CHAPTER 1

Assessing the Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Behavior

In 1960, Henry B. Gonzalez was elected to the U.S. Congress from a heavily Hispanic district in San Antonio, Texas. As the only elected official of Hispanic or Latino descent in the House of Representatives,[1] Gonzalez had both enormous and little influence. Within the Chicano community, he was the key voice on Mexican American politics and gained immediate prominence, but in Washington, D.C., he was but 1 of 435 representatives and found it difficult to make himself heard. Gonzalez was soon joined by Edward Roybal, elected to Congress in 1962 from California; Eligio "Kika" de la Garza, elected from Texas in 1964; and Herman Badillo, elected in 1970 from New York. With these four men from three different states,[2] Latino politics and Latino politicians were born in the United States, although it was still too early to identify "Latino politics" per se. In 1976, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC) was formed, which led to the creation of the nonpartisan CHC Institute two years later. The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) was founded in 1980, and by 1990, the number of Latinos in Congress had grown to seven. During these formative years, practitioners and scholars of Latino politics focused more on the modes of Chicano representation in the political system than on the consequences of Latino candidates on the ballot (see, e.g., F. C. Garcia and de la Garza 1977; Rocco 1977). With fewer Latinos running for office than African Americans in the 1970s and 1980s, research on ethnic candidates, ethnic voters, and shared ethnicity has not flourished within Latino politics as it has within studies of African American politics (see, e.g., Tate 1993; Dawson 1994; Swain 1995; Gay 2001a).

Scholars interested in American racial and ethnic politics may not have foreseen the growth in the Latino population and Latino political participation. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, millions of African Americans registered to vote for the first time, and research on Black voting and Black candidates burgeoned during the 1970s and 1980s. Issues of civil rights, housing discrimination, busing, and affirmative action dominated not only the Black-White racial agenda but also political science scholarship. However, another historic piece of legislation passed the same year, the Immigration and Nationality Act, fundamentally changed the course of American racial and ethnic politics. Writing about ethnic politics in 1965, Wolfinger noted the persistence of national-origin identity among European ethnics but reminded us that "mass immigration ended more than fifty years ago" (896), suggesting that even European ethnics might eventually assimilate into Anglo America. Instead, the 1965 Immigration Act abolished national-origin quotas, provided visas for family reunification, and resulted in a sharp increase in the number of Asian and Latin American immigrants, adding new facets to the Black-White race debate. Most notably, the Latino population in the United States grew from about 3.5 million people (about 2 percent of the total) in 1960 to more than 45 million (15 percent) in 2007. While this growth has been fueled by immigrants, the number of naturalized Latino citizens has also grown considerably over the past thirty years (Pachon 1987, 1999). Moreover, the fastest-growing segment of the American electorate is Latino registered voters, estimated to top 10 million in 2008. There is no question that the dynamics of race and politics have changed in this country, and scholarship and research must keep pace.

In the 1930s and 1940s, scholars including Gosnell (1935), Myrdal (1944), and Key (1949) began to examine the impact of race relations on America's politics and future well-being. These researchers examined the extent to which Black political participation differed from that of Whites and noted the significance of a voter's race in models of political behavior (Alt 1994). Dahl (1961) took up the question of ethnicity, and scholars of racial and ethnic politics began to examine its effect on political behavior. Distinct from Dahl's or Wolfinger's research on "ethnic politics," research on race was prominent among political scientists interested in African American political incorporation. Empirical research on Black politics found that race significantly affects voting behavior; however, the impact of ethnicity—particularly with regard to Latinos—has been less conclusively documented.

Before the rise in studies of Latino politics, research prior to the 1965 Voting Rights Act typically examined dissent or protest in light of the fact that African

Americans lacked full voting rights. Carmichael and Hamilton argue that "solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society" (1967, 44), a statement consistent with Piven and Cloward's (1979) argument that race provided an important linkage for poor blacks who felt alienated by the status quo and organized protest movements around their shared racial experiences. More recently, work by Tate (1993), Dawson (1994), and Walton (1994) has made the case that beyond protest, racial attitudes and issues are a significant factor in understanding Black voting trends. Simply put, race identification "significantly shapes Black political behavior" (Tate 1993, 165), and "racial group politics remains salient for African Americans" (Dawson 1994, 11).

Rather than focusing only on research in Black or Latino politics, this book builds on broader studies of identity politics and in-group identification. Mansbridge (1986) and Cook (1994) have found that female voters are more interested in campaigns when female candidates or issues (e.g., the Equal Rights Amendment) are present. Work in comparative politics has determined that ethnic minorities in Canada (Landa, Copeland, and Grofman 1995), Australia (Jupp 1997), the Netherlands (Rath and Saggar 1992), and Romania (Shafir 2000) are often persuaded by ethnic appeals and vote as a bloc for ethnic candidates. Even nonethnic interest groups such as labor unions have been well documented as playing an important role in mobilizing their members as a cohesive bloc when labor-friendly candidates emerge (Uhlaner 1989a). While research on African American and other group voting trends has found that in-group identification can matter to voting behavior, work on Latino voting has generally not concurred. In fact, some observers have argued just the opposite—that shared ethnicity is not a key mobilizing force in Latino political behavior—instead focusing on partisanship as the dominant factor (Cain and Kiewiet 1984; Graves and Lee 2000; Michelson 2005; de la Garza 2005). Most notably, in a summary of Latino political behavior, de la Garza states, "As was true in 1990, in 2004 Latinos do not behave as a political group united by ethnicity. Latinos do not see themselves as united politically and they report that they will not vote for a candidate because of shared ethnicity" (2005, 16).

This book examines the question of whether ethnic identification affects Latino voting behavior. Specifically, does the presence of Latino candidates mobilize the Latino electorate, resulting in elevated turnout and strong support for the co-ethnic candidates? While some scholars—most notably, Hero (1992)—have provided a strong theoretical basis for such a claim, no comprehensive body of empirical evidence has suggested that ethnicity is salient for Latinos,

and no coherent theory exists for separating out the role of co-ethnic candidates and the role of party affiliation. Indeed, de la Garza states that ethnicity has no influence whatsoever even though numerous case studies available in court transcripts of expert witness testimony strongly support the idea that Latino voters are mobilized by Latino candidates (see, e.g., *Garza v. Los Angeles County; Ruiz v. Santa Maria; Martinez v. Bush*).

In an extensive review of research on Chicano voting behavior, J. A. Garcia and Arce argue that no consensus exists about whether ethnicity affects voting patterns, suggesting that more research is needed. They write that "strong cultural attachments have been found to be associated with either political isolation and distance, or heightened ethnic group consciousness and politicization[, and] current research efforts are still sorting out their directional effects" (1988, 130). However, in the twenty-first century, two significant developments have changed the way we think about Latino political participation. First, the 2000 presidential election marked the first time that both political parties conducted extensive outreach to Latino voters. Second, many high-profile Latino candidates ran for political office across the nation and demonstrated an even stronger commitment to Latino voter outreach.

In 2001, Latino mayoral candidates in the several of the nation's largest cities ran vigorous and competitive campaigns that seemed to generate political excitement among Latino voters. In New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Houston, "Democrats and Republicans got a reminder that Hispanic voters are a fast-growing and crucial swing vote tied more closely to ethnic than party loyalty" (Lester 2001). Viable Latino candidates garnered national media attention in the fall 2002 New Mexico and Texas governors' races as well as the 2003 California gubernatorial recall election. Elsewhere, Latino mayoral candidates surfaced in cities not traditionally considered to have significant Latino influence, including Bloomington, Indiana; Las Vegas; and Wichita, Kansas, and Latinos were elected for the first time to city councils and state legislatures in Georgia, North Carolina, and North Dakota. In 2006, the number of Latinos in the U.S. Senate jumped from zero to three. According to NALEO, nearly one thousand more Latinos held public office in 2008 than in 1998, and thousands more had run for office and lost. Simply stated, cities and states across the nation are witnessing increases in both Latino candidates for office and Latinos who are winning election (see table 1.1). The growth in Latino candidates creates a political environment that may result in higher rates of voting and strong support for Latino candidates by Latino voters. This volume does not seek to explain the success of Latino candidates for office but rather to assess these candidates' impact on the behavior of Latino voters.[3]

TABLE 1.1. Time Line of Latino Political Representation in the United States

1822	Joseph Marion Hernández is the first Latino to serve in Congress, as a territorial delegate of Florida.
1853	José Manuel Gallegos is elected as New Mexico's territorial delegate to Congress.
1866	Cristobal Aguilar is elected first Latino mayor of Los Angeles.
1876	Romualdo Pacheco becomes the first Latino governor of California.
1876	Romualdo Pacheco is the first Latino elected to Congress from a state, California.
1897	Miguel Antonio Otero is elected the first Latino governor of the territory of New Mexico.
1912	Ladislas Lazaro is elected to Congress from Louisiana in the year it becomes a U.S. state.
1928	Octaviano Larrazolo becomes the first Latino elected to the U.S. Senate, from New Mexico.
1936	Dennis Chavez of New Mexico is the first Latino to serve a full term in the U.S. Senate.
1949	Edward Roybal is the first Latino since 1881 to win a seat on the Los Angeles City Council.
1957	Raymond Telles is the first Latino elected mayor in El Paso, Texas.
1960	Henry B. Gonzalez is the first Latino from Texas elected to Congress.
1962	Edward Roybal is the first Latino elected to the U.S. House in California since 1882.
1964	Joseph Manuel Montoya is elected to the U.S. Senate from New Mexico.
1970	Herman Badillo is the first Puerto Rican elected to Congress, from New York.
1974	Raúl Castro is elected first Latino governor of Arizona.
1981	Henry Cisneros is the first Latino elected mayor of San Antonio.
1987	Robert Martinez is the first Latino elected governor of Florida.
1989	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Cuban American, is the first Latina elected to Congress from Florida.
1990	Ed Pastor is the first Latino elected to Congress from Arizona.
1992	Luis Gutiérrez, Puerto Rican, is the first Latino elected to Congress from Illinois.
1992	Robert Menédez, Cuban American, is the first Latino elected to Congress from New Jersey.
1992	Nydia Vasquez is the first Puerto Rican woman to be elected to Congress from New York.
1996	Cruz Bustamante is elected the first Latino Speaker of the California Assembly.
1996	Bill Richardson is first Latino U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.
2002	Bill Richardson is elected governor of New Mexico.
2004	John Salazar is the first Latino elected to Congress from Colorado
2004	Mel Martinez is first Cuban American elected to the U.S. Senate from Florida.
2004	Ken Salazar is the first Latino elected to the U.S. Senate from Colorado.
2005	Antonio Villaraigosa is elected first Latino mayor of Los Angeles since 1872.
2006	Robert Menendez is the first Latino elected to the U.S. Senate from New Jersey.
2007	Bill Richardson announces he is running for Democratic nomination for president.

Latino Representation in the United States, January 2007

U.S. House	28 Latino members (6.4%)
U.S. Senate	3 Latino members (3.0%)
Governor	1 Latino governor (2.0%)

Studies by Ambrecht and Pachon (1974) and Garcia and de la Garza (1985) demonstrate that previous research on Latino political behavior has down-played the role of shared ethnicity in models of participation and vote choice. Ambrecht and Pachon note that "the oversight of ethnicity in American life over recent decades has been primarily attributed to the assimilationist ideologies present in this society vis-à-vis its ethnic groups" (1974, 500). Despite the

prominence of the assimilationist approach as a theory, they argue against it and call for more research on the topic of ethnic politics in the Mexican American community. While claims emerged that ethnicity might be salient, it has not yet been thoroughly investigated. For example, J. A. Garcia and Arce note that "ethnicity in its various dimensions . . . should prove to be very important in explaining the extent of Chicano political participation" yet conclude that "these orientations do not translate into higher rates of participation" (1988, 126, 148). Thus, attempts to understand the lower rates of turnout among Latinos have often focused on lower levels of resources (DeSipio 1996a) and lower levels of civic skills (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995) within the Latino community, leaving much room for improvement in explaining the Latino vote. This book presents two improvements in modeling Latino political behavior: (1) controlling for the presence of Latino candidates; and (2) accounting for shared ethnicity as a mobilizing factor. I argue that the electoral context surrounding the campaign of a Latino candidate creates a mobilizing force, resulting in higher rates of Latino voting and strong levels of support for the co-ethnic candidate. This electoral context may include endorsements by prominent Latino leaders, more in-depth coverage of the election by Spanish-language media, registration and mobilization drives by Latino civic organizations, and campaign appearances by Latino candidates at Latino churches, union halls, and schools. Further, the effect should hold after controlling for standard predictors of political participation and partisanship.[4] How Latino candidates change the larger electoral context is underexplored in the current literature. Figure 1.1 addresses this deficit and depicts the relationship between ethnic candidates and ethnic voters, an important foundation for examining Latino voting behavior. Simply stated, voters encounter two types of elections, those in which a Latino candidate does and does not appear on the ballot. While our previous understanding of Latino participation relies heavily on elections with no Latino candidates, the future of American politics is much more likely to witness elections with viable Latino candidates.

In fact, the bulk of research on Latino political behavior emanates from an era in U.S. politics in which very few viable Latino candidates ran for office; thus, the general findings with respect to Latino political engagement downplayed the role of shared ethnicity. Latino politics takes on a new perspective in the twenty-first century: prominent Latino candidates for public office are increasingly commonplace, yet Latinos continue to face discrimination and underrepresentation.

The basic argument in this book rests on two theories: first, ethnic candi-
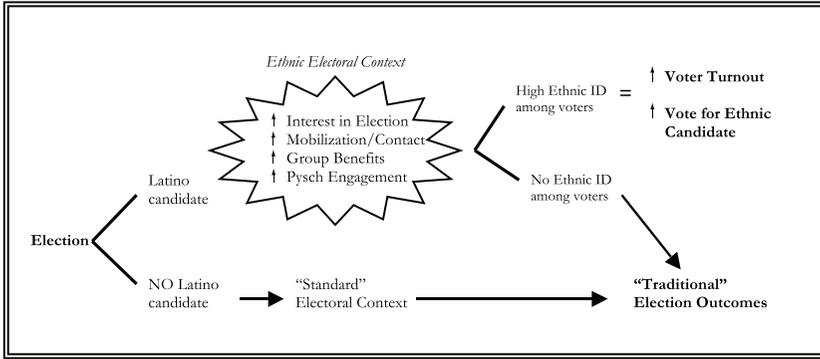
FIG. 1.1.   Ethnic candidate model of Latino political behavior

dates increase the level of psychological engagement and interest in the election among ethnic voters (Dahl 1961; Parenti 1967; Tate 1993, 2003); and second, ethnic candidates direct more resources to mobilize voters in ethnic communities (Guerra 1992; Leighley 2001). While not all ethnic candidates publicly run "ethnic campaigns," the popular media are quick to report candidacies through racial or ethnic lenses, leading minority and White voters to assess the election in racial terms even if the candidates do not (see, e.g., Reeves 1997). In instances where candidates and campaigns make strong ethnic appeals, the argument is quite clear; yet even when ethnicity is not on the front page, Latino candidates are still likely to reach out to co-ethnic voters and are likely to promote issues that resonate with Latino voters. If anything, these phenomena may bias the data against my findings, making it more difficult to find mobilizing effects without knowing the exact details of every Latino candidate's campaign for office. However, if Latino voters are more likely to vote when Latino candidates are running for office and are more likely to support Latino candidates, it is reasonable to conclude that the theoretical assumptions are accurate.

However, the effect may not be the same for all Latino voters, and we should therefore try to include a measure of the degree of ethnic identification among voters. Building on theories of minority empowerment and racial incorporation, I make the case that for Latino voters with higher levels of ethnic identification, co-ethnic candidates increase the level of political awareness and interest in the election, increase the opportunity to be contacted and asked to vote, generate a sense of psychological engagement with the political system, and strengthen feelings of shared group consciousness (see, e.g., Miller et al. 1981; Uhlaner 1989a; Leighley 2001).

While a handful of studies have examined the connection between ethnicity and political participation, they have repeatedly concluded that no direct link exists for Latino voters. Both Cain and Kiewiet (1984) and Graves and Lee (2000) show that partisanship, not ethnicity, explains candidate preference for Latinos. DeSipio observes that "ethnicity will come to play less of a role in [Latino] political decision-making than will other societal divisions" (1996a, 8). In contrast, Hero's overview of Denver mayoral elections in the 1980s provides some evidence that Latinos will "vote for their own" (1992, 129) in a racialized political environment (see also Muñoz and Henry 1990). This book brings a variety of new evidence to bear on this question.

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND LATINO VOTING

Why might Latinos have a sense of shared ethnic identity? Why is ethnicity more likely to matter in future elections? Individuals employ multiple forms of identification but nevertheless typically have groups of people with whom they have overlapping identities, such as language, cultural practices, religion, and race. Gordon argues that peoplehood is roughly "coterminous with a given rural land space, political government, no matter how rudimentary, a common culture in which a principal element was a set of religious beliefs and values shared more or less uniformly by all members of the group, and a common racial background ensuring an absence of wide differences in physical type" (1964, 23). The notion of peoplehood that Gordon describes can also be seen as an individual's ethnicity (from the Greek *ethnos,* meaning "people") and may encompass his or her race, religion, national origin, language, and more. Although ethnic identity is fluid, societies often develop fixed categories for identification that reinforce each identity as separate and unique and reinforce group members' attachment to their ethnic identity. For two hundred years, the U.S. census asked individuals to choose only one identity, despite many Americans' rich multicultural and multiracial history. Not until 1970 was the category "Spanish origin" added to the census, and not until the 2000 census did the federal government permit individuals to check more than one box, thereby allowing multiple identities to emerge (Masuoka 2008). The social constructions of group identification, whether real or not, guide individuals to take their places in groups and to act as group members. Miller et al. (1981) have found that group consciousness causes subordinated group members to join their group identity with a political awareness regarding their group's status, result-

ing in elevated levels of participation. This volume considers the extent to which Latinos act congruently on political issues.

Four characteristics describe the roots of all Hispanic Americans regardless of their background: (1) Latin American heritage; (2) the immigrant experience; (3) Spanish language; and (4) Spanish colonial influence. For some Latinos, these traits may be stronger; in other cases, they may be altogether dormant. In any event, their existence cannot be easily refuted. In addition, the experience of ethnic discrimination augments the relationship of these four characteristics. When any one of these components of ethnic identity comes under cultural attack, Latinos are likely to draw together around their common heritage. This argument about shared ethnic identification provides the foundation for this book—that is, the idea that ethnicity is an important component of Latino political behavior, especially given the current state of under-representation of Latinos and growing discrimination against Latino immigrants. Although distinct differences exist between Latinos of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, and Salvadoran ancestry, they share a common Latin American heritage that brings them together (Padilla 1985). Further, patterns of residential geography make national-origin differences less relevant because Latinos of different countries of origin are somewhat concentrated in different cities and states.[5] Second, the confluence of several factors provides the opportunity for shared ethnicity to emerge as an important predictor of Latino voting behavior. These factors include the decline of party control over campaigns and candidate-centered elections (Wattenberg 2002), a growing interest in candidate qualities over issues (Popkin 1991), and the reliance on ethnic-based outreach and mobilization by candidates of both major parties (Segal 2003; DeFrancesco Soto and Merolla 2006).

In particular, this research builds on the theories advanced by Uhlaner (1989a), Leighley (2001), and Bobo and Gilliam (1990), among others. Uhlaner advances a theory of group relations to demonstrate that political participation is rational despite high costs because in-group members receive additional benefits from a sense of shared group consciousness. She argues that groups with more unified support for a candidate or issue have a stronger sense of group identity, which they can use as a bargaining chip to collect additional in-group benefits. Leighley proposes a new model for examining Latino and Black political participation that takes into account shared group consciousness, minority empowerment, and geographic racial context to improve on traditional socioeconomic models. In particular, she argues that ethnic candidates direct

more resources to mobilizing ethnic communities and deserve more attention in understanding Latino voting behavior. According to Bobo and Gilliam, minority elected officials empower minority communities, resulting in higher levels of voting and bloc voting. Above all, Black mayors are found to empower Black voters through feelings of shared group consciousness and in-group benefits. Bobo and Gilliam provide a framework that envisions minority candidates and officeholders as instrumental in explaining minority participation. Tate's (1993) analysis of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns concurs. I expand this examination to Latino voters and Latino candidates for public office to test whether co-ethnic candidates cue ethnic voting.

Finally, from a practical perspective, Sosa, a media consultant and presidential campaign adviser, notes that in his experience conducting national surveys, studying small focus groups, and targeting Latino voters, positive ethnic identification with the candidate is an important factor. Specifically, Sosa argues that "issues also work, but only *after* Hispanic voters like and trust the candidate" (2004). Although he served as a major media consultant for President George W. Bush in 2000 and 2004, Sosa joined the presidential campaign team of New Mexico governor Bill Richardson in 2007, stating that "if his name was Bill Garcia, then every Latino would have been focused on him already" (quoted in Kornblut 2007, A4). Sosa also noted that in thirty years of campaign experience, he had observed that Mexican American voters bore a strong affinity for Mexican American candidates.

In Los Angeles's 2001 municipal election, for example, Latino candidates sought the city's top two posts, mayor and city attorney. In the mayoral contest, Antonio Villaraigosa, a Democrat, ran a "liberal" campaign that focused on labor and working-class families; his opponent, James Hahn, also a Democrat, ran as a moderate who embraced increasing business development in the city, among other issues (see figure 1.2). In the city attorney race, Rocky Delgadillo, who attended Harvard Law School and worked as a staff attorney for the previous mayor, Republican Richard Riordan, ran a centrist campaign emphasizing his record as tough on crime; his opponent, Mike Fuerer, ran a more liberal campaign, including a stance against racial profiling. The differences between the candidates were borne out in exit polls—a majority of voters identified Villaraigosa as more liberal and Delgadillo as more centrist. Despite their varying backgrounds and ideologies, however, both Latino candidates received more than 80 percent of the Latino vote in an election where Latinos outvoted all other groups of registered voters. Why did Latinos have the highest rates of voting, and why did they overwhelmingly prefer the more liberal Villaraigosa in
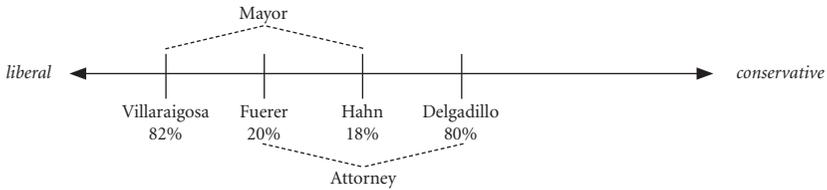
FIG. 1.2.   Candidate ideology and percentage vote won among Latinos, Los Angeles, 2001

the mayoral election and the more centrist Delgadillo for city attorney? One possible explanation centers on the mobilizing effect of Latino candidates.

Critics commonly contend that the Latino community is too diverse—too heterogeneous to demonstrate shared group identity—and New York City is perhaps the most diverse of any city with a large Latino population. New York's 2001 Latino population of 2.2 million was 39 percent Puerto Rican, 23 percent Dominican, 14 percent South American, 10 percent Mexican, and 7 percent Central American. In 2001, Puerto Rican candidate Fernando Ferrer reached the Democratic runoff for mayor, where he faced Mark Green. Ferrer was well known in the Puerto Rican community and campaigned heavily throughout the city's Latino neighborhoods. Although Ferrer lost the election by a few percentage points, he received strong support from Puerto Rican, Dominican, and other Latino groups. Ferrer won 86 percent of the vote in heavily Puerto Rican Latino precincts, 80 percent in heavily Dominican precincts, and 79.5 percent in mixed Latino precincts where neither Puerto Ricans nor Dominicans were the majority. (Most often, Mexicans or Colombians are the largest Latino group in these precincts.) In contrast, he won only 15 percent of the vote in majority-White precincts.

TABLE 1.2.   Percentage Vote for Fernando Ferrer, New York, 2001

Precinct Type	*n*	Percentage
Majority Latino	457	84.3
Puerto Rican	180	86.0
Dominican	192	80.3
Neither Puerto Rican nor Dominican	85	79.5
Majority White	691	15.1
Majority Black	520	65.6

These examples illustrate Latino candidates' potential mobilizing effects on Latino voters—across ideology and across national origin. In this study, I test the ethnic-mobilization hypothesis with several new and previously underanalyzed data sets. In addition, I utilize an alternative mechanism for measuring shared ethnicity that may account for its lack of relevance in previous research. Earlier attempts to include ethnicity in a model of Latino political behavior considered it an all-or-nothing issue in which all Latinos had the same level of ethnic identification. Instead, I rely on a scale of Latino ethnic identification similar to the measure of party identification. This scale includes both direct and indirect measures of political ethnic identification. Direct evaluations may include questions such as "Is the candidate's ethnicity or partisanship more important in deciding your vote?" and "Do you find yourself more interested in an election when Latino candidates are running for office?" Indirect evaluations may include questions such as "Is it important to elect more Latinos to public office?" and "Is it important for Latinos to stick together on political matters?" More accurate assessments of degree of shared ethnicity demonstrate that for Latinos with higher levels of ethnic identification, ethnicity plays a central role in political decision making.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

The book is organized into four main sections: first, an introduction and overview of the question under consideration; second, a review of the literature and exploration of the concept of ethnic identification; third, empirical data analysis; and fourth, a discussion of the findings and their implications for our understanding of political behavior, followed by a brief conclusion.

Following this introduction, section 2 consists of two theory-building chapters that lay the foundation for the empirical analysis. Chapter 2 brings together a review of the relevant literature within the subfields of political behavior, African American politics, Asian American politics, ethnic group politics, and Latino politics. It is important to examine what has been written—and, more important, accepted—about voter turnout and vote choice from a broad perspective and then to compare these writings to the current scholarship and theories within minority politics to disentangle the state of ethnic Latino politics. In particular, I take up the question of whether Latinos will follow a model of immigrant-based ethnic politics, comparable to the path followed by Irish and Italian arrivals, or a model of discrimination-based racial politics, similar to African Americans. In addition, chapter 2 explores the origins and basis for

shared ethnic attachment among Latinos today and proposes a new approach to quantitative studies of racial and ethnic politics.

Building on this theoretical review and discussion, chapter 3 then incorporates a real-world perspective through interviews with Latino elected officials and candidates for public office. I present findings from interviews with Latino elected officials and campaign operatives in California, Texas, New York, and Colorado to determine the extent to which theory meets reality in campaigning for Latino votes. These states are important because they parallel the analysis of mayoral elections in each state and provide the necessary context for the election results discussed later. The interviews were conducted with Latino candidates for mayor in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, New York City, and Denver as well as their campaign managers and relevant staff. Speaking directly with Latinos who have run for office and organized get-out-the-vote campaigns strengthens my argument by adding practical examples that both confirm and challenge the theoretical arguments and assumptions. For example, in Houston's 2001 mayoral election, Republican Orlando Sanchez received more than 70 percent of the Latino vote; in 2000, however, the same precincts voted overwhelmingly for Democrat Al Gore. What explains this discrepancy? Talking to key actors inside the Sanchez campaign and other campaigns clarifies the connections among shared ethnicity, partisanship, and voting patterns among Latinos.

In the third section, I analyze the relationship between Latino candidates, shared ethnicity, and political participation using various data sources, including official precinct-level vote results, county registrar vote records, election surveys, and hypothetical candidate evaluations. The section includes three chapters covering both local and state-level elections in California, Texas, New York, and Colorado to determine what geographic and Latino national origin patterns may exist.

As a starting point for the empirical section, I examine public opinion data to gauge what Latino voters are saying about ethnic politics and ethnic candidates. In chapter 4, public opinion surveys conducted in California and New York by the Latino Issues Forum and the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute are used to explore theoretical candidate matchups and crossover voting tendencies among Latino voters after controlling for partisanship and issue preference. The Latino Issues Forum survey asks voters to decide between two fictitious candidates, Smith and Hernandez, and presents the voter with an issue platform for each candidate. The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute survey asks the specific question of whether Latino voters prefer Latino candidates of the op-

posing party or non-Latino candidates of the same party. For both surveys, I assess whether, after controlling for issue congruence and party strength, people with strong ethnic identities are likely to prefer the ethnic candidate or whether ethnicity has no effect on vote choice. While I do not anticipate that all Latinos will prefer the Latino candidate, I do find a positive and significant effect for degree of ethnic attachment and ethnic voting, which provides grounding for my theory that ethnicity influences political participation. While the data are hypothetical in nature, the findings provide an important starting point for examining the salience of ethnicity for Latino voters, setting the stage for analyses of election results involving Latino candidates.

Building on the public opinion data, chapter 5 examines precinct-level election results from the 2001 Los Angeles, New York, and Houston mayoral elections and the 2003 San Francisco and Denver mayoral elections to determine the relationship between high-density Latino precincts and voter turnout and vote preference for Latino candidates. While the hypothetical candidate data in chapter 4 suggest that Latinos are mobilized by co-ethnic candidates, the actual election results bring real data to bear on this issue from a variety of cities and contexts. These mayoral contests represent both nonpartisan and partisan examples where the Latino candidates come from a variety of backgrounds. Los Angeles featured a Latino Democrat versus an Anglo Democrat; New York featured a Democratic primary election with a Puerto Rican running against a Jewish candidate; in Houston, the Latino candidate was a Cuban American Republican who faced an African American Democrat; in San Francisco, a Latino Green Party candidate ran against an Anglo Democrat; and in Denver, Latino and non-Latino Democrats faced each other in the runoff. This analysis effectively neutralizes the role of partisanship because the elections are nonpartisan in nature (although one is a partisan primary) and the Latino candidates represent three different political parties. None of the five elections studied pitted a Latino Democrat against a non-Latino Republican, a situation in which the Democratic leanings of Latino registered voters would make it exceedingly difficult to separate the impact of ethnicity from that of partisanship. Each of these elections provides a unique view of Latino candidates and Latino voters. Ecological inference, ecological regression, and multivariate regression analysis are performed to estimate Latino turnout and Latino vote preference in each city. Further, because the demographic data provide information on the percentage of White, Black, and Asian American adults within each precinct and across all five cities, I offer some conclusions about the impact of Latino candidates on all segments of the American voting public.

Chapter 6 investigates additional real data: validated vote records from Los Angeles and Orange Counties, California, for elections in which Latino candidates ran for office. While the analysis in chapter 5 is at the aggregate level, county vote records merged with ethnic surname lists permit individual-level analysis of Latino and non-Latino voting patterns. For the 2002 general election in California, I examine the probability of voter turnout for voters in districts where Latino candidates ran for office. If Latino voters are more psychologically engaged in elections with Latino candidates, and if Latino candidates are more likely to mobilize Latino voters, we should see higher rates of voting for Latinos as the number of Latino candidates for office increases. This chapter focuses on all offices on the ballot featuring Latino candidates, including lieutenant governor, insurance commissioner, U.S. Congress, state senate, and state assembly. While some voters had the opportunity to elect one or two Latinos, other voters lived in jurisdictions where seven or more Latino candidates appeared on the ballot. Here, multivariate probit regression reveals that Latino candidates have a mobilizing effect on Latino voters, with different effects for different levels of office. Again, because I employ all voter records for Southern California, I can estimate the impact of Latino candidates on the likelihood of turnout by Latino and non-Latino registered voters and then compare the results. Although it is not possible to know for whom voters cast their ballots, the data reveal that Latinos were significantly more likely to turn out and vote in jurisdictions with more Latinos running for state-level office.

Chapter 7 examines the presidential candidacy of Bill Richardson to determine whether his campaign resonated with Latino voters. Richardson was hailed as the first Latino candidate for president, providing the first opportunity to extend the analysis of co-ethnic candidates to the nation's highest office. Tate's (1993) research on Jesse Jackson demonstrates that co-racial candidates can have a significant mobilizing effect in presidential elections, a trend again observed with respect to Barack Obama and Black voters in 2008. However, nothing is known about the possible mobilizing effects of the presence of a Latino candidate during a presidential run. Using two preelection surveys, I estimate the effect of shared ethnicity or ethnic cues on Latino support for Richardson in the early stages of the 2008 presidential election. The data reveal that although Richardson had low name recognition, he received strong support from Latinos who follow ethnic cues. Taken together, the election results, official registrar records, and hypothetical candidate data present a full picture of the potential and reality of ethnic cues in Latino political participation and behavior. Analysis of each data set provides support for the idea that Latino

candidates mobilize Latino voters, irrespective of partisanship, national origin, or locality.

The data analysis in chapters 4–7 suggests that these hypotheses are well founded. Latino candidates are mobilizing agents who result in (1) higher levels of Latino voter turnout and (2) higher levels of support for the candidate than would have been predicted had the candidate not been Latino. In both sets of models, the inclusion of ethnicity-related variables greatly improves the results.

Finally, in chapter 8, I take up the broader question of the degree to which

TABLE 1.3. Overview of Data to Be Examined

Data Set	Sample	Geography	Election	Hypotheses Tested	Chapter
Elite interviews	$n = 10$	CA, TX, NY, CO	2000–2003 mayoral elections	Interviews examine if and how Latino candidates mobilize Latino voters	3
LIF survey	$n = 800$	CA	2000, hypothetical campaign	Ethnicity vs. issues in vote choice of hypothetical candidates	4
TRPI survey	$n = 800$	CA, NY	2002 congressional midterm	Crossover voting for co-ethnic candidate	4
Precinct returns	$n = 1,730$	Los Angeles, CA	2001 Los Angeles mayoral runoff	Impact of mayoral Latino candidate on turnout and vote preference	5
Precinct returns	$n = 3,449$	New York City, NY	2001 New York mayoral primary	Impact of mayoral Latino candidate on turnout and vote preference	5
Precinct returns	$n = 614$	Houston, TX	2001 Houston mayoral runoff	Impact of mayoral Latino candidate on turnout and vote preference	5
Precinct returns	$n = 561$	San Francisco, CA	2003 San Francisco mayoral runoff	Impact of mayoral Latino candidate on turnout and vote preference	5
Precinct returns	$n = 422$	Denver, CO	2003 Denver mayoral runoff	Impact of mayoral Latino candidate on turnout and vote preference	5
Registrar of Voters records	$n = 5$ million	Los Angeles, Orange Counties, CA	2002 congressional midterm	Impact of State Legislative and congressional Latino candidates on turnout	6
LPC survey	$n = 1,000$	Nationwide	2008 presidential	Impact of presidential Latino candidate on vote choice	7
Latino Decisions survey	$n = 400$	NV	2008 presidential	Impact of presidential Latino candidate on vote choice	7

Latinos will vote on the basis of their ethnic ties. Following the empirical analysis, I explore the implications of ethnic Latino politics for American politics as a whole. While much of the data primarily focus on Latino registered voters, they should not be viewed in isolation or as distinct from the larger American electorate. Latinos represent the fastest-growing segment of voters in the country, increasing by more than 28 percent from 2000 to 2004 (de la Garza, DeSipio, and Leal 2010). In comparison, the entire American electorate grew by less than 5 percent during the same period (Current Population Survey 2006). In addition, both political parties are actively courting the Latino vote. In states such as New Mexico and Florida, Latino voters provided the winners with their margins of victory in the 2000 presidential election, and in 2004, Latino voters proved critical in swing states such as Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Florida, and even Pennsylvania. Thus, as Latinos are increasingly integrated into the mainstream American electorate, it is important to understand the motivations behind their political participation. In addition, the analysis of Latino voters and candidates offers insight into racial and ethnic politics as a whole. I explore how Latinos' experiences both resemble and differ from those of African and Asian Americans. Many questions remain: Will racial and ethnic minorities form political coalitions? Will intragroup differences create a competitive environment? Latino politics is no longer a regional matter of interest only in the southwestern United States. Latinos have already won election to the state legislatures in thirty-six states, and more Latino candidates will be running for and winning elected office. The increasing diversity within campaigns and elections necessitates new perspectives on the influence of ethnic candidates and ethnic voters. In particular, Latino politics represents an integral component for understanding the new American voter and increasingly the new American candidate.