

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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 answer 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,

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 tests 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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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/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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 Rajijman. 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

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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-

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

Alex-Assensoh, 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, an 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 households; and perceived social isolation to ascertain the extent to which they undermine church attendance and the associated benefits of increased political engagement, organizational membership, 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 Latino 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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 two 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

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 pan-ethnic 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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 non-voting 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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 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 studied 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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 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.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes and Political Behavior

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 socioeconomic 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 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 topline 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.