has been the more than 200,000 Cubans legally admitted to the US since 1995. These numbers dwarf the 10,000 arriving as illegal rafters. The paper also explains how Cuban migrants, aware of their continued special status if they reach US soil, have abandoned rafts (balsas) in favor of hiring smugglers with fast speedboats (botes or lanchas). Finally, the paper argues that the Cuban rafter crisis is actually a Caribbean, and even global phenomenon, with regional participation from Haitians and Dominicans. This calls into question the appropriateness of special treatment for Cubans.

Hernández, David Manuel. 2008. "Pursuant to Deportation: Latinos and Immigrant Detention." *Latino Studies* 6(1-2): 35–63.

> This essay explores the historical genealogy of Latino immigrant detention in the United States. As a critical enforcement practice within the history of racialization and criminalization of non-white immigrants in the US, non-citizen detention pursuant to the deportation of immigrants has been utilized throughout the 20th century at the nexus of national crises, xenophobia, and racism. While episodes of detention expansion are often viewed in light of particular national security crises, this essay discusses the parameters and societal impacts of Latinos in detention, as a process possessing historical continuity, links to other racialized immigrants, and one that underscores the structural inequality of all noncitizens, documented and undocumented, before the law.

Hernández-León, Rubén, and Víctor Zúñiga. 2002. "Mexican Immigrant Communities in the South and Social Capital: The Case of Dalton, Georgia." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 64, December, 2002.

> During the 1990s, the South became a major new destination for Mexican and other Latino settled immigration. This paper contends that as Mexican immigrants have moved in sizable numbers to atypical destinations, they have also mobilized social capital and funds of knowledge from the historical concentrations of Latino settlement (i.e. Los Angeles and Chicago) to new areas, such as the South. Using qualitative and descriptive quantitative data collected in Dalton, Georgia, a small city located in the southern Appalachia region, this article shows how previously accumulated social capital and funds of knowledge are facilitating settlement with collective and individual level consequences. At the community level, this access to social capital is compressing the timing of the migratory cycle, accelerating incorporation. At the individual level, one significant outcome is the rapid rise of ethnic entrepreneurship, which in turn fosters differentiation within the immigrant community.

Hernández-León, Rubén, and Víctor Zúñiga. 2000. "Making Carpet by the Mile: The Emergence of a Mexican Immigrant Community in an Industrial Region of the U.S. Historic South." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 49-66.

> **Objective:** This paper presents a case study of an emerging Mexican immigrant community in a small city of the U.S. historic South. Within the bounds of the case, the paper shows how new destinations of immigration are established in the post-IRCA era. **Methods:** Using ethnographic

and Census data, the authors examine immigrant community demographic and labor market characteristics. The authors analyze survey data on the trajectories and time line that newcomer men and women have followed to form a permanent settlement in an atypical location. **Results:** The results indicate the rapid and sizable growth of a Mexican immigrant settlement and the incorporation of its members into local industrial labor markets. Origins, trajectories, and timing of arrival are differentiated for men and women. Men have arrived first, some of them as secondary migrants, leaving the traditional Mexican Southwestern homeland. Women and children have come next, some of them directly from Mexico. **Conclusions:** Findings suggest that a new array of post-IRCA destinations are rising as a consequence of the secondary migrations of amnestied Mexicans. Permanent settlement is a feature of these new destinations as family reunification is taking place in such nontraditional receiving areas.

Hill, Laura E., and Hans P. Johnson. 2004. "Fertility Changes Among Immigrants: Generations, Neighborhoods, and Personal Characteristics." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3): 811-26.

> **Objective:** To understand how adaptation/assimilation, disruption, and diffusion interact to produce changes in fertility levels among successive generations of Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States. **Method:** Using restricted access data that link individual data (CPS) to neighborhood data (census tracts), we examine the role of generation, personal characteristics, and neighborhood characteristics in determining children ever born (CEB). **Results:** There are significant differences in fertility across generations and, to a lesser extent, between women who live in ethnic enclaves and those who do not. Once personal characteristics are considered, the independent effect of generation on fertility is nearly eliminated. Personal characteristics dominate neighborhood characteristics in their ability to predict fertility. The most consistent predictor of CEB at the neighborhood level is the percentage of Hispanic adults. **Conclusions:** Personal characteristics dominate fertility change across generation, and were it not for increases in educational attainment, fertility might be higher in successive generations rather than lower or unchanged.

Hill, Kenneth, and Rebecca Wong. 2005. "Mexico–US Migration: Views from Both Sides of the Border." *Population and Development Review* 31(1): 1-18.

> Migration to the United States increased sharply in the 1980s and 1990s, raising political concerns. The immigrant flow from Mexico, both authorized and unauthorized, was particularly large. Good data would contribute to rational discussion of this politically charged issue, but data on immigration, particularly of the unauthorized, are notoriously poor. This article applies residual estimation techniques to data from the 1990 and 2000 population censuses of Mexico and the United States (Mexico-born population) to quantify the inter-censal migration flow, arguing that the reasons why unauthorized migrants might avoid enumeration in the United States would not adversely affect data from Mexico. Results suggest that the annual net flow of migrants aged 10 to 80 years from Mexico to the United States averaged between 324,000 and 440,000 between 1990 and 2000. A sensitivity analysis indicates that these results are quite robust (especially those using US data) to likely errors.

Hood, M. V., Irwin L. Morris, and Kurt A. Shirkey. 1997. ""!Quedate o Vente!": Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion toward Immigration." *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (3): 627-47.

> Why do some Hispanic-Americans support (Vente) and others oppose (Quedate) the liberalization of immigration policies In this study we attempt to ascertain which combination of demographic, attitudinal, and contextual factors determines Hispanic public opinion toward legal immigration. In a departure from previous research, we conduct an advanced multivariate analysis and utilize an existing national-level sample of Hispanics. While we find only limited evidence that Hispanic public opinion on immigration varies among nationalistic subgroups (e.g., Cuban-Americans, Mexican-Americans, etc.), we do find that level of acculturation and perceived economic threat influence Hispanic opinion on legal immigration. We also find that Hispanics residing in areas with large illegal migrant populations, and those with more negative attitudes toward the impact of Hispanics on American society, tend to favor more restrictive immigration policies. Finally, we examine the implications of these findings for future studies of public opinion toward immigration and for the development of immigration policy.

Jiménez, Tomás R. 2005. "Immigrant Replenishment and the Continuing Significance of Ethnicity and Race: The Case of the Mexican-origin Population." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 130, December, 2005.

> This paper examines the effect of immigrant replenishment on ethnic identity formation by considering the case of the Mexican-origin population. The literature on immigration, race and ethnicity largely assumes that the symbolic, optional, and consequence-free nature of ethnic identity found among white ethnics is a function of the measures of assimilation that sociologists commonly deploy: socioeconomic status, residential location, language abilities, and intermarriage. But this literature fails to adequately explain the role of immigration patterns in the formation of ethnic identity. Using 123 in-depth interviews with latter-generation Mexican Americans in Garden City, Kansas and Santa Maria, California, cities with large latter generation Mexican American and Mexican immigrant populations, this paper explores the ways that Mexican immigrant replenishment shapes the social boundaries that distinguish Mexican Americans from other groups. Findings suggest that immigration patterns are central to understanding identity formation after the immigrant generation. Mexican immigrant replenishment sharpens these boundaries through the indirect effects of nativism, by contributing to the continuing significance of race in the lives of Mexican Americans, and by refreshing rigid expectations about ethnic authenticity that Mexican Americans face. This paper also illuminates the role that declining immigration waves played in the onset of a symbolic, optional, and consequence-free form of ethnic identity among white ethnics.

Johnson, Hans P. 1996. "Undocumented Immigration to California: 1980-1993." *Public Policy Institute of California*. September. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_996HJR.pdf (February 13, 2009).

> California leads every state in the nation as a destination for undocumented immigrants. The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that almost one-half of the undocumented population in the United States resides lives in California. Yet, the precise numbers remain elu-

sive, and estimating the annual change in the size of this population is even more difficult. Using a variety of data and assumptions about population change, the author develops the first systematic estimates of annual changes in the net flow of undocumented immigrants to California. Although the range of the various estimates is sizable, the pattern over time is consistent across a widely differing set of assumptions.

Johnson, Hans P. 2006. "Illegal Immigration." *Public Policy Institute of California*. April. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/atissue/AI_406HJAI.pdf (February 13, 2009).

With the *At Issue* series, PPIC focuses on critical issues that are being debated now or that are becoming increasingly important for California's future. In this issue, demographer Hans P. Johnson presents objective facts and figures about illegal immigration and illegal immigrants. The questions addressed include where illegal immigrants come from and settle, who they are, why they come, how they fit into the economy, and how public policy is addressing illegal immigration.

Kandel, William, and Emilio A. Parrado. 2005. "Restructuring of the US Meat Processing Industry and New Hispanic Migrant Destinations." *Population and Development Review* 31(3): 447-71.

Findings from the 2000 US Census indicate high rates of Hispanic population increase beyond urban areas and traditional immigrant-receiving states. The diversity of new destinations raises questions about forces attracting migrants to rural areas and links between economic structural change and Hispanic population growth. Our conceptual framework applies dual labor market theory to the meat processing industry, a sector whose growing Hispanic labor force offers an illustrative case study for analyzing how labor demand influences demographic change. We document the industry's consolidation, concentration, increased demand for low-skilled labor, and changing labor force composition over three decades. We then position meat processing within a broader analysis that models non-metropolitan county Hispanic population growth between 1980 and 2000 as a function of changes in industrial sector employment share and non-metro county economic and demographic indicators. We find that growth in meat processing employment exhibits the largest positive coefficient increase in non-metro Hispanic population growth over two decades and the largest impact of all sectors by 2000.

Kandel, William, and Douglas Massey. 2002. "The Culture of Mexican Migration: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis." *Social Forces* 80(3): 981-1004.

Many field investigators have observed the evolution of a "culture of migration" in certain Mexican communities characterized by a high rate of out-migration to the United States. Within such communities, international migration becomes so deeply rooted that the prospect of transnational movement becomes normative: young people "expect" to live and work in the U.S. at some point in their lives. Males, especially, come to see migration as a normal part of the life course, representing a marker of the transition to manhood, in addition to being a widely accepted vehicle for economic mobility. International migration is cultural in the sense that the aspiration to migrate is transmitted across the generations and between people through social networks. In this paper

we develop a formal theory of the culture migration and test it using a special dataset collected by the first author as well as data from the Mexican Migration Project. We show that children from families involved in U.S. migration are more likely to aspire to live and work in the United States, that and that these aspirations, in turn, influence their behavior, lowing the odds that they will continue in school, and raising the odds of their eventual out-migration to the U.S.

Kandel, William, and Grace Kao. 2000. "Shifting Orientations: How U.S. Labor Migration Affects Children's Aspirations in Mexican Migrant Communities." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 16-32.

Objective: This study explores how children's educational and migratory aspirations are affected by international migration – within their communities, within their own households, and by themselves – as well as by their own interest in someday working or studying in the U.S. **Methods:** We use a unique data source consisting of 7,600 surveys from students in a migrant-sending Mexican state. We model the likelihood that children aspire to someday work in the U.S., study in the U.S., and attend university. **Results:** We find that family and individual migration experiences shape children's plans to work in the U.S. Children's plans to someday work in the U.S. are negatively associated with aspirations to attend university. However, family migration to the U.S. also increases children's desires to study in the U.S., and therefore has positive effects on their educational aspirations. **Conclusions:** Our results indicate that education in Mexico and migration to the U.S. may not complement each other as has been shown for internal migration. Rather, these two activities appear to provide distinct pathways to mobility, pathways which are inculcated primarily, but not exclusively, in the household.

Kim, Dae Young. 2000. "Beyond co-ethnic Solidarity: Mexican and Ecuadorean Employment in Korean-owned Businesses in New York City." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(3): 581–605.

Immigrants have relied on ethnic ties to promote cooperation and mutual support. Middleman minorities and ethnic enclaves have been the most prominent in stressing the role of ethnic solidarity in immigrant entrepreneurship. The ethnic enclave thesis, in particular, posits the mutually beneficial relations between co-ethnic employers and co-ethnic employees. On the one hand, ethnic employers can make use of a large pool of cheap co-ethnic workers, while co-ethnic employees, on the other hand, can capitalize on reciprocity, on-the-job training, managerial and supervisory positions, and future self-employment (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Manning 1991). The increasingly visible employment of Latinos, and particularly Mexicans in Korean-owned small businesses in New York City, often displaces and are now replacing Korean employees, questions the prevailing patterns of co-ethnic employment and future promotion. This article examines when, how and why Korean employers have turned away from the 'benefits' of employing Koreans and instead opted for the recruitment and employment of non-Koreans, predominantly Mexicans and Latinos in New York City.

Kim, Joon. 2004. "The Political Economy of the Mexican Farm Labor Program, 1942–64." *Aztlán* 29(2): 13–53.

> Between 1942 and 1964, the Mexican Farm Labor Program brought in an unprecedented number of Mexican workers to perform harvesting jobs in U.S. agriculture. Started during World War II in response to wartime labor shortages, the program was extended for almost two decades after the end of the war. Yet it was fraught with political controversy, as Congress, growers, and the public debated labor needs in agriculture, the potential impact of foreign contracting on the domestic workforce, and the flexibility of imported labor. Drawing upon congressional hearings, international treaties, and government reports, this essay uses a political economy perspective to examine the process by which U.S. agriculture has come to depend on Mexican workers and the continued rationalization of foreign agricultural worker programs through a state-business alliance. A critique of the political economy of the Mexican Farm Labor Program also serves as a basis for formulating a viable H-2A program, the temporary or seasonal foreign worker program being debated in Congress today.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2005. "Latino Labor Report, 2004: More Jobs for New Immigrants but at Lower Wages." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. May 2. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=45 (February 13, 2009).

> Hispanics, mostly recently arrived immigrants, accounted for over 1 million of the 2.5 million new jobs created in 2004. But Hispanics are the only major group of workers to have suffered a two-year decline in wages and they now earn 5 percent less than two years ago. The growing supply and concentration of immigrant Latinos in certain occupations suggests that they are competing with each other in the labor market to their own detriment. While non-Hispanics moved into high-skill occupations, the vast majority of new jobs for Hispanic workers were in relatively low-skill occupations calling for little other than a high school education.

Kohut, Andrew, Scott Keeter, Carroll Doherty, Roberto Suro, and Gabriel Escobar. 2006. "America's Immigration Quandary: No Consensus on Immigration Problem or Proposed Fixes." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 3. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=63 (February 13, 2009).

> Americans are increasingly concerned about immigration. A growing number believe that immigrants are a burden to the country, taking jobs and housing and creating strains on the health care system. Yet the public remains largely divided in its views of the overall effect of immigration. Roughly as many believe that newcomers to the U.S. strengthen American society as say they threaten traditional American values, and over the longer term, positive views of Latin American immigrants, in particular, have improved dramatically. Reflecting this ambivalence, the public is split over many of the policy proposals aimed at dealing with the estimated 11.5 million-12 million unauthorized migrants in the U.S. The poll is based on a survey conducted nationally and in five cities in conjunction with the Pew Research Center for People and the Press.

Lee, Yueh-Ting, Victor Ottati, and Imtiaz Hussain. 2001. "Attitudes Toward "Illegal" Immigration Into the United States: California Proposition 187." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 23(4): 430-43.

In the mid-1990s, Proposition 187 in California, directed primarily toward Mexican immigrants, tended to deprive "illegal" immigrants of welfare benefits, education, and all but emergency medical care. It also attempted to facilitate their deportation. By describing Mr. Carlos Suarez as a presumed illegal immigrant from Mexico, Study 1 showed that prejudice against Mexicans and concern about threat to the U.S. economy served as unique predictors of attitudes toward Proposition 187 and illegal immigrants. Study 2 demonstrated that respondents' ethnicity, prejudice against Mexicans, economic concern, and commitment to legal obedience all served as unique predictors of attitudes toward illegal immigrants and Proposition 187.

Livingston, Gretchen, and Joan R. Kahn. 2002. "An American Dream Unfulfilled: The Limited Mobility of Mexican Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 83(4): 1003-12.

We build on past research regarding immigrant group adaptation by examining the wages of first, second, and third generation Mexican American men and women and empirically evaluating if past theories of immigrant incorporation apply to the Mexican American case. We use the 1989 Latino National Political Study and the 1990/1991 Panel Studies of Income dynamics and OLS regressions to estimate the effects of generation and human capital on wages. Immigrant men and women report lower wages than their second and third generation counterparts, but once human capital controls are added, the wage patterns become one of steady decline across generations for men, and stagnation or marginal decline across generations for women. Our results generally contest the applicability of linear assimilation hypothesis to the Mexican American experience, while lending some credence to the selectivity and immigrant optimism hypotheses. Results also indicate the importance of developing more contextualized immigrant adaptation framework.

Lofstrom, Magnus. 2000. "Self-Employment and Earnings among High-Skilled Immigrants in the United States." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 13, July, 2000.

This paper uses data from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Censuses to analyze the labor market experience of high-skilled immigrants relative to high-skilled natives. Immigrants are found to be more likely to be working in one of the high-skilled occupations than natives, but the gap between the two groups decreased in the 1980's. Given the high self-employment rates of this group of workers, about 20 percent, it is important to study this aspect of the labor market experience. High-skilled natives are more likely to be self employed than high-skilled immigrants. Models of the self-employment decision, controlling for differences in socio-economic background, occupation, regional differences in immigrant population proportions, national origin and ethnicity, are estimated. Evidence of positive enclave effects on self-employment probabilities is found. Predicted earnings of self-employed immigrants are higher throughout most of their work life relative to wage/salary immigrants and natives, as well as compared to self-employed natives. Furthermore, there appears to be very little difference in predicted earnings across national origin group of self-employed immigrants. The low variation in predicted earnings across country of origin groups is not found for wage/salary immigrants.

Lowell, Lindsay B., and Roberto Suro. 2002. "How Many Undocumented: The Numbers behind The U.S.-Mexico Migration Talks." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 21. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=6 (February 13, 2009).

> There are more than 5 million unauthorized workers in the U.S. economy. This study estimates that these workers have become a very substantial presence in the sectors where they are concentrated. More than a million undocumented persons are employed in manufacturing and a similar number in the service industries. More than 600,000 work in construction and more than 700,000 in restaurants.

Martin, Philip.2002. "Guest Workers: New Solution, New Problem?" *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 21. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=7 (February 13, 2009).

> About 1.2 million or 47 percent of the 2.5 million persons employed for wages on US farms are unauthorized. The share of unauthorized workers is highest in seasonal fruit and vegetable crops. A legalization program that required unauthorized workers to have done at least 90 days of farm work in the preceding year would allow 50 to 70 percent of currently unauthorized workers, 600,000 to 840,000 individuals, to legalize their status. If newly legalized workers exit the farm work force at the same rate as Special Agricultural Workers (SAWs) did after being legalized in 1987-88, about 125,000 new workers would be needed each year. Taking into account exits of all types of farm workers, it is likely that at least 250,000 new workers would be needed each year if farm labor conditions remain unchanged.

Massey, Douglas S., and Ilana Redstone Akresh. 2006. "Immigrant Intentions and Mobility in a Global Economy: The Attitudes and Behavior of Recently Arrived U.S. Immigrants." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 954-71.

> **Objectives:** In this article we develop a conceptual model connecting immigrants' objective circumstances to satisfaction with life in the United States, intentions with regard to naturalization and settlement, and concrete behaviors such as remitting and leaving the country. **Methods:** We analyze data from the New Immigrant Survey Pilot to estimate structural equations derived from our conceptual model. **Results:** Those expressing a high degree of U.S. satisfaction are significantly more likely to intend to naturalize and, because of this fact, are also more likely to want to stay in the United States forever. In terms of socioeconomic characteristics, however, those with high earnings and owners of U.S. property are less likely to intend naturalizing; and those with high levels of education are least likely to be satisfied with the United States, but satisfaction is itself unrelated to remitting or emigrating, which are determined by citizenship intentions and objective circumstances. **Conclusions:** The picture that emerges from this analysis is of a fluid and dynamic global market for human capital in which the bearers of skills, education, and abilities seek to maximize earnings in the short term while retaining little commitment to any particular society or national labor market over the longer term.

Menjívar, Cecilia. 1995. "Immigrant Social Networks: Implications and Lessons for Policy." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 8: 35-59.

> A study of Salvadoran kinship-based social networks in the US indicates a need to provide for the heterogeneity of Hispanic immigrant groups in public policies. Results show that Salvadorans experienced unique integration problems even though they shared resettlement barriers related to employment and residence with other newly arrived Latino groups. The temporary immigration status of the Salvadorans led to many difficulties that disrupted intra-family relations and increased the economic pressures on the group and its social network.

Mora, Marie T., and Alberto Dávila. 2006. "Mexican Immigrant Self-Employment Along the U.S.-Mexico Border: An Analysis of 2000 Census Data." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 91-109.

> **Objective:** This study explores the entrepreneurial tendencies of Mexican immigrants in metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) on the U.S. side of the Mexican border vis-à-vis the U.S. interior. **Methods:** Using 2000 Census data available in the 5% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, we empirically analyze the self-employment rates and earnings of Mexican immigrants residing in U.S. cities near Mexico versus those in non-border MSAs. **Results:** Our findings indicate that Mexican immigrants in MSAs along the U.S.-Mexico border have significantly higher self-employment rates (but lower earnings) than their counterparts in the rest of the United States and non-Hispanic whites in border cities. Explanations for these findings include the existence of trade opportunities in U.S. border cities as well as intense labor market competition that crowds a greater share of immigrants into self-employment. **Conclusion:** Immigration reform that curtails the immigration flow from Mexico might hinder small business formation and economic development on the U.S. side of the Mexican border.

Orrenius, Pia M., and Roberto Coronado. 2005. "The Effect of Illegal Immigration and Border Enforcement on Crime Rates along the U.S.-Mexico Border." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 131, December, 2005.

> In the 1990s, the border led the nation in the decline of property-related crimes, while violent crime rates fell twice as fast in the U.S. as in the median border county. This paper asks how changes in illegal immigration and border enforcement have played a role in generating these divergent trends. We find that while migrant apprehensions are correlated with a greater incidence of violent crime, they are not systematically associated with higher rates of property crime. Border patrol enforcement is associated with lower property crime rates but higher violent crime. Interestingly, it is local enforcement (same or neighboring sector) that is correlated with higher violent crime. Higher border enforcement overall is correlated with less violent crime. Several trends likely underlie these results. First, more enforcement in urban versus rural areas has pushed property crime rates down by keeping migrants and smugglers away from densely populated areas. Second, it is likely that more enforcement (and other factors) have led to an increased use of professional smugglers which in turn has led to more violence on the border.

Pallares, Amalia. 2005. "Ecuadorian Immigrants and Symbolic Nationalism in Chicago." *Latino Studies* 3(3): 347-71.

> Focusing on the activities of social and civic organizations of Ecuadorian immigrants in Chicago, this paper argues that immigrants use symbolic nationalism mainly to negotiate their adaptation and integration into the host country. Distinct and diverging modes of nationalism articulated among immigrant communities of a common national origin reveal underlying class, race, ethnic, and regional divisions that are both reproduced and reinvented in a new setting. This coexistence of multiple and fragmented national identities complicates existing representations of immigrants as being "focused on the sending country" or "caught between two worlds.

Pantoja, Adrian D., and Sarah Allen Gershon. 2006. "Political Orientations and Naturalization Among Latino and Latina Immigrants." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1171-87.

> **Objective:** This study adds to our knowledge of the naturalization process by considering the impact of political orientations in shaping the pursuit of U.S. citizenship among contemporary Latino and Latina immigrants. **Methods:** We draw on data from the 1999 Harvard/Kaiser/ Washington Post "Latino Political Survey" and use ordered logistic regression analyses to test the effects of political orientations on immigrant naturalization. **Results:** Political orientations exert a powerful influence on naturalization beyond the traditional sociodemographic determinants. Furthermore, the impact of political orientations on naturalization varies by gender. **Conclusions:** Naturalization can be induced by stressing the importance of voting and being interested in politics. In addition, Latinas are more likely to pursue naturalization than Latinos and the factors driving their decisions systematically differ from those of their male counterparts.

Passel, Jeffrey S. 2005. "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. June 14. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=46 (February 13, 2009).

> Contrary to the stereotype of undocumented migrants as single males with very little education who perform manual labor in agriculture or construction, a new Pew Hispanic Center report shows that most of the unauthorized population lives in families, a quarter has at least some college education and that illegal workers can be found in many sectors of the US economy. The report builds on previous work that estimated the size and geographic dispersal of the undocumented population and offers a portrait of that population in unprecedented detail by examining family composition, educational attainment, income and employment.

Passel, Jeffrey S, and Roberto Suro. 2005. "Rise, Peak and Decline: Trends in U.S. Immigration 1992–2004." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. September 27. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=53 (February 13, 2009).

> A new report by the Pew Hispanic Center, "Rise, Peak and Decline: Trends in U.S. Immigration 1992–2004," provides the first detailed analysis of recent year-to-year immigration flows to the United States. Using newly developed statistical methods, Jeffrey S. Passel, one of the nation's most respected demographers in the field of immigration and a senior research associate at the

Center, breaks down the overall increases in the foreign-born population that the United States has experienced since the early 1990s into estimates of annual flows and charts key changes in its major components, including countries of origin and legal status. With co-author and Center director Roberto Suro, Passel offers new insights into the pace and content of migration. The report is based on multiple data sources compiled by the US Census Bureau.

Passel, Jeffrey S. 2005. "Estimates of the Size and Characteristics of the Undocumented Population." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 21. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=44 (February 13, 2009).

> The undocumented population of the United States now numbers nearly 11 million people, including more than 6 million Mexicans according to new estimates by the Pew Hispanic Center, based on the most recent official data available. State-level data shows that Arizona and North Carolina now rank among the states with the largest populations of unauthorized migrants. The estimates were developed by Jeffrey S. Passel, a senior research associate at the Center and a veteran demographer who specializes in the foreign-born population.

Passel, Jeffrey S. 2006. "Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the U.S.: Estimates Based on the March 2005 Current Population Survey." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 7. http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/61.pdf (February 13, 2009).

> This is an analysis of the March 2005 Current Population Survey shows that there were 11.1 million unauthorized migrants in the United States a year ago. Based on analysis of other data sources that offer indications of the pace of growth in the foreign-born population, the Center developed an estimate of 11.5 to 12 million for the unauthorized population as of March 2006.

Phillips, Julie A., and Douglas S. Massey. 2000. "Engines of Immigration: Stocks of Human and Social Capital in Mexico." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1): 33-48.

> **Objectives:** We seek to measure stocks of migration-specific human and social capital available to Mexican immigrants and to quantify their effect in promoting out-migration to the United States. **Methods:** We use data from the Mexican Migration Project to measure the share of people in western Mexico who have been to the U.S., who are socially connected to someone who has migrated to the U.S. in the past, and who are socially connected to someone living in the U.S. at the time of the survey. **Results:** We find that 40% of household heads from this region- and 20% of all persons of labor force age-have been to the United States at least once in their lives. In addition, 25% of household heads have an immediate family member currently living in the United States; 61% have a member of their extended family living north of the border; and 37% report knowing a friend in the U.S. at the time of the survey. All told, 73% of household heads in western Mexico are socially connected to someone living north of the border, and 81% at least know someone with U.S. experience. **Conclusions:** These extensive stocks of human and social capital lead to very high probabilities of out-migration over the course of a Mexican's life and suggest that migration to the United States may continue even as economic pressures to migrate diminish.

Pisani, Michael, and David Yoskowitz. 2002. "The Maid Trade: Cross-Border Work in South Texas." *Social Science Quarterly* 83(2): 568-79.

> The primary objective of this article is to investigate the informal marketplace for domestic servants (maids) in a broader community in South Texas (Laredo). A questionnaire was administered by a household member familiar with the present study who employed at least one maid utilizing the snowball methods of sample selection. Usable data (surveys) were collected from 389 individuals-195 maids and 194 employers. For maids, who are overwhelmingly female Mexican nationals, the primary determinant of push factor was good pay. A large hourly wage differential was uncovered for day maids ($3.44) vis-avis live-in maids ($2.61), which was primarily the result of civil status and the possession of documents permitting entry into the United States as determined by a logistic regression. The relative attractiveness of work as a maid in Laredo, Texas reflects the benefit of good pay balanced by the cost of poor employment choice in Mexico.

Pisani, Michael J., and David W. Yoskowitz. 2005. "Grass, Sweat, and Sun: An Exploratory Study of the Labor Market for Gardeners in South Texas." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(1): 229-51.

> **Objective:** This article takes a first exploratory step in understanding the market for home gardeners in the southwest borderlands (Laredo, Texas). **Methods:** A questionnaire was administered by a household member familiar with the present study who employed at least one gardener utilizing the snowball method of sample selection. Usable data (surveys) were collected from 244 individuals: 122 gardeners and 122 employers. **Results:** Gardeners in Laredo are almost exclusively male, Hispanic, Spanish speaking, and heads of household. Gardeners tend to be Mexican by birth and nationality, work full time as a gardener, be middle aged, and possess a middle school education. Distinctions between full-time and part-time gardeners (employment status) as well as formal and informal gardeners (employment process) are discussed. Cross-tabulation analyses suggest a strong relationship between employment status and process (relationship) with health insurance coverage, enrollment in Social Security, and year-around work. Logistic regression results also indicate previous work experience as a gardener, medical insurance, and year-around work as a gardener are the significant variables in determining full-time employment as a gardener. For informality, logistic regression results suggest Mexican citizenship, Mexican birthplace, and lack of Social Security are the significant explanatory variables. **Conclusion:** Gardening enables a mostly informal workforce from Mexico to work in south Texas in pursuit of the American dream – the ability to make a living in a way of one's own choosing.

Popkin, Eric. 1999. "Guatemalan Mayan Migration to Los Angeles: Constructing Transnational Linkages in the Context of the Settlement Process." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2): 267-89.

> It is argued that the limits to migrant physical mobility due to restrictive US immigration policy do not necessarily impede the establishment of transnational linkages sustained by Guatemalan Mayan (Kanjobal) migrants in Los Angeles. As Kanjobal migrants confront higher levels of discrimination in Los Angeles, their cultural and religious organizations are increasingly influenced by the growing Pan-Mayan movement in Guatemala. This outcome leads actors affiliated with the Guatemalan church and state to forge relationships with these migrant organizations. By reintegrating into the social life of their home country, Kanjobal migrants express a transnational

identity that revives and strengthens old forms of ethnicity and reflects the process of reactive formation. This finding implies that the conception of reactive ethnicity needs to be expanded to account for the influence of transnational relations sustained by migrants.

Plascencia, Luis F. B. 2000-2001. "Ignored Migrant Voices – Mexican Political Refugees in the United States." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 13.

> The article discusses the rise in the number of Mexican nationals seeking political asylum in the United States from 1992 through 1998. An analysis of data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Executive Office of Immigration Review, and a sample of cases reveals that U.S. denials of Mexican applicants represent an inter-mestic policy decision, rather than a decision on the merits of each case. It also suggests that U.S. policy on Mexican political refugees is analogous to the position in the 1980s regarding Central American refugees. U.S. interests in maintaining positive relations with Mexico and continuing the "war on drugs" seem to direct our asylum decisions.

Portes, Alejandro, and Lingxin Hao. 2002. "The price of uniformity: language, family and Personality adjustment in the immigrant second generation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25(6): 889-912.

> We examine the process of linguistic adaptation among children of immigrants and the extent to which distinct language types exist between foreign mono-lingualism and a full transition to English. While complete linguistic assimilation remains the normative outcome and is widely perceived as desirable, we examine alternative theories holding that selective rather than full acculturation is a preferable alternative for immigrant children and their families. For this purpose we contrast effects of fluent bilingualism, indicative of selective acculturation, with other types of linguistic adaptation on various measures of family conflict, solidarity and personality. The data come from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study [CILS], which have been used in several previous studies of the second generation. We use this data-set to test new hypotheses on the interactive effects of parental and children's knowledge of English on family relations and personality outcomes and to examine the effects of gender differences throughout the process. We find that a plurality of second generation linguistic adaptation types exists in reality and that, among them, fluent bilingualism is consistently preferable. Theoretical and policy implications of these and other results are discussed.

Repak, Terry. 1994. "Gender and the impact of IRCA: Central American women and men in Washington, D.C. (Immigration Reform and Control Act)." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy.*

> A study of the effect of the Immigration Reform Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) on undocumented immigrants and the labor market in the Washington, DC, revealed that its employer sanctions provisions had a greater adverse effect on Central American women. Research findings showed that gender, together with the structural factors of the immigrant labor market, determined wage levels and employment mobility. Results indicated that IRCA increased wage levels in some low-wage categories even as it induced a market for fake documents. IRCA's uneven gender effects can also be seen in other U.S. cities.

Roberts, Bryan R., Reanne Frank, and Fern Lozano-Ascencio. 1999. "Transnational Migrant Communities and Mexican Migration to the US." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2): 238-66.

> In this article we explore the variability of US-Mexico migration, positioning the emerging discourse on transnational migration within a migration systems approach. Looking at factors in the social and economic structures of Mexico and the US, we evaluate the prevalence of transnational migration patterns among Mexican migrants in conjunction with past patterns of temporary and permanent migration. Transnational migration and the communities it creates are conceived of as a different path of adjustment for migrants and, using Hirschmans's concept of the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty, we illustrate the reasons underpinning the predominance of transnational migrant communities among migrants of rural origin. Finally, we introduce original fieldwork that explores the prevalence of different migration patterns among urban migrants and validates the highly differentiated nature of Mexican migration.

Rocco, Raymond. 2004. "Transforming Citizenship: Membership, Strategies of Containment, and the Public Sphere in Latino Communities." *Latino Studies* 2(2): 4-25.

> Dramatic changes in the cultural and racial composition of societies resulting to a considerable degree from the related processes of globalization, restructuring, and transnationalism, have given rise to a significant body of work that focuses on re-conceptualizing the nature and meaning of contemporary citizenship. This literature, however, has not for the most part addressed the situation of Latinos in the US. This essay develops a particular conception of citizenship that accounts for the strategies of excluding Latinos from full societal membership. I argue that Latinos have been constructed as perpetual "foreigners" and that only a form of citizenship that transcends this type of political imaginary can foster a more democratic system that addresses the unique position of Latinos in the US. The notion of regional forms of citizenship is advanced as one strategy for promoting a more inclusive and democratic sense of political community in the context of the fundamental changes in the level of economic and political interdependence that characterize contemporary international relations.

Rodríguez, Nestor, and Jacqueline Maria Hagan. 2004. "Fractured Families and Communities: Effects of Immigration Reform in Texas, Mexico, and El Salvador." *Latino Studies* 2(3): 328-51.

> The enactment of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) in 1996 represented a major shift in post World War II immigration policies. IIRIRA facilitated a large-scale removal of legal resident immigrants, increased the income-requirements to sponsor an immigrant, reduced the discretionary power of immigration judges, and increased the resources for border enforcement. In this study, effects of IIRIRA on communities and immigrant families are examined through fieldwork and interviews of social service agencies, community organizations, and households in Texas, Mexico and El Salvador. The findings indicate that IIRIRA has had major effects on communities and families in all three settings. IIRIRA has produced fear and stress among families and the communities in which they live. The law also has mobilized governmental and non-governmental agency involvement both for and against immigrants. Finally, the exclusionary aspects of the law have raised issues of social identity among migrants in the United States and abroad.

Sana, Mariano, and Douglas S. Massey. 2005. "Household Composition, Family Migration, and Community Context: Migrant Remittances in Four Countries." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(2): 509-28.

> **Objectives:** We study migrant remittances among households surveyed in Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, testing expectations derived from the new economics of labor migration (NELM) and from the historic-structural approach. **Methods:** We applied logistic regression analyses to survey data collected by the Mexican Migration Project and the Latin American Migration Project, focusing on the contrast between Mexico and the Dominican Republic. **Results:** In Mexico, remittances seem to be associated with the patriarchal traditional family, but in the Dominican Republic we verified the opposite. Receipt of remittances is positively associated with degree of development among Mexican households, but the association is negative in the Dominican Republic. In addition, Mexican remittances are negatively associated with the number of businesses in the local community. **Conclusions:** In Mexico, as predicted by NELM, the cohesive patriarchal family ensures the flow of remittances as part of a household strategy of risk diversification. Dominican remittances, however, seem to be mostly determined by lack of opportunities and household need.

Saenz, Rogelio. 1991. "Interregional Migration Patterns of Chicanos: The Core, Periphery, and Frontier." *Social Science Quarterly* 72(1): 135-48.

> The internal migration patterns of Chicanos have been an overlooked topic. This study uses data from the 1980 Public Use Microdata Sample to examine the 1975-80 interregional migration flows of Chicanos between four regions: (1) core (southwest); (2) northwest periphery; (3) Midwest periphery; and (4) frontier. The core experienced a net overflow of Chicanos to the northwest periphery. However, among the Chicano core out-migrants, frontier migrants are the most selective socio-economically.

Saenz, Rogelio, and Anderson, Robert.1994. "The Ecology of Chicano Interstate Net Migration, 1975-1980." *Social Science Quarterly* 75(1): 37-52.

> The analysis uses data from the 1980 Public Use Microdata Sample to examine the 1975-1980 internal net migration patterns of Chicanos across the U.S. states from a human ecological perspective. The findings demonstrate the usefulness of the sustenance organization model in the study of Chicano internal in-migration. Sustenance differentiation and Chicano industrial segregation are significantly related to Chicano net-migration within the United States. Data for Anglos are presented for comparative purposes.

Sierra, Christine Marie, Teresa Carrillo, Louis DeSipio, and Michael Jones-Correa. 2000. "Latino Immigration and Citizenship." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33(3): 535-40.

> This article is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers consider how U.S. immigration policies have shaped Latino demographics and influenced Latino immigrants'

status; how patterns of immigration have affected political participation among members of the Latino community; and how Latino immigration has influenced relations among sending states, particularly Mexico, and the U.S. They note that as public debate over immigration intensified during the 1990s, Latinos increasingly came together to express concern over and opposition to anti-immigrant attitudes and measures through their behavior at the ballot box, grassroots protest, and their pursuit of citizenship through naturalization. They consider the demographics of immigration, the political participation of Latino immigrants, and the limitations of working within an outdated framework of national politics to address a transnational phenomenon such as immigration.

Simon, Julian L. 1996. "Public Expenditures on Immigrants to the United States, Past and Present." *Population and Development Review* 22(1): 99-109.

Good data show that in the 1970s immigrants to the United States contributed more to the public coffers than they received in public services. The data, displayed here in fuller detail than in an earlier article in this journal, confirm the conclusion set forth by the author more than a decade earlier. This conclusion is corroborated by Canadian studies for the 1980s and 1990s and by the crude US data available for the most recent period. Any excess in welfare expenditures on immigrants relative to natives is probably limited to the narrowly defined category of welfare payments, which are relatively insignificant compared to expenditures on schooling and social security, and probably occurs only among older immigrants.

South, Scott J., Kyle Crowder, and Erick Chavez. 2005. "Geographic Mobility and Spatial Assimilation among U.S. Latino Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 39(3): 577-607.

Although the spatial assimilation of immigrants to the United States has important implications for social theory and social policy, few studies have explored the patterns and determinants of inter-neighborhood geographic mobility that lead to immigrants' residential proximity to the white, non-Hispanic majority. We explore this issue by merging data from three different sources – the Latino National Political Survey, the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, and tract-level census data – to begin unraveling causal relationships among indicators of socioeconomic, social, cultural, segmented, and spatial assimilation. Our longitudinal analysis of 700 Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban immigrants followed from 1990 to 1995 finds broad support for hypotheses derived from the classical account of minority assimilation. High income, English language use, and embeddedness in Anglo social contexts increase Latino immigrants' geographic mobility into Anglo neighborhoods. U.S. citizenship and years spent in the United States are positively associated with geographic mobility into more Anglo neighborhoods, and co-ethnic contact is inversely associated with this form of mobility, but these associations operate largely through other predictors. Prior experiences of ethnic discrimination increase and residence in public housing decreases the likelihood that Latino immigrants will move from their origin neighborhoods, while residing in metropolitan areas with large Latino populations leads to geographic moves into "less Anglo" census tracts.

Suro, Roberto. 2003. "Remittance Senders And Receivers: Tracking The Transnational Channels." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. November 24. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=23 (February 13, 2009).

> Across the United States some six million immigrants from Latin America now send money to their families back home on a regular basis. The number of senders and the sums they dispatched grew even when the U.S. economy slowed, and looking to the future, the growth seems likely to continue and potentially to accelerate. The total remittance flow from the United States to Latin America and the Caribbean could come close to $30 billion this year, making it by far the largest single remittance channel in the world. These funds now reach large portions of the populations in the region – 18 percent of all adults in Mexico and 28 percent in El Salvador are remittance receivers – and the impact is no longer limited to the countryside or to the poor. Taken altogether these indicators suggest that the remittance traffic in the Western Hemisphere has crossed a threshold not only in magnitude but also in significance.

Suro Roberto. 2005. "Attitudes toward Immigrants and Immigration Policy: Surveys among Latinos in the U.S. and in Mexico." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. August 16. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=52 (February 13, 2009).

> The Pew Hispanic Center released findings from major new surveys conducted in the U.S. and Mexico on attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy options. A survey of U.S. Latinos shows that views are not unanimous on unauthorized migrants and U.S. policy toward them. A separate survey in Mexico reveals the size of the Mexican population that is considering migration to the United States, including those inclined to come without legal status.

Taylor, J. Edward, and Philip L. Martin, 1997. "The Immigrant Subsidy in US Agriculture: Farm Employment, Poverty, and Welfare." *Population and Development Review* 23(4): 855-74.

> This article examines relationships between immigration, farm employment, poverty, and welfare use in 65 towns and cities with populations ranging from 1,000 to 20,000 in 1990 in the major agricultural areas of California. It tests the hypothesis that expanding labor-intensive agriculture creates a negative externality by drawing large numbers of workers from Mexico, offering many of them poverty-level earnings, and increasing public assistance use in rural towns. Econometric findings reveal a circular relationship between farm employment and immigration. An additional 100 farm jobs are associated with 136 more immigrants, 139 more poor residents, and 79 more people receiving welfare benefits in rural towns. An additional 100 immigrants, in turn, are associated with 37 more farm jobs. Most of the impact of farm employment on poverty is indirect, through immigration. Each additional California farm job was associated with $1,103 in welfare payments in 1990. Since the average California farm worker in 1990 earned $7,320, the "welfare subsidy" associated with using immigrants to fill farm jobs was equivalent to 15 percent of farm worker earnings.

Thomas, Lorrin. 2004. ""How They Ignore Our Rights as American Citizens": Puerto Rican Migrants and the Politics of Citizenship in the New Deal Era." *Latino Studies* 2(2): 140-59.

> This article examines how Puerto Rican migrants in New York City made claims on their US citizenship – conferred on all Puerto Ricans by the 1917 Jones Act – as they tried to gain a foothold in local politics during the decade of the 1930s, a period when definitions of membership in the nation were in flux for all Americans. Migrant activists across the political spectrum pointed to cracks in the façade of liberal citizenship and its promises: the social, civic, legal equality that eluded residents of el barrio and other poor neighborhoods, and the commitment to "freedom and democracy" elsewhere in the world that had yet to be extended to the island of Puerto Rico. The article argues that migrants' diasporic form of "rights talk" – combining local political concerns with demands for Puerto Rican sovereignty – challenged representatives of the political mainstream to defend their democratic liberalism in practice.

Timmer, Ashley S., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 1998. "Immigration Policy Prior to the 1930s: Labor Markets, Policy Interactions, and Globalization Backlash." *Population and Development Review* 24(4): 739–71.

> What determines immigration policy? The literature here is not nearly as mature as that for trade policy, so this article must be viewed as an initial effort to establish the main empirical outlines. The authors construct an index of immigration policy for five countries of immigration – Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the United States – for 1860–1930, that is, during and shortly after the age of mass migration. The exercise reveals that the doors to the New World did not suddenly slam shut on immigrants after World War I, as is typically illustrated by citing the passage of the Emergency Quota Act by the US Congress in 1921. Instead, there was a gradual closing of the doors, although the rate and timing of the closing varied across countries. The authors find that poor wage performance and the perceived threat from more, low-quality foreign workers were the main influences on shifts in immigration policy. They also offer some support for the idea that immigration policy was as much an interactive process as were the tariff policies of the time.

Tolbert, Caroline J., and Rodney E. Hero. 1996. "Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: An Analysis of California's Illegal Immigration Initiative." *Journal of Politics* 58(3): 806-818.

> This article examines the role of racial/ethnic diversity in county-level support for California's illegal immigration initiative (Proposition 187). We conceptualize California counties in terms of their homogeneous, heterogeneous, or bifurcated racial/ethnic composition. We argue racial/ethnic context is critical beyond individual-level factors; this context is central in explaining public policy, especially policies that affect minority groups. The vote for Proposition 187 is expected to be the highest in "bifurcated" counties with large Latino populations. Regression analysis is used to statistically model the county-level vote for the initiative relative to the size of racial/ethnic populations, economic conditions, and party. Bifurcated counties with large Latino populations strongly supported Proposition 187, as well as homogeneous counties with predominantly white

and very small minority populations. California's white/Latino bifurcated racial/ethnic composition may parallel the white/black bifurcation of the deep South in an earlier era. The importance of the theory and empirical findings presented extend beyond California to national and sub-national politics.

Toussaint-Comeau, Maude. 2006. "The occupational assimilation of Hispanic Immigrants in the U.S.: Evidence From Panel Data." *International Migration Review* 40(3): 508-36.

> This study focuses on the occupational component of the labor market adjustment of Hispanic immigrants. The author asks whether Hispanic immigrants assimilate with natives and what factors influence occupational attainment. The findings suggest that years since migration narrow the socioeconomic gap between Hispanic immigrants, their U.S.-born Hispanic counterparts, and non-Hispanic whites. The level of human capital affects the rate of occupational mobility and determines whether convergence occurs in the groups' socioeconomic occupational status. The occupational status of Hispanic immigrants with low human capital remains fairly stable and does not converge with that of non-Hispanic whites. However, those with high human capital experience upward occupational mobility. In part, their occupational assimilation is driven by the acquisition of human capital among younger Hispanic immigrants.

Language Policy - Books

Note: The authors could not locate any books within this category.

Language Policy - Articles

DeSipio, Louis. 1995-1996. "After Proposition 187, The Deluge: Reforming Naturalization Administration while Making Good Citizens." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 9: 7-24.

> In order to assess whether INS can go further in its efforts and serve the needs of citizenship applicants, I examine a question that has not been asked over the past two decades. That is, are we as a society incorporating the next generation? In other words, are increased efforts to naturalize immigrants also making good citizens? The answers to these questions demonstrate that INS will have to do more than privatize naturalization application processing if it is to meet the true levels of demand for U.S. citizenship.

Frendries, John. Raymond Tatolovich. 1997. "Who Supports English-Only Laws? Evidence from the 1993 National Election Study." *Social Science Quarterly* 78(2): 354-68.

> This article examines the extant of and basis for mass support for legislation declaring English to be the official national language. Data from the 1992 National Election Study are examined. There are three principal findings: first, support for declaring English as an official language is broad: second, there is little evidence that support for this issue emanates from cleavages based

on partisanship, social class, or racial and ethnic hostility; third, attitudes regarding this issue are most closely tied to attitudes regarding national identity and individual's normative views about common identity and cultural diversity. The relationship between support for English as the official language and values relating to the national culture suggests that values and value conflict may increasingly become the raw materials for political debate in the United States.

Linton, April. 2006. "Language Politics and Policy in the United States: Implications for the Immigration Debate." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 141, August, 2006.

This essay examines recent attempts to legislate language in light of historical and contemporary debates about immigration and immigrant assimilation. I briefly chronicle U.S. language politics, culminating with the emergence of Official English and English Plus movements in the 1980s and 90s. Next I look at language policy in public schools, especially 'bilingual' education and the backlash against it, and a much less politically charged 'dual-language' option. Finally I appraise national language and official English bills recently introduced in Congress in view of data on language usage and preferences, suggesting ways that this resurgence of a national debate about language could impact the larger debate about immigration.

Linton, April. 2003. "Is Spanish Here To Stay? Contexts For Bilingualism Among U.S.-Born Hispanics, 1990 and 2000." The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper # 81, June, 2003.

This analysis uses data from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses to explore individual and contextual factors that influence U.S.-born Hispanic adults to maintain Spanish alongside English. Cuban of Puerto Rican ancestry, living with a Spanish-dominant person, having children in one's household, and working in a service- or health-related job all increase the odds of bilingualism. Contextual incentives – growth in a state's Hispanic population, bilinguals' status, and Hispanics' political influence – also positively influence the odds of bilingualism. By showing a positive relationship between upward mobility, political participation, and bilingualism, my findings suggest that it is possible for Hispanics in the U.S. to maintain selected characteristics of their origin culture while becoming American.

Mora, Maria T., and Alberto Davila. 2006. "Hispanic Ethnicity, Gender, and the Change in the LEP-Earnings Penalty in the United States During the 1990s." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1295-1318.

Objective: Although studies suggest that the earnings of limited-English-proficient (LEP) Hispanic men have recently improved relative to the English fluent, it remains unclear as to whether specific Hispanic groups experienced similar improvements. **Methods:** Using 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census data, this study employs regression, wage decomposition, and quartile regression analyses to examine how gender and Hispanic ethnicity relate to the LEP-earnings penalty. **Results:** The LEP-earnings penalty fell significantly for Mexican-American men between 1990 and 2000. However, additional results suggest that this penalty increased for Cuban-American men and women (and, to a lesser extent, for Mexican-American women). **Conclusions:** Expanding trade and ethnic networks as well as reduced statistical discrimination have not systematically benefited

all LEP Hispanic populations. Therefore, policies designed to enhance English-language proficiency may yield heterogeneous socioeconomic outcomes along the ethnic, gender, and income class dimensions.

Santoro, Wayne A. 1999. "Conventional Politics Takes Center Stage: The Latino Struggle against English-Only Laws." *Social Forces* 77(3): 887-909.

> While policies usually mirror public preferences, policies that establish English as a state's official language - English-only laws - are an exception. Despite overwhelming Anglo support, only 15 state legislatures have enacted an English-only statute in the last 70 years. To understand the relative infrequency with which this policy is adopted, I examine the impact that the main challenging group, Latinos, had on limiting adoption of the policy across U.S. states. Results indicate that net of political opportunities and extra-institutional Latino resources, institutional Latino resources (voting blocs and state legislators) helped prevent the enactment of English-only statutes by state legislatures. Such political influence, however, disappeared when I examined English-only laws adopted by voters through citizen-initiated referenda. Thus Latino influence occurred only where advocates of the policy operated in a constrained political environment in which they could not circumvent legislative channels. I conclude with a discussion of the conditions that made Latino institutional leverage important in these policy struggles and the implications this study holds for approaches to social movements and their policy outcomes.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2001. "Official English and the States: Influences on Declaring English the Official Language in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 54(2): 445-57.

> In this study, I seek to answer the question of why some states choose to declare English the official state language while others do not. Using an event history model, I show that both the proportion of a state's population that is foreign-born and whether the state allows for direct initiatives interact to influence the adoption of language laws. Specifically, states with many immigrants and no initiatives have almost no chance of declaring English the official language while a similar state with direct initiatives is more likely to do so. Implications for ethnic politics, direct democracy, and the future of language policy are discusses.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2003. "American Identity and Attitudes Toward Official-English Policies." *Political Psychology* 24(3): 469-500.

> This article analyzes the relationship between each of three conceptions of American identity – liberalism, civic republicanism, and ethnoculturalism – and support for declaring English the official language and printing election ballots only in English. Focus group discussions showed that these conceptions provide a common means of discourse for talking about language conflicts and ethnic change, and that the civic republican conception of American identity is a particularly important factor in the opinion formation process. Although all three conceptions help people to decide whether they think English should be the official language, they are not consistently associated with support for or opposition to restrictive language policies. How individuals interpret these images of national identity also shapes the direction of their preferences.

The Criminal Justice System/Criminology - Books

Cameron-Edberg, Mark. 2004. *El Narcotraficante: Narcocorridos & the Construction of a Cultural Persona on the U.S.–Mexico Border.* Austin, TX: U.T. Press.

> Since the late 1970s, a new folk hero has risen to prominence in the U.S.-Mexico border region and beyond – the narco-trafficker. Celebrated in the narco-corrido, a current form of the traditional border song known as the corrido, narco-traffickers are often portrayed as larger-than-life "social bandits" who rise from poor or marginalized backgrounds to positions of power and wealth by operating outside the law and by living a life of excess, challenging authority (whether U.S. or Mexican), and flouting all risks, including death. This image, rooted in Mexican history, has been transformed and commodified by the music industry and by the drug trafficking industry itself into a potent and highly marketable product that has a broad appeal, particularly among those experiencing poverty and power disparities. At the same time, the transformation from folk hero to marketable product raises serious questions about characterizations of narco-corridos as "narratives of resistance." This multilayered ethnography takes a wide-ranging look at the persona of the narco-trafficker and how it has been shaped by Mexican border culture, socioeconomic and power disparities, and the transnational music industry. Mark Edberg begins by analyzing how the narco-corrido emerged from and relates to the traditional corrido and its folk hero. Then, drawing upon interviews and participant-observation with corrido listening audiences in the border zone, as well as musicians and industry producers of narco-corridos, he elucidates how the persona of the narco-trafficker has been created, commodified, and enacted, and why this character resonates so strongly with people who are excluded from traditional power structures. Finally, he takes a look at the concept of the cultural persona itself and its role as both cultural representation and model for practice.

Culver, Leigh. 2004. *Adapting Police Services to New Immigration*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

> Culver explores how police have adapted their procedures to immigration in small-towns in the Midwest. Latino immigration to the Midwest has had a significant impact on police-community relations, particularly, in smaller communities historically unaccustomed to diverse ethnic groups. This book describes the experiences of law enforcement agencies in three Mid-Missouri communities and their efforts to adapt to their changing demographics while maintaining current relations with the majority population. The findings reveal that the relationship between law enforcement and the majority communities was positive and supportive. There were several challenges, however, to the development of a cooperative police-Latino relationship. These included the language barrier, fear of the police, immigration issues and the nature of contacts between the police and Latino community.

Díaz-Cotto, Juanita. 1996. *Gender, Ethnicity, and the State: Latina and Latino Prison Politics*. New York: State University of New York Press.

> Gender, Ethnicity, and the State is a study of Latina and Latino prisoners in New York State. Through the use of two case studies, it compares the organizing strategies for reform pursued by Latina and Latino prisoners between 1970-1987, the support they received from non-Latina(o) prisoners and third parties, and the response of penal personnel to their calls for support. The work also contains information on Latino prisoner participation and community response to both the 1971 Attica Rebellion and the 1970 New York City jail rebellions. The data for this study was compiled through a combination of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include in-depth interviews and oral histories conducted with Latina(o) and African-American ex-prisoners, prisoners' rights attorneys, community activists, and penal staff. Other primary sources include prisoner and mainstream English and Spanish language newspapers; prisoners' rights newsletters; court cases; and government and private organizational reports.

Diaz, Tom. 2009. *No Boundaries: Transnational Latino Gangs and American Law Enforcement*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

> *No Boundaries* is a former journalist's disturbing account of what many consider the "next Mafia" – Latino crime gangs. Like the Mafia, these gangs operate an international network, consider violence a matter of routine business, and defy U.S. law enforcement at every level, from city police departments to federal agencies. Also like the Mafia, the gangs spawn kingpins such as the notorious Nelson Varela Martinez Comandari, the man who nearly became the first "Latin godfather" in the United States. Focusing on the Los Angeles-based Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and the 18th Street Gang, and the Chicago-based Latin Kings, Tom Diaz describes how neighborhood gangs evolved into extremely brutal, sophisticated criminal enterprises. In tandem with this story, he tells how local and federal authorities have struggled to suppress the gangs. As Diaz makes clear, however, the problem of transnational Latino gangs is not merely a law-and-order problem. It involves complex national issues, such as racial tensions and immigration policy, as well as conflict in Latin America, world economic pressures, and other global forces.

Lopez, Ernie and Rafael Perez-Torres. 2005. *To Alcatraz, Death Row, and Back: The Memories of an East LA Outlaw*. Austin, TX: U.T. Press.

> When Ernie López was a boy selling newspapers in Depression-era Los Angeles, his father beat him when he failed to bring home the expected eighty to ninety cents a day. When the beatings became unbearable, he took to petty stealing to make up the difference. As his thefts succeeded, Ernie's sense of necessity got tangled up with ambition and adventure. At thirteen, a joyride in a stolen car led to a sentence in California's harshest juvenile reformatory. The system's failure to show any mercy soon propelled López into a cycle of crime and incarceration that resulted in his spending decades in some of America's most notorious prisons, including four and a half years on death row for a murder López insists he did not commit. *To Alcatraz, Death Row, and Back* is the personal life story of a man who refused to be broken by either an abusive father or an equally abusive criminal justice system. While López freely admits that "I've been no angel," his insider's account of daily life in Alcatraz and San Quentin graphically reveals the violence, arbitrary infliction of excessive punishment, and unending monotony that give rise to gang cultures within the

prisons and practically insure that parolees will commit far worse crimes when they return to the streets. Rafael Pérez-Torres discusses how Ernie López's experiences typify the harsher treatment that ethnic and minority suspects often receive in the American criminal justice system, as well as how they reveal the indomitable resilience of Chicanos/as and their culture. As Pérez-Torres concludes, "López's story presents us with the voice of one who – though subjected to a system meant to destroy his soul – not only endured but survived, and in surviving prevailed."

Martinez Jr., Ramiro. 2002. *Latino Homicide: Immigration, Violence, and Community*. New York: Routledge.

According to some politicians and much of the mainstream media, immigrant populations only contribute crime to their communities. Seen as unmotivated and unemployed, these immigrants are thought to be a threat to society's moral fiber, and a burden to its justice system. Studying five major cities – Chicago, El Paso, Houston, Miami, and San Diego – Martinez reveals Latino homicide rates to be markedly lower than one would expect, given the economic deprivation of these urban areas. Far from dangerous or criminal, these communities often have exceptionally strong social networks precisely because of their shared immigrant experiences. With fascinating case studies drawn from police reports and actual cases, *Latino Homicide* refutes negative stereotypes in a coherent and critically rigorous analysis of the issues.

Urbina, Martin C. 2003. *Capital Punishment and Latino Offenders: Racial and Ethnic Differences in Death Sentences*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, LLC.

Urbina's study proposes a new theory of death penalty sentencing that seeks to explain how, when, and why racial and ethnic minority defendants are more likely to experience differential treatment. Urbina reviews historical relationships between African Americans, Caucasians, and Latinos/Hispanics, proposes the four-threat theory of death sentence outcomes; tests for racial and ethnic effects, and examines the death penalty by the totality of its outcomes. Urbina finds support for orthodox theories of punishment, and partial support for the four-threat theory. This theory suggests that racial and ethnic minorities are not treated the same by the criminal justice system. He also finds that discrimination is not a phenomenon of the past or restricted to commutations and executions; the death penalty must be analyzed by the totality of its outcomes.

The Criminal Justice System/Criminology – Articles

Demuth, Stephen, and Darrell Steffensmeier. 2004. "Ethnicity Effects on Sentence Outcomes in Large Urban Courts: Comparisons among White, Black, and Hispanic Defendants." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(4): 994–1011.

Objective: This study examines Hispanic-black-white differences in sentences imposed on offenders appearing in state felony courts. **Methods:** The present study uses data collected by the State Court Processing Statistics (SCPS) program of the Bureau of Justice Statistics for the years 1990, 1992, 1994, and 1996. **Results:** Hispanic defendants are sentenced more similarly to black

defendants than white defendants. Both black and Hispanic defendants tend to receive harsher sentences than white defendants. Also, ethnicity effects are the largest in the sentencing of drug offenders, whereas race effects are largest in the sentencing of property offenders. Furthermore, the present study demonstrates that the failure to consider defendants' ethnicity in comparing black-white sentence outcomes is likely to result in findings that misrepresent black-white differences. **Conclusions:** The results clearly demonstrate the necessity of considering not only defendants' race (i.e., black-white differences) in sentencing but expanding our focus to also include defendants' ethnicity (i.e., Hispanic-white and Hispanic-black differences).

Díaz-Cott, Juanita. 2008. "Chicana(O)/Latina(O) Prisoners: Ethical and Methodological Considerations, Collaborative Research Methods and Case Studies." *Latino Studies* 6(1): 137–159.

This essay compares major social science studies on the experiences of Chicanas(os)/Latinas(os) incarcerated in New York and California state prisons. It reviews researchers' motivations for conducting the studies, major questions posed, research methods, findings and conclusions, and their interrelationship. The discussion highlights ethical and methodological dilemmas confronted by researchers. A main objective is to help scholars formulate the most effective methods for carrying out institutional case studies of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) prisoners in the US that simultaneously yield the type of information most useful to all seeking to change oppressive conditions inside and outside the walls. Underlying questions are: What impact do pre-prison experiences have on imprisoned Chicanas(os)? What effect does imprisonment have on pintas(os)' and their barrios? How do prisons reproduce and, therefore, reinforce, differential power relationships existing on the outside? The essay concludes with a brief review of the major findings and a commentary on the methodologies most likely to generate the desired information.

Eladio Gómez, Alan. 2008. "'Nuestras Vidas Corren Casi Paralelas': Chicanos, Independentistas, and the Prison Rebellions in Leavenworth, 1969–1972." *Latino Studies* 6(1): 64–96.

This essay examines the political and personal connections between Chicano prison activists and the Puerto Rican *Independentistas* at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary from 1969 to 1972, and the effects that these experiences had on the Chicano Movement and the Free the Five Movement. Located within the context of the prison rebellion years and the coalitions of Third World prisoners throughout the country, these prisoners of war, political prisoners, and politicized prisoners initiated a cultural studies class, a newspaper, and a political organization that was at the center of political mobilizations like work strikes, legal cases, and solidarity with social movements outside the walls. These political and educational projects challenged the logic of a prison regime based on racial divisions, while simultaneously establishing political links that would continue to resonate throughout the 1970s and into the present.

Lee, Catherine. 2007. "Hispanics and the Death Penalty: Discriminatory Charging Practices in San Joaquin County California." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 35(1):17-27.

Following reinstatement of the death penalty after the Supreme Court's decision in *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976), social scientists carefully documented evidence of racial and gender bias against

defendants and victims at all stages of the death penalty system, from charging to conviction and sentencing. Despite these consistent findings, questions remained. One crucial unknown was whether or not racial bias uncovered in investigations of African Americans and Whites also negatively impacted members of other minority groups, in particular the largest minority group in the U.S.–Hispanics. Are Hispanics, as both victims and defendants, treated more like non-Hispanic Whites or African Americans? This research examined all death-eligible homicides in San Joaquin County, California from 1977 through 1986. Using logistic regression analysis, the investigation uncovered patterns of racial and gender bias, finding defendants in Hispanic victim cases were less likely to face a death-eligible charge than defendants in White victim cases. Evidence of discrimination may have implications for how Hispanic integration and race and ethnicity are understood and for evaluating the success of statutory reforms designed to insure fairness and constitutionality of the death penalty.

Morín, José Luis. 2008. "Latinas/os and US Prisons: Trends and Challenges." *Latino Studies* 6 (1-2): 11–34.

> In the United States, the rate of incarceration increases on an annual basis. Communities of color – Latinas/os, African Americans and Native Americans, in particular – are the most affected by this alarming expansion of the US prison population. In recent years, Latinas/os have been identified as the fastest rate of imprisonment of all groups in the country. Like African Americans, Latinas/os emerge as trapped by the *mass imprisonment* phenomenon in the United States. This article examines the trends in incarceration for the US-Latina/o population, as distinguished from recent immigrants from Latin America, and it looks at some of the factors that contribute to the growth of the Latina/o population in state and federal prisons. The racialization of crime; the manner in which criminal justice policy is formulated and justified around the fear of crime; how the courts and the criminal justice system operate; and the role of the media in promoting negative images of Latinas/os are among the areas explored in discerning contributing factors. As with African Americans, common misconceptions linking Latinas/os with criminal behavior must be challenged. In contrast to African Americans, however, Latinas/os are subject to stereotypes that transcend racial myths, with one such stereotype being the false link between immigrants and crime. The fear of crime as a driving force in criminal justice policymaking and persistent negative media images of Latinas/os and immigrants that associate them with crime pose formidable obstacles to the implementation of long-overdue, meaningful, and sensible changes in the prison and criminal justice systems. Ultimately, comprehensive efforts to engage many sectors of society will be necessary to stem the trend toward increased Latina/o incarceration in the United States.

Martinez, Jr., Ramiro, Amie L. Nielsen, and Matthew T. Lee. 2003. "Reconsidering the Marielito Legacy: Race/Ethnicity, Nativity, and Homicide Motives." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(2): 397-411.

> **Objective:** This article investigates how race/ethnicity is associated with specific types of violent crime such as killings between intimates, robbery homicide, or drug-related killings. We extend the study of the role of race and ethnicity for violence by examining five ethnic/immigrant groups, including the Mariel Cubans – a group singled out by many as particularly drug-crime-prone. **Methods:** Using 1980 through 1990 homicide data for the City of Miami, we use multi-

nomial logistic regression to examine the association between race/ethnicity, nativity, and several types of homicide motives. **Results:** Contrary to popular expectations, ethnicity and immigration status rarely play a role in the types of homicide involvement of victims or violators. Incident characteristics, such as multiple offenders, or gender and age, were consistently more important influences in shaping homicide circumstances. **Conclusions:** The analyses revealed few significant relationships between immigration status and homicide motives, suggesting that immigrant groups like the Marielitos have more in common with native groups' experiences of criminal violence than is commonly assumed.

Martinez, Jr., Ramiro, Jacob I. Stowell, and Jeffrey M. Cancino. 2008. "A Tale of Two Border Cities: Community Context, Ethnicity, and Homicide." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(1): 1–16.

> **Objective:** Using Poisson-based negative binomial regression, we estimate the effect of neighborhood factors on homicides in two cities (San Antonio, Texas and San Diego, California) that have large Mexican-origin populations. **Methods:** Three independent data sources (official homicide police reports, medical examiner records, and the U.S. Census) are used to construct the dependent homicide, and independent neighborhood, variables. Census tracts represent the unit of analysis, which serve as a proxy for neighborhoods. Given the spatial nature of the data, spatial estimation procedures were also modeled. **Results:** Spatial proximity to violence, neighborhood disadvantage, and affluence (in San Antonio) consistently buffered homicide across neighborhoods, even in heavily populated Latino neighborhoods. **Conclusions:** Spatial embeddedness and neighborhood characteristics are important for improving our understanding about ethnic neighborhood variations in levels of violence. Comparative approaches across places, namely, Latino-dominated cities, can yield considerable insight into how the local context intersects race/ethnicity and violent crime.

General Policy Research - Books

Acuna, Roldolfo. 2008. *U.S. Latino Issues*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

> Does the term *Latino* – a construct of the U.S. government – successfully encompass the wide variety of Spanish-speaking people in this country? This introductory topic begins an overview of 10 major controversies that have embroiled U.S. Latinos, including Puerto Ricans, in recent years. Latinos have one of the fastest-growing populations in the United States today, making these issues front-page news across the country. Issues include: Race Classification; Assimilation; Bilingual Education; Open Borders; Affirmative Action; Interracial Dating and Marriage; Funding Education and Health Care for Undocumented Immigrants; Amnesty Program; U.S. Military and Political Presence in Cuba; U.S. Military Bases in Puerto Rico.
>
> Each topic is presented with a background, pro and con positions, and questions for the purpose of student debate and papers.

Magaña, Lisa. 2005. *Mexican Americans and the Politics of Diversity*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

> With Mexican Americans now the nation's fastest growing minority, major political parties are targeting these voters like never before. During the 2004 presidential campaign, both the Republicans and Democrats ran commercials on Spanish-language television networks, and in states across the nation the Mexican-American vote can now mean the difference between winning or losing an election. This book examines the various ways politics plays out in the Mexican-origin community, from grassroots action and voter turnout to elected representation, public policy creation, and the influence of lobbying organizations. Lisa Magaña illustrates the essential roles that Mexican Americans play in the political process and shows how, in just the last decade, there has been significant political mobilization around issues such as environmental racism, immigration, and affirmative action. *Mexican Americans and the Politics of Diversity* is directed to readers who are examining this aspect of political action for the first time. It introduces the demographic characteristics of Mexican Americans, reviewing demographic research regarding this population's participation in both traditional and nontraditional politics, and reviews the major historical events that led to the community's political participation and activism today. The text then examines Mexican American participation in electoral political outlets, including attitudes toward policy issues and political parties; considers the reasons for increasing political participation by Mexican American women; and explores the issues and public policies that are most important to Mexican Americans, such as education, community issues, housing, health care, and employment. Finally, it presents general recommendations and predictions regarding Mexican American political participation based on the demographic, cultural, and historical determinants of this population, looking at how political issues will affect this growing and dynamic population. Undoubtedly, Mexican Americans are a diverse political group whose interests cannot be easily pigeonholed, and, after reading this book, students will understand that their political participation and the community's public policy needs are often unique. *Mexican Americans and the Politics of Diversity* depicts an important political force that will continue to grow in the coming decades.

General Policy Research - Articles

Burstein, Paul, and April Linton. 2002. "The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns." *Social Forces* 81(2): 381-408.

> This article considers the direct impact of political parties, interest groups, and SMOs on policy, providing evidence for a "core" hypothesis and three others that refine or qualify it. The core hypothesis: all three types of organizations have substantial impacts on policy. The other three: (1) when public opinion is taken into account, the political organizations do not have such an impact; (2) parties have a greater impact than interest groups and SMOs; and (3) interest groups and SMOs will affect policy only to the extent that their activities provide elected officials with information and resources relevant to their election campaigns. The source of data is articles published in major sociology and political science journals from 1990 to 2000, systematically coded

to record the impact of organizations on policy. The major findings include: political organizations affect policy no more than half the time; parties and non-party organizations affect policy about equally often; there is some evidence that organizational activities that respond to the electoral concerns of elected officials are especially likely to have an impact.

Diaz-Balart, Lincoln. 2002. "The U.S. Hispanic-Latin America Trade Development Initiative: a Vision For Economic Empowerment And Prosperity For U.S. Hispanics." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 15.

In his article, Congressman Lincoln Diaz-Balart discusses the potential for U.S. Hispanic-owned businesses to strengthen business ties with Latin America. He contends that while the United States already has several competitive advantages when conducting business in Latin America, the explosive growth in U.S. Hispanic-owned businesses presents an incredible opportunity for the United States to expand and diversify trade with Latin America. First, he examines the strength of U.S. Hispanic businesses, highlighting the growth of Hispanic-owned businesses and factors that will enable these businesses to succeed in Latin America. In addition, he underscores past U.S. policies and current proposals for strengthening Latin American business relations. Next, Diaz-Balart explores the approach of Europe in targeting the Latin American region for business development. Finally, he offers policy recommendations that will help U.S. Hispanic-owned businesses overcome the challenges to building relationships in Latin America.

Fry, Richard, Rakesh Kochhar, Jeffrey Passel, and Roberto Suro. 2005. "Hispanics and the Social Security Debate." *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. March 16. http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=43 (February 13, 2009).

This report examines the demographic and economic characteristics that define Latinos' stake in the Social Security debate as well as their views on major policy options. The topics covered in the report include: the impact of President Bush's proposals for individual investment accounts on various segments of the Hispanic population; Hispanics' reliance on Social Security compared with other racial and ethnic groups; and the role of Latino workers in helping finance the system as the Baby Boom generation heads to retirement. In addition a new public opinion survey of a nationally representative sample of the Hispanic population examines Latino views of President Bush's proposals and other issues in the policy debate.

Landale, Nancy, and Oropesa, R. S. 2007. "Hispanic Families: Stability and Change." *Annual Review of Sociology* 33(1): 381-405.

Spurred in part by the rapid growth of the Hispanic population, considerable progress has been made over the past several decades in documenting the family behavior of Hispanics. Scholars increasingly recognize the importance of disaggregating the Hispanic population by national origin and generation, but the literature remains inconsistent in this regard. With an emphasis on demographic indicators of family behavior, this review summarizes trends in marriage, fertility, and family/household structure among the major Hispanic subgroups and identifies key issues in the literature that attempts to explain existing patterns. The role of generation is systematically

addressed, as are the shortcomings of the standard practice of using cross-sectional data on generation to draw inferences about assimilation. We conclude that new research designs are needed to address the complexities of the migration process and their links to Family patterns. In addition, future research should push toward greater integration of cultural and structural perspectives on how Hispanic families are shaped.

Magaña, Lisa. 1998-1999. "The Implementation of Public Policies in Latino Communities: A Theoretical Framework." *The Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*. 11: 75-88.

The findings in this case study imply that given the right theoretical variables the INS can be effective in implementing service-type policies. These findings are important because the INS has clearly been distinguished more for its enforcement-directive than for its service-directive. The findings of this case study provide recommendations that policy analysts may apply to implementation scenarios in Latino communities.

Santos, Adolfo. 2000. "Substantive Representation for Hispanics: Explaining Congressional Support for Hispanic Issues." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 13: 45-65.

While the focus on Hispanic representation has tended to emphasize the number of Hispanics in government bodies, less emphasis has been given to public policy that affects Hispanics (i.e. substantive representation). This article attempts to remedy this difficulty by identifying factors that explain Congressional support for issues that benefit Hispanics. Using regular OLS, a variety of empirical models are tested. The evidence suggests that support for Hispanic issues can be explained by the ethnicity and party affiliation of the members of the house, as well as the number of non-U.S. citizens living in the district.

Soss, Joe, Sanford F. Schram, Thomas P. Vartanian, and Erin O'Brien. 2001. "Setting the Terms of Relief: Explaining State Policy Choices in the Devolution Revolution." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(2): 378–95.

The landmark welfare legislation of 1996 offers students of politics a unique opportunity to pinpoint the determinants of state-level policy choices-a case in which the fifty states responded virtually simultaneously to a single policy mandate. Taking advantage of this opportunity, we investigate the factors that led states to make restrictive policy choices after 1996 and use this analysis to evaluate general theories of welfare politics. Specifically, we test six types of explanations for why some states responded by adopting "get-tough" program rules: theories that identify welfare policy as a site of ideological conflict, as an outcome of electoral politics, as a domain of policy innovation, as an instrument of social control, as an outlet for racial resentments, and as an expression of moral values. The results of our ordered and binary logit models suggest that state policies have been shaped by a variety of social and political forces, but especially by the racial composition of families who rely on program benefits.

Thomas A. Hirschl, and Mark R. Rank. 1999. "Community Effects on Welfare Participation." *Sociological Forum* 14(1): 155-74.

> This paper conceptualizes and estimates a model of welfare participation that tests for community effects. Theoretically, the model is consistent with Fischer's (1984) notion of urban life, and a welfare participation model developed by Rank and Hirschl (1993). The empirical analysis includes aggregate and multivariate tests, and an identification of these effects in terms of household knowledge and behavior. We find strong evidence that community structure influences the decision to get food stamps, and one notable difference with the Rank and Hirschl findings: community poverty level is a more powerful and global predictor of participation than is population density. The findings suggest emendations to Wilson's notion of the "truly disadvantaged" in so far as residence in high poverty areas affords opportunities for information exchange and the development of specialized networks.

Wink Kenneth A., C. Don Livingston, and James C. Garand. 1996. "Dispositions, Constituencies, and Cross-Pressures: Modeling Roll-Call Voting on the North American Free Trade Agreement in the U. S. House." *Political Research Quarterly* 49(4): 749-70.

> The vote on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) created significant cross-pressures for members of the U.S. House of Representatives. African-Americans and Latinos, two groups that are often in agreement, staked out different positions on this legislation, and President Clinton joined Republicans in supporting NAFTA over the opposition of organized labor, liberals, and the Democratic leadership. We explore the degree to which constituency, institutional, and dispositional forces worked at cross-purposes in shaping House members' roll-call behavior on this legislation. We find that votes on NAFTA were affected by members' ideological orientations, general presidential support, representation of a Western state, Latino and African-American constituency strength, urbanization, unemployment, electoral margin, and an interaction between Latino constituency strength and electoral margin. Surprisingly, we find only modest impacts of constituency union membership and the Perot vote on roll-call voting on NAFTA.

Chapter Ten: Methodology and Measurement Issues

Methodology and Measurement Issues - Books

Note: The authors could not locate any books within this category.

Methodology and Measurement Issues - Articles

Agans, Robert P., Natalia Deeb-Sossa, and William D. Kalsbeek. 2006. "Mexican Immigrants and the Use of Cognitive Assessment Techniques in Questionnaire Development." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28(2): 209-30.

> The aim of this article is to identify the measurement challenges involved in obtaining sensitive health outcomes from Mexican women in both settled and unsettled segments of the United States population and to suggest how cognitive assessment techniques might be better employed to construct culturally and linguistically appropriate survey instruments. These objectives will be illustrated through a project with recent Mexican immigrants in North Carolina that constructs items to measure last menstrual period – an important indicator in gauging the gestational age of a fetus. Guidelines for conducting focus groups and cognitive interviews with this population are emphasized.

Barreto, Matt A. 2002. "National Origin (Mis)identification among Latinos in the 2000 Census: the Growth of the 'Other Hispanic or Latino' Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 15: 39-63.

> The 2000 census revealed unprecedented population growth among Latinos in the United States with the total Latino population growing to more than 35 million. However, the census also revealed its inability to accurately count and distinguish between countries of ancestry among the Latino population. Over 15% of all Latinos living in the United States indicated "other Hispanic or Latino" when asked for specific country of origin for their family heritage. This misclassification has led many groups of Latinos to question the validity and accuracy of the census instrument and has frustrated others expecting to find big gains in their population. Using data from the Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1), I model identification as "other" Latino at the county level. Not surprising, I find that Dominicans, Colombians, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans were among the top nationalities miscounted by the 2000 census. In sum, nearly two million Central and South Americans were misidentified by the census, putting their numbers and clout in question. Through OLS regression analysis I can identify which groups are most misrepresented and

what regional variations exist. This research holds great promise not just for advocacy groups that are eager to see a more accurate count of their population, but also for policy makers responsible for designing official government survey forms. It is my hope that this research will lead to a more accurate understanding of the Latino population in the United States, and help address problems associated with the large population identified as "others."

Carranza, Lou. 1992. ""Scale for the Measurement of Attitude Toward Chicanos" A Research Note." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 14(2): 277-85.

This article describes the construction of a scale for the measurement of attitude toward Chicanos using the method of equal-appearing intervals as outlined by Thurstone and Chave. The description includes the methods and procedures used for the collection of statements. The procedures used to calculate the median, that is, the scale value (S value) and the inter-quartile range (Q value) fore ach of the items are delineated. Both the S values and the Q values constitute the criteria for the final section of the items for two forms of the scale. The results are set forth together with the methods for scoring the scale. Finally, the result of equivalent-forms method used to estimate the reliability of the scale is reported.

Cavaza, Leopoldo J. 2003. "Measuring Acculturation: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(2): 127-46.

Acculturation measures intend to capture the psychological, behavioral, and attitudinal changes that occur when individuals and groups from different cultures come into continuous contact with each other. This article examines the most prominent theoretical models and assumptions that drive acculturation measures. Examples of Hispanic acculturation measures are used to illustrate how these theoretical foundations are applied in empirical measures. Particular emphasis is given to discussing the strengths and limitations of two bi-dimensional measures, the Bi-dimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (BAS) and the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-Revised (ARSMA-II). Recommendations for improving these measures are presented. Moving beyond proxy measures, improving the operationalization of acculturation indicators, and incorporating theoretical models, as well as contextual variables, are the key recommendations presented for improving measures of acculturation.

Chiriboga, David A. 2004. "Some Thoughts on the Measurement of Acculturation among Mexican American Elders." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 26(3): 274-92.

This article examines a subset of acculturation items pertaining to language fluency and use and to interpersonal relationships. This study included 3,050 Mexican American elders aged 65 to 99, randomly sampled from five states in the southwestern United States. A standard acculturation inventory was used as the source for two factor-derived scales that dealt with language and social acculturation. In addition, three other measures were derived on the basis of the acculturation inventory: language and social bi-culturality scores were created by simple counts of the number

of "in-between" scores on the inventory, and an index of neighborhood acculturation was created by computing the average score on the language acculturation factor for each of the 209 primary sampling units used in the sampling frame. The acculturation scales demonstrated reasonable levels of reliability and concurrent validity. Results suggest that multiple approaches to measuring acculturation can be created from existing measures.

Cruz, Theresa H., Stephen W. Marshall, J. Michael Bowling, and Andrés Villaveces. 2008. "The Validity of a Proxy Acculturation Scale Among U.S. Hispanics." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 30(1): 425-446.

This study examines the validity of a proxy acculturation scale composed of four acculturation-related variables. The authors use data from a nationally representative sample of 1,437 U.S. Hispanics. Results indicate good internal scale reliability, a high degree of correlation between the proxy scale and the full acculturation measure, and substantial agreement between dichotomized versions of the two scales. Although reliability declines slightly, validity increases with removal of generational status from the scale. Validity is found to be high for the three largest subpopulations by country of ancestry (Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba). The proxy acculturation scale is a useful tool for the measurement of acculturation level among the majority of U.S. Hispanics when use of a more comprehensive acculturation scale is infeasible or impractical.

Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. 2003. "Stereotype Threat and Race of Interviewer Effects in a Survey on Political Knowledge." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 33-45.

Social desirability is generally thought to underlie the propensity for survey respondents to tailor their answers to what they thing would satisfy or please the interviewer. While this may in fact be the underlying motivation, especially on attitudinal and opinion questions, social desirability does not seem to be an adequate explanation for interviewer effects on factual questions. Borrowing from the social psychology literature on stereotype threat, we test an alternative account for the race-of-interviewer effects. Stereotype threat maintains that the pressure to disconfirm and to avoid being judged by negative and potentially degrading stereotypes interferes with the processing information. We argue that the survey context contains many parallels to a testing environment in which stereotype threat might alter responses to factual questions. Through a series of framing experiments in a public opinion survey and the reliance on the sensitivity to the race of interviewer, our results are consistent with expectations based on a theory of "stereotype threat." African American respondents to a battery of questions about political knowledge get fewer answers tight when interviewed by a white interviewer than when interviewed by an African American interviewer. The observed differences in performance on the political knowledge questions cannot be accounted for by differences in the educational background or gender of the respondents.

Félix-Ortiz, María, Michael D. Newcomb, and Hector Myers. 1994. "A Multidimensional Measure of Cultural Identity for Latino and Latina Adolescents." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 16(2): 99-115.

> Many scales are available to measure acculturation. Unfortunately, most rely on a single indicator scale and fail to consider bi-culturality. Therefore, the multidimensional and multifaceted aspects of the complex phenomenon of cultural identity have not been adequately appreciated or assessed. Latino(a) college students (N = 130) responded to multiple items regarding language use, values/attitudes, behavior, and familiarity with aspects of American and Latino/a culture. Using exploratory factor analysis with oblique factor rotation, 10 interpretable and reliable factors were identified and compared to other criteria. The cultural identity scales included: Three for language, four for behavior/familiarity, and three for values/attitudes. Behavior and language differentiated between highly bicultural individuals, Latino/a identified, American identified, and low-level bi-culturals.

Marín, Gerardo, and Raymond A. Gamba. 1996. "A New Measurement of Acculturation for Hispanics: The Bi-dimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (BAS)." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(3): 297–316.

> This article reports the development of a bi-dimensional acculturation scale for Hispanics (BAS). The scale proves an acculturation score for two major cultural dimensions (Hispanic and non-Hispanic domains) by including 12 items (per cultural domain) that measure three language-related areas. A random sample of 254 adult Hispanics was surveyed to develop and validate the scale. The scores obtained with the BAS show high internal consistency and high validity coefficients. The scale works well with Mexican Americans and with Central Americans.

Oetting, E.R., Randall C. Swaim, and Maria Carla Chiarella. 1998. "Factor Structure and Invariance of the Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale among American Indian and Mexican American Youth." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 20(2): 131-54.

> Some theories and measures of cultural identification are based on a uni-dimensional continuum, requiring that, as identification with one culture increases, identification with another decreases. Others, such as multicultural theories, allow high identification with different cultures but rarely incorporate low identification. Orthogonal cultural identification theory specifies that identification with one culture can be independent of identification with another. Short scales have been developed to assess orthogonal cultural identification, applicable across a variety of cultures. Comparisons of measurement models indicated that, for both Mexican American and American Indian adolescents, measures of minority and White American cultural identification are, as predicted, independent and that cultural identification is strongly rooted in the family. Although minor ethnicity differences occurred in a few higher order paths, multi-group tests indicated essential invariance of factor loadings and higher order structure across gender, grade level, and ethnic minority group.

Paxton, Pamela, and Anthony Mughan. 2006. "What's to Fear from Immigrants? Creating an Assimilationist Threat Scale." *Political Psychology* 27(4): 549-68.

> We argue that cultural threat, stressed in recent studies of anti-immigrant sentiment, is properly measured in the U.S. case as "assimilationist threat": a resentful perception that immigrants are failing to adopt the cultural norms and lifestyle of their new homeland. We explore the meaning and form of assimilationist threat in the minds of Americans through an analysis of four focus groups, two in Los Angeles, CA, and two in Columbus, OH. Using information from the focus groups, we develop and test a set of survey questions covering three dimensions of immigrants' commitment to their new country: language, productivity, and citizenship. We produce a summary scale of assimilationist threat that can be used by other researchers seeking to understand the causes and consequences of anti-immigrant sentiment.

Petersen, William. 2001. "Surnames in US Population Records." *Population and Development Review* 27(2): 315-22.

> Two federal agencies have used surnames to classify persons by ethnicity. As two important twentieth-century examples, names were used to set immigration quotas, and the Census Bureau used names as the defining characteristic of Hispanics. However, many names have been changed and, if unaltered, they are in any case an unreliable index of ethnic identity.

Singelis, Theodore M., Ann Marie Yamada, Concepcion Barrio, Joshua Harrison Laney, Pa Her, Alejandrina Ruiz-Anaya, and Sara Terwilliger Lennertz. 2006. "Metric Equivalence of the Bi-dimensional Acculturation Scale, the Satisfaction with Life Scale, and the Self-Construal Scale Across Spanish and English Language Versions." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 28(2): 231-44.

> The metric equivalence of translated scales is often in question but seldom examined. This study presents test-retest data that support the metric equivalence of the Spanish and English language versions of three measures: the Bi-dimensional Acculturation Scale, the Satisfaction with Life Scale, and the Self-Construal Scale. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four test conditions designating the language order of the presented questionnaire packets: (a) English-English, (b) English-Spanish, (c) Spanish-English, and (d) Spanish-Spanish. Internal and test-retest reliabilities were found to be adequate both within and across language versions. In addition to reliabilities, a comparison of the means across language versions supported their metric equivalence. Language effects and implications are discussed.

Smith, Stanley, and June M. Nogle. 2004. "An Evaluation of Hispanic Population Estimates." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3):731-45.

> **Objective:** Estimates of the Hispanic population have traditionally been based on historical trends, ratios, or some variant of the cohort-component method. In this article, we describe and test a methodology in which estimates of the Hispanic population are based on symptomatic indicators of population change such as births, deaths, and school enrollments. **Methods:** Using a variety of techniques, we develop Hispanic population estimates for counties in Florida. We

evaluate the accuracy of those estimates by comparing them with 2000 Census counts. **Results:** Hispanic population estimates have larger errors than estimates of total population; errors vary considerably by population size and growth rate; some techniques perform better than others in places with particular population characteristics; and averages often perform better than individual techniques. **Conclusions:** In many circumstances, symptomatic data series can provide more accurate estimates of the Hispanic population than more commonly used techniques.

Umaña-Taylor, Adriana J., and Mark A. Fine. 2001. "Methodological Implications of Grouping Latino Adolescents Into One Collective Ethnic Group." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 23(4): 347-62.

This study examined the methodological appropriateness of categorizing Latinos as a homogenous population when assessing ethnic identity, self-esteem, emotional autonomy, and familial ethnic socialization. Reliability coefficients of Phinney's Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (SES), Steinberg and Silverberg's Emotional Autonomy Measure, and Umaña-Taylor's Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM) were compared among Colombian, Guatemalan, Honduran, Mexican, Nicaraguan, Puerto Rican, and Salvadoran adolescents (N = 1,176) living in the United States. The measures demonstrated moderate to strong coefficients for certain Latino populations but considerably lower coefficients for other Latino groups. Furthermore, the concurrent validity of the MEIM and the FESM varied across Latino groups. Nationality, immigration history, and generational status are discussed as possible reasons for the divergent findings among groups. These findings call into question the grouping of Latino nationals into one homogenous population and have implications for researchers who study pan-ethnic populations (i.e., Latinos, Asians).

Chapter Eleven: Reference Sources

Bibliographies

Castillo-Speed, Lillian, ed. 1992. *Chicana Studies Index: Twenty Years of Gender Research, 1971–1991.* Chicago: Chicago Studies Library Publications.

Etulain, Jacqueline J. 1990. *Mexican Americans in the Twentieth –Century American West: A Bibliography.* Albuquerque: Center for the American West, University of New Mexico.

Garcia, F. Chris, John A. Garcia, and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 1991. *Latinos and Politics: A Select Research Bibliography.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Fowlie-Flores, Fay. 1990. *Annotated Bibliography of Puerto Rican Bibliographies.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kanellos, Nicolás and Helvetia Martell. 2000. *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography.* Houston: Arte Público Press.

Nordquist, Joan. 1995. Latinas in the United States: Social, Economic, and Political Aspects: A Bibliography. Santa Cruz: Reference and Research Services.

Richard, Jr., Alfred Charles. 1994. *Contemporary Hollywood's Negative Hispanic Image: An Interpretive Filmography, 1956–1993.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Sabosik, Patricia E., ed. 1992. *Latino Studies: A Bibliography.* Choice.

Biographies and Biographical References

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. 1995. *Cesar Chávez: A Triumph of Spirit*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

> When farm worker and labor organizer Cesar Chavez burst upon America's national scene in 1965, U.S. readers and viewers were witnessing the emergence of a new Mexican American, or Chicano, movement. This biography of Chavez by Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard A. Garcia is the first to approach Chavez's life-his courageous acts, his turning points, his many received personas-in the context of Chicano and American history.

Gutiérrez, José Angel. 1999. *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons from Cristal*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

> Gutiérrez's autobiography, The Making of a Chicano Militant, is the first insider's view of the important political and social events within the Mexican American communities in South Texas during the 1960s and 1970s. A controversial and dynamic political figure during the height of the Chicano movement, Gutiérrez offers an absorbing personal account of his life at the forefront of the Mexican-American civil rights movement – first as a Chicano and then as a militant. Gutiérrez traces the racial, ethnic, economic, and social prejudices facing Chicanos with powerful scenes from his own life: his first summer job as a tortilla maker at the age of eleven, his racially motivated kidnapping as a teenager, and his coming of age in the face of discrimination as a radical organizer in college and graduate school. When Gutiérrez finally returned to Cristal, he helped form the Mexican American Youth Organization and, subsequently the Raza Unida Party to confront issues of ethnic intolerance in his community. His story is soon to be a classic in the developing literature of Mexican American leaders.

Sepúlveda Jr., Juan. 2005. *The Life and Times of Willie Velásquez: Su Voto es Su Voz*. Houston: Arte Público Press.

> William C. "Willie" Velásquez Jr. founded the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project (SVREP) and was an influential participant in other leading Latino rights and justice groups, including the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and the Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC). From the late 1960s until his untimely death in 1988, Velásquez helped Mexican Americans and other Hispanics become active participants in American political life. Though still insufficiently appreciated, Velásquez holds a unique status in the pantheon of modern American civil rights figures. This critical biography features an introduction by Henry Cisneros, former Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Former Rhodes Scholar and Velásquez protégé Juan A. Sepúlveda Jr.'s biography of the man provides a first, definitive glimpse into his life and times. Based on Sepúlveda's close personal relationship and exchanges with Velásquez during the SVREP founder's final years, and over a dozen years of research and writing, the book chronicles Velásquez's influences, his landmark contributions

to American civic culture, and his enduring legacy. This is the story of both parts of the man: the public and the private. Velásquez's biography sheds light on the nature and price of public leadership in American politics.

Dictionaries and Encyclopedias

Bataille, Gretchen, Miguel Carranza, and Laurie Lisa. 1996. *Ethnic Studies in the United States: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Meier, Matt S., and Margo Gutierrez. 2000. *Encyclopedia of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

> Mexican Americans, like many other Americans, have a long history of struggle for equality and civil rights. Yet only in recent decades has that history begun to be included as part of mainstream American history. Bringing together a wealth of information on the Mexican American struggle for civil rights, this authoritative encyclopedia provides factual up-to-date information on the concepts, issues, plans, legislation, court decisions, events, organizations, and people involved in that long fight. It includes such leading figures as Corky Gonzales, Hector Perez Garcia, Jovita Idar, and Alonso Perales, as well as many secondary leaders, and is rounded out with objective discussions of such topics as leadership, the movimiento, lynching, political exclusion, voting, and stereotyping. Appendices include a chronology and several basic documents critical to an understanding of the Mexican American Civil Rights struggle. The first comprehensive encyclopedia on this aspect of Mexican American history, the book fills a noticeable gap in the literature. It includes more than 300 entries, six appendices, sources of additional information, cross-referencing, and a detailed index that makes the history readily available. The book is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the Mexican American experience.

Oboler, Suzanne, and Deena J. Gonzalez, eds. *The Oxford Encyclopedia Of Latinos & Latinas In The United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

> A landmark scholarly work, The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States offers comprehensive, reliable, and accessible information about the fastest growing minority population in the nation. With an unprecedented scope and cutting-edge scholarship, the Encyclopedia draws together the diverse historical and contemporary experiences in the United States of Latinos and Latinas from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Central America, South America, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Over 900 A to Z articles ranging in length from 500 words to 7,500 words written by academics, scholars, writers, artists, and journalists, address such broad topics as identity, art, politics, religion, education, health, and history. Each entry has its own bibliography and cross-references and is signed by its author. Essential for scholarly and professional researchers as well as the classroom and library, The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States will fill a void in the historical scholarship of an under-served population.

Schultz, Jeffrey D. 2000. Encyclopedia *of Minorities in American Politics, Vol. 2: Hispanic Americans and Native Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing.

Stephens, Thomas M. 2000. *Dictionary of Latin American Racial & Ethnic Terminology*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

> Current and historic definitions of racial & ethnic terminology throughout Latin America and the U.S. This book is an important tool for understanding the etymology and multilayered meanings of common ethnic labels such as "Chicano," "criollo," and thousands of other terms. It contains some pejorative terminology.

Handbooks, Statistical Abstracts, Etc.

Heaton, Tim B., Bruce Chadwick, and Cardell K. Jacobson, Eds. 2000. *Statistical Handbook on Racial Groups in the United States*. Phoenix: Oryx Press.

Hispanic Americans. 2007: A Statistical Sourcebook. Woodside: Information Publications.

Hornor, Louise L., ed. 1999. *Hispanic Americans: A Statistical Sourcebook*. Palo Alto: Information Publications.

> This compilation of statistical information presents tables and charts covering demographics, social characteristics, household & family characteristics, education, government & elections, labor force, employment & unemployment, earnings, income, poverty, & wealth, crime & corrections, as well as special topics.

Leonard, Barry, ed. 1994. *Persons of Hispanic Origin in the U.S.* Darby, PA: Diane Publishing Company.

> Provides U.S.-level data for persons of Hispanic origin on such subjects as age, sex, marital status, household & family characteristics, social characteristics, labor force characteristics, income & poverty status, & housing characteristics. Data are classified by nativity, citizenship, and year of entry. Data for persons not of Hispanic origin are provided for purposes of comparison.

Marín, Gerardo, and Barbara Vanoss Marín. 1991. *Research with Hispanic Populations*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

> This book explores ways of overcoming the problems that researchers may encounter in collecting and interpreting data generated from Hispanic studies.

Reddy, Marlita A., ed. 1995. *Statistical Record of Hispanic Americans*. Gale Group.

> Excellent source of statistics culled from a variety of government departments and other sources, focusing on demographics, family, education, culture, health and health care, social and economic conditions, business and industry, government and politics, and law and law enforcement, all pertaining to U.S. Latinos.

Reed, John, and Roberto Ramirez. 1998. *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1997*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census.

Schick Frank L., and Renee Schick, eds. 1991. *Statistical Handbook on U.S. Hispanics*. Phoenix: Oryx Press.

> Hispanic Americans make up the largest ethnic group in the country, and this volume accurately reflects their concerns, interests, and issues. By providing easy access to over 300 statistical charts, graphs, and tables, the book allows novice and professional researchers to easily locate statistics on: demographics, immigration, naturalization, social characteristics, education, health, politics, labor force, and economic conditions. The Statistical Handbook on U.S. Hispanics also includes a glossary of terms and a list of sources to be consulted for more information or additional statistical data. An extensive subject index makes it simple to locate specific tables and charts.

Wilson, Ewen, and Ruth A. Runyan. 1996. *Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Hispanic*. Darby, PA: Diane Publishing Company.

> Provides basic economic data on businesses owned by persons of Hispanic or Latin American ancestry. This survey is based on the entire firm rather than on establishments of a firm. The published data covers: number of firms, gross receipts, number of paid employees, & annual payroll. The data are presented by geographic area, industry, size of firm, & legal form of organization of firm. Results: In 1992, there were 862,605 firms owned by Hispanics with almost $77 billion in receipts. Hispanic-owned firms increased 83% from 1987 to 1992.

Appendix A: Categories

Categories	Articles	Books	Total
History, Demographics and Mass Media			
Latino History	0	47	47
Latino Demographics and SES	20	5	25
Latinos in the Discipline	4	0	4
Latinos in Mass Media	2	13	15
Latino Identity			
Identity	19	53	72
Panethnic Identity	10	0	10
National Origin Based Identity	19	0	19
Racial Identity	14	0	14
Discrimination and Identity	11	0	11
Ethnic Studies			
Central American	0	3	3
Cuban American	0	4	4
Dominican American	0	4	4
Mexican American	0	9	9
Chicana	0	7	7
Chicano	0	15	15
Puerto Rican	0	13	13
Political Attitudes and Behavior			
Political Attitudes and Political Behavior	0	5	5
Political Attitudes and Public Opinion	54	0	54
Partisanship and Party ID	11	0	11
Political Participation	63	0	63
Representation, Elites, and Institutions			
Elites, Representation, and Institutions	19	39	58
Inter-Group Relations			
General Inter-Group Relations	0	4	4
Inter-Group Attitudes	7	0	7
Coalition Formation and Conflict	7	10	17
Public Policy and Issues			
Education	38	35	73
Economic and Labor Policy	9	15	24
Health Care and Health Policy	8	0	8
Housing and Segregation	18	0	18
Immigration and Naturalization	82	43	125
Language Policy	8	0	8
The Criminal Justice System/Criminology	7	7	14
General Policy Research	8	3	11
Methodology and Measurement Issues	15	0	15
References			0
Bibliographies	0	8	8
Biographies and Biographical References	0	3	3
Dictionaries and Encyclopedias	0	5	5
Handbooks and Statistical Sources	0	9	9
Total	**453**	**359**	**812**

Source: Author Count

Appendix B: Book Publishers

ABDO Publishing Company

Allyn & Bacon

Altamira Press

Arcadia Publisher

Archer Books

Arte Público Press

Ashgate Publishing.

Basic Books

Beacon Press

Bergin & Garvey.

Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies.

Blackwell Publishing

Brookings Institution Press.

Cambridge University Press

Carreta Press

Chelsea House Publishers.

Choice

Columbia University Press

Cornell University Press

Corwin Press, Inc.

Diane Publishing Company

Duke University Press

Duxbury Press.

F. Schaffer Publications

Facts on File

Falmer Press

Floricanto Press

Fulcrum Publishing

Gale Research

Garland Publishing

Government Printing Office

Greenwood Press

Harlan Davidson (a.k.a. Forum Press)

Harper Collins Publishers

Harvard University Press

Henry Holt and Company

Indiana University Press

Information Publications

Johns Hopkins University Press
Jossey-Bass/Pfeiffer
Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company
Lexington Books
LFB Scholarly Publishing
Little, Brown and Company
Lynne Rienner Publishers
Markus Wiener Publishers
Marshall Cavendish Corporation
ME Sharp Incorporated
Michigan State University Press
Multilingual Matters Ltd.
National Academy Press.
New York University Press
Oryx Press
Oxford University Press
Penguin Books
Plenum Press
Plume
Praeger Publishers
Princeton University Press
Rayo
Reference and Research Services
Rourke Publishing, LLC
Routledge
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
Russell Sage Foundation
Rutgers University Press
Sage Publications
Scarecrow Education
Southern Methodist University Press
St. Martin's Griffin Press.
Stanford University Press
State University of New York Press
Stylus Publishing
Teachers College Press
Temple University Press
Texas A&M Press
The Edwin Mellen Press

The Free Press
Third Woman Press
U.S. Government Printing Office
UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center
United States Bureau of the Census
University of Arizona Press
University of California Press
University of Chicago Press
University of Georgia Press
University of Illinois Press
University of Massachusetts Press
University of Michigan Press
University of Minnesota Press
University of New Mexico Press
University of North Carolina Press
University of Notre Dame Press
University of Oklahoma Press
University of Texas Press
University of Wisconsin Press
University Press of America
University Press of Virginia
University Press of Florida
Unwin Hyman
Verso
Vintage Books
Wadsworth
Wayne State University Press
Westview Press
Whitston
WW Norton
Yale University Press

Appendix C: Scholarly Journals and Research Centers

American Behavioral Scientist

American Journal of Political Science

American Journal of Public Health

American Political Science Review

American Politics Research

American Sociological Review

Aztlán

Center for the Study of Democracy

Chicano Latino Law Review

Comparative Politics

Contemporary Justice Review

Ethnic and Racial Studies

Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy

Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences

International Migration Review

Journal of Adolescent Research

Journal of American Ethnic History

Journal of Asian American Studies

Journal of Gender Studies

Journal of Latin American Studies

Journal of Policy History

Journal of Politics

Latin American Perspectives

Latino Studies

Lewis Mumford Center

Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos

NACLA Report on the Americas

New England Journal of Public Policy

Perspectives on Politics

Pew Hispanic Center

Political Behavior

Political Psychology

Political Research Quarterly

PS: Political Science & Politics

Public Opinion Quarterly

Revista Iberoamericana.

Social Forces

Social Sciences Quarterly

Sociological Forum

Sociological Quarterly

Sociological Perspectives

Texas Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy

The Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy

The Western Political Quarterly

Urban Anthropology

Urban Affairs Review