

**LATINOS: ANALYSIS OF THE COHESION OF A "SUPRA-ETHNICITY"**

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## I. INTRODUCTION TO LATINO COHESION

The terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" have been used to classify people of Spanish ancestry in this country for years. Latinos, U.S. residents of a Hispanic background, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and others, today compose around 8% of the country's population.<sup>1</sup> To have such a large minority group in America, most people would probably believe that they must have a strong sense of political unity or cohesion within them. I have found this not to be the case. As Hero pointed out in his recent book, Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two Tiered Pluralism, "It is not readily apparent that there is a Latino politics. Latinos may be a group in name -a nominal group -but not necessarily a politically identifiable group."<sup>2</sup>

Latino political cohesion within the framework of Dahl's theory of ethnic assimilation will be assessed for Latinos by evaluating national data on: (1) the relative amount of political variance within Latinos and (2) The extent to which socio-economic variables account for political divisions within them. The first will be assessed in my Inter-group analysis section, the second in my intra-group analysis section. Furthermore, my paper will expound on and act to test the theories of Garcia and de la Garza, and Rodney Hero's theory of Two-Tiered Pluralism.

My research will include data from the annually conducted General Social Survey, by the National Opinion Research Center, and I will use the data to analyze Mexican and Puerto Rican political attitudes. Latino mobilization will also be studied in a case study of Chicago redistricting in the 1980s.

This paper will be composed of six primary sections. This, my first section introduced my topic of Latino cohesion and will

outline the structure of my paper. The second section will introduce the background theory on Latino Cohesion. Dahl, Garcia and de la Garza, Hero and others will be discussed. My third section will be a case study of Chicago redistricting and how it has affected Latino cohesion, as well as how my findings may affect my conclusions about Garcia and de la Garza's and Dahl's theories. My fourth section will be an Inter-group study, comparing relative group variance of response of Latinos, Blacks, and Whites on 13 political questions. This will set up a scientific test of Latino relative variance, and will assist in assessing Dahl's categorization of Latinos as a relatively cohesive or assimilated group and whether Dahl's framework makes sense for Latinos. My fifth section will assess Intra-group differences within Latinos. In this section, both Dahl's and F. Chris Garcia's and Rodolfo de la Garza's theories will be tested. Furthermore, this section will help place Latino political views in general. Finally, my sixth section, will conclude my paper with my thesis that my work shows that Latino political views appear to act as a function of their socio-economic status, under Dahl's theory. I will dispute Garcia and de la Garza's 1977 contentions of Chicano cohesion, and I will also suggest that Hero's theory of two-tiered pluralism could be improved upon with the additional factors that I have discovered in my work, of relatively low Latino political cohesion, and mobilization. These may additionally account for the low status of Latinos both politically and socio-economically in addition to the primary factors he advanced for this of the history of conquest against Latinos, and of the ensuing discrimination against them which has held Latinos down to a second-tier of American society. From my

findings, it is my belief that Latinos would best not be treated as an ethnic group under Dahl's framework due to separating differences between them, but that Latino is more of an umbrellaed "supra-ethnicity", composed of multiple horizontally linked ethnic groups.

## II. BACKGROUND THEORY

In Who Governs? Democracy and Power in American Cities, the work in which Robert Dahl advanced his pluralism model, Dahl noted that, "...the "ethnic" -the immigrant, the Catholic, the Jew, the Negro -found that his ethnic identification colored his life, his relations with others, his attitudes toward himself and the world."3 In other words, according to Dahl, when the ethnic minority individual arrived in America, he found that he was identified by others as a member of a particular ethnic group. In addition, the individual found that he shared much in common with other members of his ethnic group because they were of a common background and because they were both in similar socio-economic circumstances. Thus, his personal identification, his self-identification, was shaped both by his self-identification with other members of his ethnic group, but was also largely shaped by an imposed term offered by other people of who they thought he was, ethnically. Ethnicity, in this sense, became a very important distinguishing identity for immigrants to America.

When viewing other groups, the ethnic minority could not help but notice that others were much better off in society than he was. "Ideas of equality and unlimited opportunity, stressed in the American ideology taught in schools and used on ceremonial occasions often gave rise to expectations among [ethnics] that

were frustrated by the actual conditions in which they found themselves....Problems arose...not merely because he was of foreign stock but because of all the factors associated with his...origins: his education, speech, dress, demeanor, skills, income, neighborhood, ignorance of American institutions and folkways, and lack of self-confidence,"4 all of which are attributes which help form identity. "In a nation where some citizens had great power, high prestige, and enormous income, the ethnic was often at the bottom of the pile. And when he looked about him, often the only citizens as badly off in power, prestige, and income were other ethnics."5 According to Dahl, It was this shared sense of frustration from discrimination against them and their low socio-economic circumstances which brought individual members of ethnic minorities together and was exploited by ethnic leaders to form cohesive coalitions of homogeneous ethnic groups. As he noted, "Any political leader who could help members of an ethnic group to overcome the handicaps and humiliations associated with their identity, who could increase the power, prestige, and income of an ethnic...group, automatically had an effective strategy for earning support and loyalty....Probably no other political strategy held quite so much promise of capturing the loyalties of citizens for... coalitions."6 It was an outgrowth of these cohesive coalitions that created ethnic politics.

"[Ethnic politics] was a politics of assimilation...a politics that simultaneously emphasized the divisive rather than the unifying characteristics of voters and yet played upon the yearnings for assimilation and acceptance."7 The object of this type of politics was, as Dahl believed, "Simply to enlarge the

opportunities for ethnics to rise."8 Because this goal and purpose of ethnic politics, was actually met and achieved by many ethnics, Dahl referred to ethnic politics a "transitional phenomenon,"9 and noted that, "The very success of politicians who use the ethnic approach leads to the obsolescence of their strategy. As assimilation progresses, new unities and cleavages supersede the old."10

Dahl believed that ethnic politics would best be placed in perspective by hypothesizing ethnic groups pass through three stages on their way to political assimilation. His approach took divisions of political opinion and divisions of socio-economic status into account when placing ethnic groups in their respective stages. His theories included the important inference that as an ethnic group assimilates to American society, their political views shift from having an emphasis on ethnic politics to having an emphasis on class politics. Furthermore, he believed that this shift towards class politics was due to the existence of greater socio-economic variance within the group (due in part to the success of ethnic politics) which in turn created a greater political variance within the group, and thus, he theorized that socio-economic class is strongly linked to political attitude.

Ethnic groups classified in Dahl's first stage are, "Highly homogenous. They are low in status, income and influence...The group...has a high degree of political homogeneity; ethnic similarity is associated with similarity in political attitude, and there is a pronounced tendency toward voting alike. Ethnic ties are partly responsible, but...all aspects of life tend to...create similar interests and political attitudes. Political

homogeneity, then, is a function of socioeconomic homogeneity."11

In Dahl's second stage, ethnics have developed more and have become, "Socioeconomically...more heterogeneous....Higher status, income, and self-confidence allow some to gain considerable political influence....Although the political homogeneity of the group declines in this stage because of the increasing differentiation of the middling segments from the working-class strata, even the middling segments retain a high sensitivity to their ethnic origins. Consequently, an ethnic candidate who can avoid divisive socioeconomic issues is still able to activate strong sentiments of ethnic solidarity in all strata of his ethnic groups."12

Dahl's third and final stage of ethnic assimilation occurs when, "Socioeconomically, the group is now highly heterogeneous. To [those who have made it to the middling and upper strata of society]... ethnic politics is often embarrassing or meaningless. Political attitudes and loyalties have become a function of socioeconomic characteristics. Members of the group display little political homogeneity."13

Demographic changes in various minority groups' socioeconomic status have recently been reported as indications that Dahl's hypotheses may be well founded (Sowell 1981; Bayliss 1983; Eisinger 1976; Glazer 1983). As Benjamin Marquez said, "The political implications of [Dahl's hypothesis] are far-reaching. As ethnic groups gradually move into higher economic circles in society, their political views change. As a whole, an assimilating group's politics become more moderate and less distinguishable from the politics of the society at large. When economic conditions for selected members of a group improve, the



group soon becomes so diverse that the ethnic/lower class solidarity decreases and ethnic political appeals are no longer effective."14 This is the politics of assimilation, the antithesis of what I will refer to in this paper as "ethnic cohesion".

Marquez noted that, "If [Dahl's]... assertion is true... diverse and conflicting goals can be expected to emerge within the [Latino] political culture."15 Further, these conflicting goals expected to emerge should be linked to the socio-economic differences within the ethnic group.

I will test the validity of Dahl's theory with respect to Latino political views later in my intra-group analysis section.

Raul Yzaguirre noted that, "Lack of organization has plagued efforts to empower Hispanics. Unlike the black community and other ethnic and racial groups, Hispanics lack strong, entrenched organization..."16 This sentiment of lack of previous cohesion among Hispanics was echoed by F. Chris Garcia and Rodolfo de la Garza who wrote The Chicano Political Experience: Three Perspectives in 1977. Their argument in this book did not address "Latinos", but addressed "Chicanos", a, "Term... used increasingly by Americans of Mexican and Spanish ancestry,"17 but which they associated at that time, primarily with people of Mexican descent. In their book, they noted that the term "Chicano", "...suggests a unity and cohesiveness that has not characterized prior Mexican American political activity -but which is essential to attaining political influence."18 Thus, even back in 1977, two leading Latino political scientists noted that even Mexicans, alone as an ethnic group had never been considered "cohesive". From this history, it is evident that

"Chicanos" could never have been a politically "cohesive" group because their primary, elemental group, Mexicans had never even been "cohesive". Thus, since Chicanos could never have been politically cohesive, it is evident that, Latinos, also, a much broader categorization of people of Spanish-speaking origin, also could not have been.

The Garcia, de la Garza book seemed written to promote the use of a new, imposed term, "Chicanos" to politically unite all groups of Spanish descent. As they said, "Instead of emphasizing regional and cultural differences -as did such labels as Mexican American, Spanish American, Latin American, [etc].... Chicano and Chicanismo (a feeling of pride in Chicano heritage and culture) emphasize common experiences and serve to unite all people of Mexican / Spanish ancestry residing in the United States."<sup>19</sup> Thus, they were imposing a new term to politically unite groups of various backgrounds for Chicanos to gain "political influence"<sup>20</sup>. Further evidence of this intent appeared when they said, "The impact of [a] term is...significant in the actual development of individual self-identification and group-level consciousness.... Identifying with the Chicano movement, with its emphasis on pride of culture, can help an individual overcome... feelings of inferiority or low self-esteem."<sup>21</sup> "From a political strategist's viewpoint, minimizing the differences within the group and maximizing the group's common characteristics can provide an important political resource -cohesion."<sup>22</sup>

This new ethnic identification of "Chicano" was different from Dahl's definition of an ethnic identity in two ways. First, Dahl, while addressing the issue of how ethnic politicians acted to unite ethnically similar groups, did not address the

occurrence of a new ethnic identity, being created and externally imposed upon a people of various cultural and geographic backgrounds. Secondly, and more to the point, Dahl said that an ethnic group in its first stage must be "highly homogeneous... [having] a high degree of political homogeneity."<sup>23</sup> Garcia and de la Garza noted that not even Mexican-Americans alone had ever been politically homogeneous (let alone Latinos ever having been homogeneous). They used Chicano ethnicity in a way which echoed Dahl sentiments about ethnic politics, yet their group was not an ethnic group in Dahl's sense of the word, for Chicanos had never been a politically homogeneous, cohesive group.

Garcia and de la Garza also noted differences between different Chicano groups. "The "Spanish-American"...of New Mexico, the "Latin American" of Texas, the "Mexican American" of California do have different historical experiences. A rural-urban split is also evident in many cases....The prevailing socioeconomic conditions in each urban area are quite different."<sup>24</sup>

"Chicanos also range from one extreme to another on a scale of acculturation to the Anglo society. Some Chicanos, recently arrived in the United States, are still very Mexican. Perhaps they still speak only Spanish and have not yet taken on many of the customs, values and traditions of the core-culture America. Other Chicanos have been in the U.S. a long while, have learned to speak English (may be exclusively), and are almost completely acculturated to the Anglo American culture."<sup>25</sup> This may be seen as an outgrowth of Dahl's theory of ethnic politics as a "transitional phenomenon"<sup>26</sup> that is, as Chicanos spend more time in America, the more they may assimilate (with help of successful

ethnic politics).

"Perhaps the deepest division among Chicanos is that of socioeconomic class.... Middle class Chicanos, proud of their accomplishments... have disassociated themselves entirely from the lower-class people."<sup>27</sup> This perspective indicates that Chicanos, at the very least could be classified into Dahl's stage two, as it shows assimilation of higher social classes into American society, commensurate with Dahl's theory. This perspective even hints that Chicanos may have started to enter Dahl's stage three.

Garcia and de la Garza continued in their work then to focus on the ways in which all Chicanos share a common identity. They pointed out the bond of speaking a common language, for the most part which all Chicanos hold, and also noted, their common, "reaction to... treatment by Anglo Americans is an important common bond for all Chicanos."<sup>28</sup> "Shared desires strengthen the bond between [Chicanos] make the differences between them secondary. The specific demands made by the entire community focus on changes in education, police relations (crime), employment opportunities, housing, and health and welfare programs."<sup>29</sup>

I will test the validity of their claims to Chicano political cohesion on these issues later in my inter- and intra-Latino sections.

In 1992, Rodney Hero wrote Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two Tiered Pluralism. In his work, he advanced a new theory which he called two-tiered pluralism. "...two-tiered pluralism describes a situation in which there is formal legal equality on the one hand, and simultaneously, actual practice

that undercuts equality for... members of minority groups."30 Separate from Dahl's pluralism model and, "Central to the argument of two-tiered pluralism is that... conventional pluralism, exists and functions to some degree, but that there are essentially two tiers, or levels, of pluralism."31 Hero advanced this new theory to help account for, "...the historical and continuing disadvantaged political and socioeconomic status of the mass of the Latino... population,"32 but not while discounting, "...the political accomplishments that have occurred above the social and political threshold."33 "...two-tiered pluralism suggests that there is no de facto pluralism.... That is, the legacy of conquest and related historical issues... has led to a diminished form of pluralism for Latino groups, particularly Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans."34 "...that not all members of minority groups suffer inequality....[but] minorities have to struggle to achieve what is presumed to be a given."35

Although the data structure of my paper is not set up to assess the validity of Hero's theory, it seems that he has a good point in that relatively few Latinos have achieved assimilation under Dahl's pluralism, as evidenced by the great numbers of Latinos live in poverty in America today. However, from my work, I have found that low political cohesion should be included in his list of factors for what Hero refers to as "de facto exclusion"36. This will be elaborated on later in this paper.

It is interesting to note that 15 years after their 1977 book was published, in 1992, F. Chris Garcia and Rodolfo de la Garza were both involved in conducting the Latino National Political Survey a survey, which among other functions, served,

"...to help... measure as precisely as possible the characteristics that distinguish Hispanics."<sup>37</sup> 1 The study was the most comprehensive survey of American Latinos ever conducted and consisted of 1,546 Mexicans, 589 Puerto Ricans, and 682 Cubans.<sup>38</sup>

After results of the survey first were studied, F. Chris Garcia, himself, stated claims which differed tremendously from those of the work he co-authored in 1977. When speaking on the NLPS at the Latino Graduate Student Training Seminar of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research at the Hispanic Research Institute of New Mexico on July 13, 1992 he said, "To give away the punch-line of the Latino political survey, we're finding tremendous distinctions between just these three national origin groups. Big, big differences. Not just in socio-economic characteristics, but in attitudes, beliefs, values, and political behavior. Big differences."<sup>39</sup> 2 Garcia continued to state in his speech that the, "The president of LULAC has personally condemned me, saying "That's academic nitpicking...We are the League of United Latin American Citizens and we should not be

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1 (As a side note, I personally contacted Rodolfo de la Garza, F. Chris Garcia, and others who organized the NLPS and asked them for a copy of their data. Rodolfo de la Garza called me personally and turned down my offer, but he was very kind and directed my attention to other reading material which assisted with my topic. As de la Garza noted in Latino Voices, "We expect to combine [our] work into two comprehensive volumes. At that time, we plan to make the survey results available as a public-use file." (Latino Voices, p.6) Even though I was turned down, I found it exciting to attempt getting access to the data.)

2 I was unaware of the existence of this material, when I embarked upon writing this paper, and to my knowledge, the data has still not been released for public use. It would be interesting to run similar tests of Latino cohesion on the NLPS data as I have run using GSS data to see whether the results agreed.

looking for differences." I see his perspective. I just want to know the truth..."<sup>40</sup>

My work will independently assess the validity of his claims of "tremendous distinctions" between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans using General Social Survey data later in this paper. My next section will include a case study of Latino cohesion in Chicago.

### III. CHICAGO CASE STUDY

I will begin this section with a small amount of historical information about Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

First, to understand the position of Mexican-Americans, it is important to realize that they have been said to have two histories. The first, as asserted by Donald Horowitz was when a, "fairly small but significant Mexican population was encapsulated,"<sup>41</sup> in America due to the war with Mexico, which came to an end in 1848. As Horowitz attested, that population's treatment, "was consistent with the treatment of a conquered population."<sup>42</sup> The other history of Mexican-Americans has emphasized, "voluntary immigration", and this which began after around 1910.<sup>43</sup> This view of Mexican-Americans would be similar to that of European immigrants to America except that Mexican immigration to America expanded much later than that of Europeans, and Mexicans were often discriminated against in America.

Puerto Rico became a U.S. territory in 1898 and became a U.S. colony from then until 1952, when it finally became a commonwealth of the U.S. Between 1898 and 1917, Puerto Rican status was uncertain until the passage of the Jones Act (in 1917) which finally declared Puerto Ricans, U.S. citizens. According

to Falcon, the Jones Act, "imposed U.S. citizenship on the people of Puerto Rico over the objections of the island's legislature."<sup>44</sup> As U.S. citizens, they may travel anywhere within the United States, but Puerto Rican migration to the U.S. has risen greatly since World War II. As Hero said, "Scholars often have attributed Puerto Rican migration to the economic policies of the United States and the island's government, which have encouraged industrialization and capitalist investment."<sup>45</sup> According to Jennings's view, "The Puerto Rican migration can be perceived as "involuntary" in that it was organized between the governments of the United States and Puerto Rico."<sup>46</sup>

Thus, Mexican and Puerto Rican histories have been significantly different in the time of their migration to America, the circumstances which encouraged their migration to this country, as well as the underlying difference between them that while all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, Mexican-Americans today must apply for American citizenship.

#### CHICAGO SECTION INTRODUCED

On June 29th, 1982, The U.S. Congress voted to amend the 1965 Voting Rights Act. According to a recent assessment by the Justice Department, the implementation of Amendment Two of the 1982 VRA, by itself, resulted in 1,300 changes in regional district maps.<sup>47</sup> These changes came from court cases which contested regional redistricting plans. Among the resulting court battles was a challenge to the 1981 ward redistricting plan of Chicago. Litigation between the Chicago city council and a united group of Latinos, Blacks, and the Department of Justice raged for over three and a half years until finally the minority



groups were able to prevail. In December of 1985 a new ward map was settled upon which acted to rectify the Latino discriminatory situation with the creation of four super-majority Latino wards. Within these super-majority wards, the Latino percentage of voting age population within Chicago's wards was increased so that Latinos were able to elect, in the Court's judgement, a "representative of their choice,"<sup>48</sup>

#### CHICAGO SECTION - HISTORY

This section will examine the history of the 1982 VRA and the resulting legal battles which created four Latino super-majority wards. This was included because it is important for understanding the history of Chicago Latinos in this section. The section following this will proceed to investigate the question of how the existence of these new wards affected Latino cohesion as a case study in Chicago. I will then summarize my findings for this section and will explore how the creation of the new 1985 ward map affected Latino solidarity and cohesion in Chicago in terms of Latino voter mobilization, behavior, and attitude. My hypothesis in this later section is that an indication of increased mobilization (as measured by behavior and attitude) would indicate an increase in Latino political cohesion and solidarity. By examining the data, I intend to show that the creation of the new wards had little effect upon Latino cohesion in terms of group mobilization, but that the new wards did succeed in getting Latino representatives elected to the Chicago city council and that aim of the 1982 VRA was fulfilled. Also my work will show that, when Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans were given an opportunity to elect a "candidate of their choice"

in Chicago, Mexicans chose Mexicans and Puerto Ricans chose Puerto Ricans, an indication which lends support to my conclusion that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican Americans compose two separate ethnic and political groups, but are linked horizontally by the "supra-ethnicity" of Latino.

#### VOTING RIGHTS ACT

In 1965, the Voting Rights Act was passed in Congress to eliminate discriminatory voting practices within regional and national elections of the U.S. The original VRA was most recently amended in 1982. The most important change to the this 1982 VRA amendment lay in its second section which annulled a 1973 VRA amendment which asserted that a charge of unlawful discrimination against a "protected group" could only be upheld if the discriminatory act was proven to be intentional. As Judge Cudahy stated in *Ketchum v. Byrne*, "...the most significant change brought about by the 1982 VRA [from the 1973 VRA] was to eliminate the requirement of intentional discrimination by substituting a "results" test for the "purpose" test..."<sup>49</sup> In other words, the old law required that proof of discriminatory purpose be substantiated in order to prove a violation of federal law. The 1982 amendment replaced this "purpose" test with a "results" test for discrimination. This new "results" provision made it unnecessary to prove that discrimination had been intentionally employed (as intention had been difficult to prove in court). Evidence of this intention of the new law appeared in the Congressional record, which stated that if, "...the plaintiff proceeds under the "results test", then the court would assess...objective factors, rather than [determining]...the

motivations which lay behind its adoption or maintenance."50 After 1982, it was only necessary to prove unlawful discrimination by reviewing more objective voting data to assess whether the outcome was unlawfully discriminatory, thus greatly facilitating the process of proving unlawful discrimination. Thus, the intention of the new law was to create a new, more objective standard to determine whether illegal voting discrimination had taken place in regional and national elections.

Section Two of The 1982 VRA described this new "objective criteria" which could be employed to establish illegal discrimination when it stated that if, "...it is shown that the political process leading to nomination or election...are not equally open to participation by [race or color]...in that its members have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and elect representatives of their choice."51 And hence, the VRA's criteria used to assess whether illegal voting discrimination had occurred when redrawing voting boundaries, was the condition that protected group could not "elect representatives of their choice". Implicit in this wording of the VRA was the assumption that the protected group actually had a designated "choice" in the first place, or in other words had an underlying group solidarity or cohesion.

To assess whether the standard of the protected group was able to get its "choice", the VRA offered the guideline that, "...the extent to which members of a protected class have been elected to office...is one circumstance which may be considered: Provided, that nothing in this section establishes a right to

have members of a protected class elected in members equal to their proportion in the population."52 This showed that one of the objective criteria taken into consideration to assess group discrimination was a test whether groups have effectively been able to elect a candidate "of their choice" using the determining criteria of whether members of these groups have been elected to political office. Underlying this test was an assumption that members of a group would elect members of their own group, when offered an adequate "choice", an assumption which remained to be proven.

In the 1983 case of *Karcher v. Daggett*, Justice Stevens concluded that a plaintiff's claim of illegal gerrymandering must include a demonstration that they, "belong to a politically salient class."53 By using the word "salient", Stevens advanced the standard that a group's qualities must be distinguished from those of other groups. This criteria of using a group's salient qualities presiding over the importance of an individual's freedom of choice upset critics such as historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, who said the standard set by the court from the 1982 VRA made it that, "...instead of a nation composed of individuals making their own free choices, America increasingly sees itself as composed of groups more or less indelible in their ethnic character."54

Sandra Day O'Connor's opinion in *Thornburg v. Gingles* stated that the court made, "Usual, roughly proportional success the sole focus of its vote dilution analysis."55 Thus O'Connor argued, as Schlesinger seemed to be saying that the provision in amendment two that "...nothing in this section establishes a right to have members of a protected class elected in members

equal to their proportion in the population," was for the most part, being ignored.

Bernard Grofman disagreed with O'Connor's appraisal of the situation when he stated, "This change [which O'Connor mentioned] which seems to imply that section 2 has been converted into a requirement of proportional representation...we believe...is misleading."<sup>56</sup> Grofman's preferred translation of court verdicts was, "You have previously been prevented by white voters from electing candidates of your choice. We will draw districts so that you, like the white majority, will have that opportunity. But we do not care what the ethnicity of your candidate is."<sup>57</sup>

Regardless of the polemics raging over the second amendment of the 1982 VRA, there was consensus that the intention of the law was to give minorities a chance to fairly cast their vote in a non-discriminatory election. My next sections will deal with how this law led to the creation of super-majority wards in Chicago, and how this affected Latino cohesion in terms of group voting mobilization (group behavior) and to a lesser extent, group attitude.

#### COURT HISTORY

In 1981 there was not even a single Latino serving on the Chicago City Council nor in the Illinois state legislature despite the fact that Latinos had reached 14% of Chicago's population by 1980. In September of 1982, The Justice Department decided that it would join a battle to contest the Chicago ward map of 1981. As John Wilson, a Justice Department spokesperson stated, "It was the first time the department had sought to apply...section [2] against a major city...[in a vigorous

attempt] to protect and promote and enhance the rights of racial and language minorities under the Federal voting rights statute."<sup>58</sup> After a three month court battle, District Judge Thomas McMillen ruled in an oral opinion from the bench, that the Chicago redistricting plan of 1981 violated section two of the VRA by, "Undermining minority voting strength,"<sup>59</sup> and also violated the act because the "...total result of the map was unfair."<sup>60</sup> To correct this situation for Latinos, he approved a plan that established four Latino wards with Latinos accounting for over 50% of the voting age population. (see the 1982 court-approved map presented in Table 1) As the table shows, the percentages of Latinos in the voting age population was increased from 59.9% to 69% in the 22nd ward, from 46.2% to 59.5% in the 25th ward, from 43.7% to 50% in the 26th ward, and decreased from 52.4% to 50.6% in the 31st ward by redrawing map lines. The coalition of Latino and Black plaintiffs found this solution "insufficient"<sup>61</sup>, and they appealed the ruling of the McMillen district court to the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in the case of Ketchum v. Byrne (as Jane Byrne was the mayor under whose authority the 1981 map was drawn). The Opinion for this case was written by Circuit Judge Cudahy. In his decision, Cudahy supported McMillen's finding of a violation of section two of the VRA. As he stated, "We approve this finding of a section 2 violation based on retrogression and on the manipulation of racial voting populations to achieve retrogression."<sup>62</sup> Cudahy noted that the 1982 VRA required a complete remedy for the proven occurrence of discrimination, and that the Supreme Court had said that the court must, "So far as possible eliminate the discriminatory effects of the past as well

as bar like discrimination in the future."63

The McMillen District Court also ruled-out the use of so-called "super-majority" wards. Super-majority wards consisted of the general guideline that a ward should contain around 65% of the minority voting age population in order for the minority group to elect officials "of their choice" to office. This guideline was used because 50% was often believed not enough because of low minority group registration, low minority group turnout, and compensation for the fact that many members of the minority group might not be American citizens (As many Mexicans are not American citizens, for example). The opinion for Ketchum v. Byrne stated that, "...minorities must have something more than a mere majority even of voting age population in order to have a reasonable opportunity to elect a representative of their choice. There is simply no point in providing minorities with a 'remedy' for the illegal deprivation of their representational rights in a form which will not in fact provide them with a realistic opportunity to elect a representative of their choice."64 The ruling for Ketchum v. Byrne noted that the McMillen ruling had not gone far enough to remedy the situation. That sentiment appears when Judge Cudahy stated, "We find that the court-approved map [of 1982] has not provided an adequate remedy for the Voting Rights Act violation because it does not eliminate... the illegal dilution of minority voting strength accomplished by the City Council map [of 1981].... We must, therefore, remand to the district court for reconsideration for an adequate and appropriate remedy."65 With the remand, the Cudahy ruling urged the creation of four Latino super-majority wards.

In October of 1984, the Chicago City Council stepped in to try and block the implementation of the voter redistricting plan. It asked Justice Stevens of the Supreme Court to have the full Court review the ruling of *Ketchum v. Byrne*, and on October 22, 1984, Stevens decided to consider the pleading of the City Council. As the UPI reported, "Stevens' action ensures the reapportionment plan will not go into effect until the full Supreme Court decides whether to review a ruling by the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals."<sup>66</sup> The City Council accused the appeals court, "...of using redistricting to maximize minority strength within a legislative unit (not just to) provide members of the protected class with the same opportunity as others to participate in the electoral process and to elect a representative of their choice."<sup>67</sup> Their argument echoed the sentiments of Arthur Schlesinger. When the Supreme court did convene, they decided not to even hear the case, and it was hence remanded back to district court.

During this time, a mediated meeting between the plaintiffs and the defendants took place, and they were able to reach a consensus on a new map which would be drawn. This map, only needed to be approved by the district court for it to go into effect (The results of the new map can be seen in Table 1 under the 1985 court-approved map). *Ketchum v. City Council of the City of Chicago* took place in the U.S. District Court, Northern District, Eastern Division with District Judge Norgle presiding.

The new map imposed well over the 65% of voting age population standard for the 22nd and 25th wards (with 71.8% and 66.7%) which had mostly Mexican-American Latinos in them, and for the 26th and 31st wards (with 57.7% and 52.4%) which had mostly



Puerto Rican-American Latinos in them. These were to be the new Latino super-majority wards of Chicago. Judge Norgle commented that, "Against this backdrop the parties have had to satisfy the broad, pervasive requirements of the Voting Rights Act, and the narrow, detailed specifics of the Seventh Circuit's remand. This court is satisfied that the end product of that hard work does comply with those requirements. That the parties have been able to achieve the goal set for them first by Congress in enacting the Voting Rights Act and then by the Seventh Circuit in its remand order is indeed remarkable."68 With that, Judge Norgle stated in his conclusion, "Because the compromise plan effectively remedies the established violation of section 2 of the Voting Rights Act in accordance with both the Voting Rights Act and the Seventh Circuit's remand order, this court approves the compromise plan."69 Jeff Coleman, attorney for one of the black groups, called Judge Norgle's order, "A tremendous victory,"70 and that, "After four years of litigation challenging a blatantly discriminatory ward map, Judge Norgle's ruling today finally vindicates the rights of blacks and Hispanics in the city."71 The remainder of this section will explore how this decision affected Latino solidarity in Chicago in terms of Latino voter mobilization, behavior and attitude.

#### GROUP MOBILIZATION

I will now address the question of whether the creation of the Chicago super-majority wards affected Latino group mobilization (where my hypothesis is that an indication of increased mobilization would indicate an increase in Latino cohesion due to Latino behavioral solidarity). To answer this

question, I examined voter registration data before and after the redistricting plan was put into effect, and compared the results.

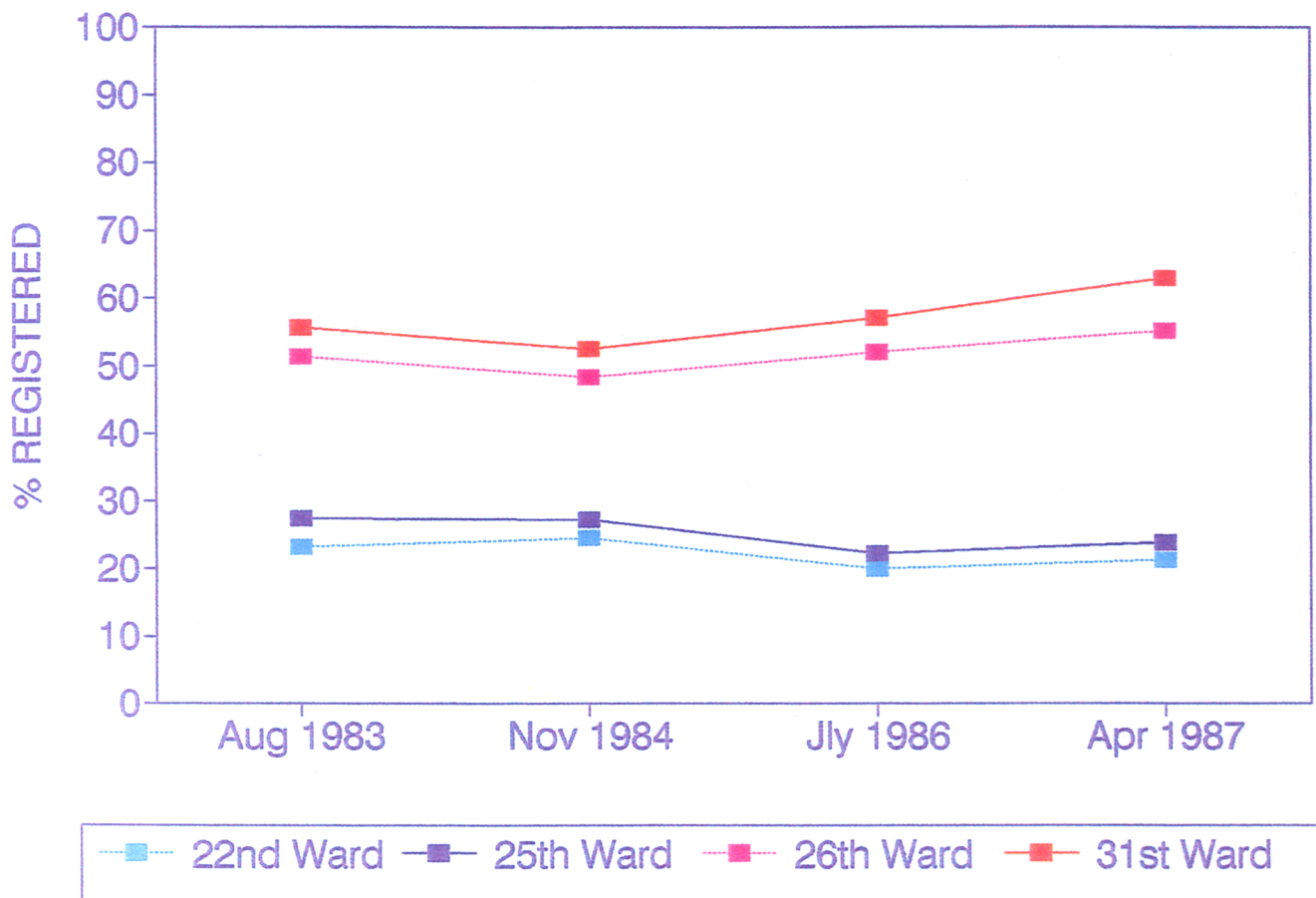
Before I begin my analysis of Chicago Latino mobilization, some background information on Latino mobilization from 1980 may be useful to offer a sense of context. The 1980 census reported that there were 14.6 million Latinos in America, 8.2 million of those were of voting age, 5.6 million of those were eligible to vote as citizens, 3.4 million of those were registered to vote, and 2.2 million of those actually voted in 1980.<sup>72</sup> Calculated, this meant that around 61% of Latinos who were eligible to vote actually registered, somewhat lower than the national average of over 67%, that 39% of those eligible to vote did vote, 41% of Latinos of the legal voting age registered, and 27% of Latinos of legal voting age voted.<sup>73</sup> It is also interesting to note that nationally, around 32% of Latinos of the legal voting age were not eligible to vote, primarily due to the fact that a great number of Latinos in America were not citizens. This percentage only applied to Mexicans and other foreign Latinos, but not Puerto Ricans because they already are U.S. citizens. This distinction will be helpful to understand data which will be presented later in this report. Of the 418,000 Latinos of voting age in Illinois in 1980, 351,000 were eligible to vote, thus, around 16% of Illinois Latinos of legal voting age were not eligible to vote, half the national average of 32%.<sup>74</sup> The national voter turnout for Latinos that did register was 65%. Other data calculated for Illinois was that 40% of those eligible to vote actually registered (far less than the 61% nationally), 36% of Latinos eligible to vote did vote, 34% of Latinos of the legal voting age registered, 30% of Latinos of the legal voting

age voted, and Latino voter turnout in Illinois (the percentage of Latinos that voted of those who had registered) was a very high 89% (as compared to 65% nationally). (These data are summarized in Table 5).

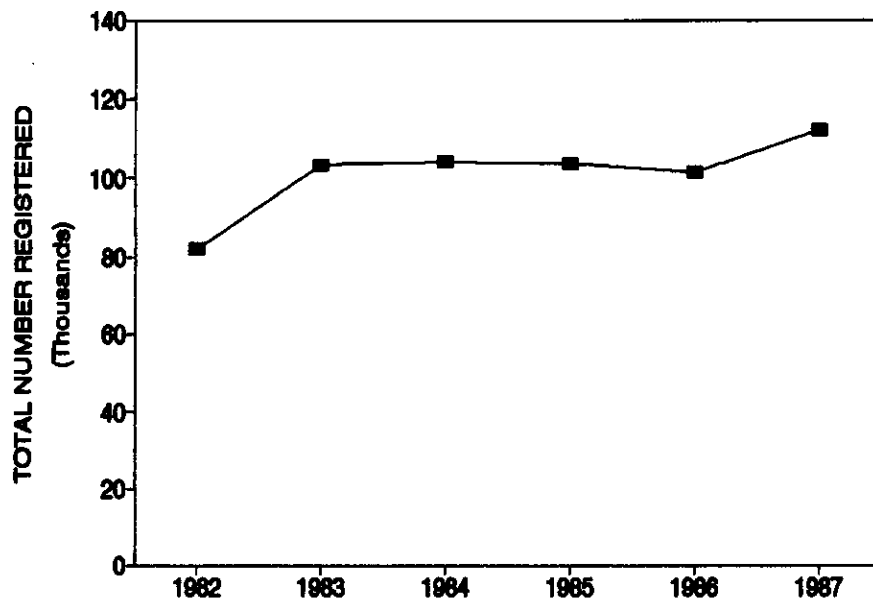
To analyze Chicago Latino mobilization, I first looked at Latino registration data. (see Graph 2 and Table 4) While voting registration grew in Chicago from 1982 to 1987 overall by an impressive 37%, there was actually an overall dip in registration of 2.2% between August of 1983 and July of 1986, the three years during which the new implementation of the 1985 map took place. The Latino Institute published a report in 1986 stating, "Overall, during the last 10 years Latinos have augmented their number of registered voters by 40 percent....The increase appears even more stunted when it is remembered that the general Latino population has quadrupled."<sup>75</sup> This relative stagnation in voter registration was quite surprising, considering that there were many new Latino candidates for political office in 1986 and that with the new 1985 court-approved map in place, Latinos would have a better chance to elect "a representative of their choice" to office. The decrease also seemed surprising because it would be expected that registration would have risen on its own accord due to the tremendous growth of the Chicago Latino population which was occurring over the 1980s (See Graph 3 (below the previous graph) and Table 6). As seen from the data, The population of Latinos in Chicago increased by over 113,000 over the 1980s, or by an impressive 27%. While there were two great jumps in Latino registration from April of 1982 to August of 1983 (of 26%) and from July of 1986 to February of 1987 (of 11%), dates which generally corresponded to Chicago general Mayoral elections,

# GRAPH 1

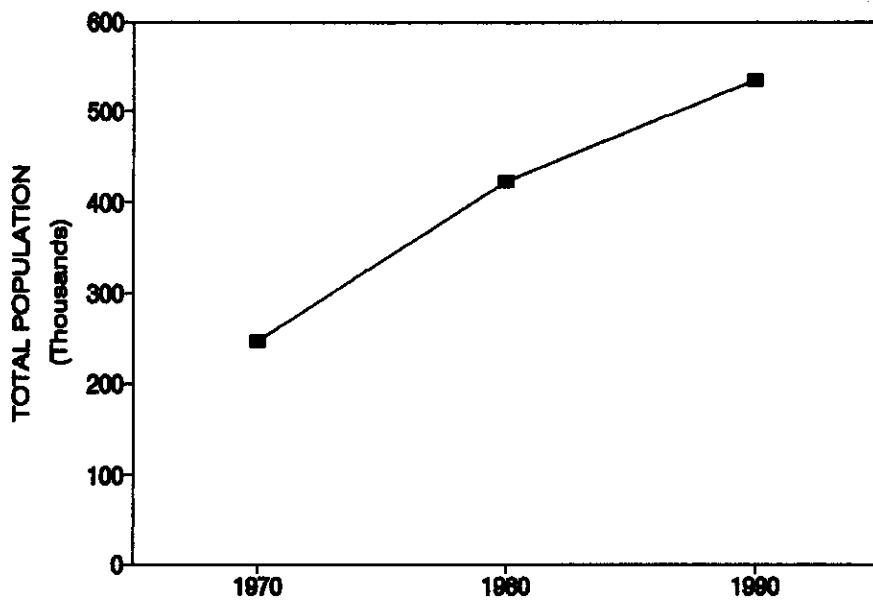
## LATINO V.A.P. REGISTERED TO VOTE



**GRAPH 2**  
**CHICAGO LATINOS REGISTERED**



**GRAPH 3**  
**CHICAGO LATINO POPULATION**



**TABLE 1 - PERCENTAGE OF LATINOS IN VOTING AGE POPULATION**

WARD	1970 Map	1981 City Council Map	1982 Court Approved Map	1985 Compromise Map
22	56.7	59.9	69.0	71.8
25	44.9	46.2	59.5	66.7
26	41.9	43.7	50.0	57.7
31	48.4	52.4	50.6	52.4

(Source: 1980 Census Data, *Ketchum v. Chicago City Council* 630 F Supp. 651 USDC, 1986)

**TABLE 2 - PERCENTAGE OF LATINOS OF VOTING AGE THAT ARE REGISTERED TO**

WARD	August 1983 (1982 Map)	November 1984 (1982 Map)	July 1986 (1985 Map)	April 1987 (1985 Map)
22	23.0	24.4	20.0	21.2
25	27.4	27.2	22.2	23.6
26	51.2	48.2	51.9	55.1
31	55.6	52.5	57.0	62.9

**TABLE 3 - PERCENTAGE OF LATINO WARD POPULATION BY ETHNICITY (1982 MAP)**

WARD	MEXICAN	PUERTO RICAN	
22	92	4	(Mexican Majority Wards)
25	91	6	
26	40	55	(Puerto Rican Majority Wards)
31	28	64	

**TABLE 4 - TOTAL NUMBER OF LATINOS REGISTERED TO VOTE IN CHICAGO**

DATE	Total Registered
Apr 1982	81922
Aug 1983	103371
Nov 1984	103988
Jly 1985	103517
Jly 1986	101149
Feb 1987	112347

(Source: 1980 Census Data, Midwest Northwest Voter Registration Education Project:

"Hispanics in the City of Chicago and in eleven Selected Wards", Apr. 1985,

"Hispanics in the City of Chicago and in Eleven Selected Wards", Nov. 1985,

"A Political and Demographic Profile of Hispanics in Wards 22, 25, 26, & 31 in Chicago", Jly. 1986,

"The 1987 Chicago Mayoral Primary; The Hispanic Vote; A Special Report", Feb. 1987,

"The Hispanic Vote; Chicago Mayoral General Election", Apr. 1987,

Latino Institute: "At the Cutting Edge; The Empowerment of Chicago's Latino Electorate", 1986.)

**TABLE 5 - 1980 DATA ON LATINO REGISTRATION AND VOTING**

	NATION	ILLINOIS
% of Latinos that registered who voted (voter turnout)	65	89
% of Latinos eligible to vote who registered	61	40
% of Latinos eligible to vote who voted	39	36
% of Latinos of legal voting age who registered	41	34
% of Latinos of legal voting age who voted	27	30
% of Latinos of voting age not eligible to vote	32	16

**TABLE 6 - POPULATION OF LATINOS IN CHICAGO**

YEAR	POPULATION	% OF TOTAL POPULATION
1970	247,343	7.3
1980	422,063	14.1
1990	535,315	19.2

Sources: 1970 Census Data, 1980 Census Data, 1990 Census Data

Proprietary to the United Press International, "The Hispanic Vote -

Parties Can't Gamble That the Sleeping Giant Won't Awaken", Nov 3, 1983,

Latino Institute Press Release: September 14, 1992,

Latino Institute: At the Cutting Edge: The Empowerment of Chicago's

Latino Electorate, 1993.

**TABLE 7 - MVREP EXIT POLL - 1986 GENERAL ELECTION**

November, 1986 Chicago General Election Poll Question:

"In this election you had the opportunity to vote for a Hispanic candidate to represent you. How much did this influence your decision to come out and vote today?"

(N = 706) (Non-Scientific Sampling of only Latino Voters)

Percentage of Latino Response:

Very Much	Very Little/ Somewhat Not at All	
55 %	24 %	21 %

source: MVREP The Hispanic Vote Chicago Exit Poll General Election, November 4, 1986

**TABLE 8 - 1986 LATINO ELECTORATE SURVEY**

April 1986 survey question given only to Latinos who voted in March:

"What factor motivated you most in going out to cast a ballot?"

(N = 208)

Percentage of Latino Response:

Latino Candidate on Ballot:

9 %

Source: Latino Institute, At the Cutting Edge - The Empowerment of Chicago's Latino Electorate, Sept. 1988.

these jumps in voter registration did not take place during the implementation of the new 1985 court-approved map, but in fact voter registration fell in spite of tremendous population growth, and therefore offers some strong evidence that Latino voting mobilization remained relatively unchanged by the 1985 redistricting.

The Attitudinal data I found on this subject was mixed. While an on-sight Latino Voter Poll conducted by the Midwest Voter Registration Education Project found that 55% of Latinos polled who showed up to vote were "Very Much" influenced by the fact that they, "...had the opportunity to vote for a Hispanic candidate."<sup>76</sup> (See Table 7), the Latino Electorate Survey told a different story. Respondents who had voted in the March, 1986 primary were asked. "What factor motivated you most in going out to cast a ballot?" Only 9% of respondents indicated that having a Latino candidate on the ballot motivated them to vote.<sup>77</sup> (See Table 8)

Before the 1986 election, Jesus Garcia, the candidate for alderman in the 22nd Ward said, "To talk about a [Latino] bloc is meaningless."<sup>78</sup> His opponent in the race shared his sentiment, as an aide for Martinez said, "The only thing Mexicans and Puerto Ricans... will work together on [in Chicago] is parades and festivals.... There will be a Mexican-American agenda and a Puerto Rican agenda, but not a Hispanic agenda "<sup>79</sup> This clearly showed that in the 22nd ward at that time, at least, there was little political solidarity between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, and hence, little evidence of their cooperation and co-mobilization, but evidence of an ethnic divide among Latinos in Chicago.



Further evidence reviewed to assess Latino voting mobilization was the percentage of Latinos of legal voting age who were actually registered to vote in each of the four super-majority wards before and after the 1985 redistricting. (See Graph 1 and Table 2) To compile the data, I used 1980 census voting age population data (the composition of which shifted with the drawing of the new map), and registration data that I found in various publications of the Midwest Northeast Voter Registration Education Project and the Latino Institute which indicated registration by ward in certain years. Through some calculation, I arrived at the data which now appears on the chart. Since the voting age population data was all taken from 1980, it would have been expected that the percentages would gradually grow in each ward, on their own accord due to the expanding population in Latinos that took place over this period (see Graph 3 and Table 6). Instead, the charts indicate extremely low registration for Latinos of the Mexican 22nd and 25th wards and fairly low, but significantly higher registration for the Puerto Rican 26th and 31st wards. The gap between these groups can be better understood when the ethnic composition of these wards is studied (See Table 3). The two lower groups, the 22nd and 25th wards both were composed of populations primarily composed of Mexicans (92% and 91%) while the two higher groups, the 26th and 31st wards were composed mostly of Puerto Ricans (55% and 64%). While Mexicans, as I explained earlier, who were of voting age might not be eligible to vote due to their foreign citizenship, Puerto Ricans in Chicago are automatically counted as American citizens already, and hence those of legal voting age would be eligible to vote. This discrepancy between the ethnic

composition of the wards probably accounts for the large gap in registration between them.

In Looking at Graph 1, though, besides the low voter registration which is evident, (compare the national average figure of 67% of those eligible to vote who registered with graph 1 and Table 2, and also compare the figures to the data in Table 5) it is also useful to look at the marginal differences in voting registration before and after the implementation of the new super-majority wards which occurred between the first two and the second two graph points. It is evident that in each ward there is very little marginal change in each ward before and after redistricting (although the 31st ward did show a somewhat substantial increase between July 1986 and April 1987 of 5.9%). This relative lack of marginal increase before and after the imposition of the super-majority wards offers more evidence to the claim that the creation of the wards did little to increase Latino mobilization.

Finally, in the 1986 Chicago election, only 24% of Latinos who were in the Voting Age Population were registered to vote.<sup>80</sup> This was significantly below the Illinois Average Percentage of Latinos who were in the Voting Age Population who registered to vote of 34% from 1980 data, and far below the 1980 Latino National Average of 41% which appeared in Table 5. Furthermore, although registration increased for the 1987 Chicago general election, Latino turnout was a fairly low 63% of those who registered, (as compared to the average Latino voter turnout for Illinois of 89% (See Table 5)) as a Midwest Voter Registration Education Project stated, "Hispanic voter turnout...trailed voter turnout among Blacks and Whites."<sup>81</sup>

The creation of the Second Amendment to the 1982 VRA was intended to facilitate the process of determining redistricting discrimination by the replacement of a "purpose" test with a "results" test, and also the VRA was created so that members of minority groups could elect "representatives of their choice" to office. It was because of this law that Judge Norgle ordered the creation of four super-majority wards of Latinos in Chicago due to proven past discrimination. Because voter turnout actually decreased during the time period the new wards were created, because there were no marginal increases in the voting registration of the four super-majority wards, because attitudinal data was inconclusive on the impact of the redistricting, because Latino voter registration remained below both the Illinois and National averages measured from earlier census data, and because of the fact that even in 1987 when there was higher registration, Latino turnout remained below that of Blacks and Whites, I have concluded that the creation of the wards did little to increase Latino cohesion by voter mobilization, but did succeed in fulfilling the aims of the VRA to affect the outcome of the elections. Before the 1985 map was put in place, in all Chicago history, twenty-five Latino aldermen had run for office, and only one had ever won, and that one was only elected after the 1982 map had been approved by the court. Immediately after the map was redrawn in 1985, four Latino Aldermen were elected to the city council. When allowed to elect a "candidate of their choice", both the 22nd and 25th wards, composed primarily of Mexican-Americans, elected Mexican-Americans to office. In both the 26th and 31st wards, composed predominantly of Puerto Ricans, Puerto Ricans were elected to

office. This lends support to my finding, at least in Chicago, that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican Americans seem to compose two separate ethnic and political groups under the "supra-ethnicity" of "Latino"

#### GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY DATA SECTION

Within the framework of Dahl's theory, ethnic assimilation can be assessed for an ethnic group by evaluating two criteria: (1) the relative amount of political variance within a group and (2) The extent to which socio-economic variables account for political divisions within the group. The first will be assessed in my Inter-group analysis section, the second in my intra-group analysis section.

#### Sources of Error in GSS Data:

First, I should note that the General Social Survey (GSS), which I used for this paper, included an ethnicity variable which contained values for Mexican American and Puerto Rican respondents, but not for Cubans, or other members of Latino groups. Due to this omission in the GSS. I confined my GSS study only to those respondents who identified their ethnicity as either "Mexican" or "Puerto Rican" and decided against using the vague ethnicity variable of "Other Spanish". In order to increase the sample size of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, I used GSS data from every year the sample has been taken. Although the sample size of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans was still quite small (N numbers ranged from 336 to 585), the samples were sufficient to show a general trend over the past 18 years of the GSS and suffered from not reflecting more specific periodic trends.

Another sample error of the GSS was that there seems to have been a somewhat significantly (sig  $t=.07$ ,  $\beta = .08$ ) greater number of Puerto Rican women sampled in this data than Puerto Rican men. I also want to stress that the GSS sample data, itself has been acquired through stringent means in order to obtain an accurate sample of national public opinion, but that it, too is subject to error. Besides these considerations, the GSS data should offer some value to the study of Mexican and Puerto Rican cohesiveness.

#### Methodology in My Approach to Using the GSS Data:

In my study of the data, I used two approaches to measure Mexican and Puerto Rican cohesiveness. These two approaches were: (1) Comparative - to compare the cohesiveness of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans to the cohesiveness of other groups (Blacks and Whites). This will be done by assessing the variance of response to 13 independent variables for each group and comparing it to the others. I will refer to this approach as comparisons of inter-group differences, and (2) To indicate which variables within the group of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans that best accounted for divisions within their own group (such as ethnicity, income, level of education, age, gender, political party, and self-declared political views). These approaches will be referred to as intra-group differences.

#### IV. INTER-GROUP ANALYSIS

My analysis will start with the comparative inter-group approach; to compare the group cohesiveness of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans to the group cohesiveness of Blacks and Whites, individually. My methodology in this case was quite simple. It

was to independently compare the variance of responses of Blacks, Whites, and the Puerto Rican and Mexican group on 13 specific dependent variables (such as their position on welfare spending, for example). Within-group variance was calculated by a process which I found detailed in Moshe Ben-Horim & Haim Levy's book, Statistics: Decisions and Applications in Business and Economics, and which I programed and then calculated with the computer program SPSS. Variance was calculated by taking the difference between the mean result averaged from all responses from the dependent variable and actual result of each dependent variable. That difference was squared, and the product was divided by the number of respondents, N, to find the mean variance. The larger the variance number, the greater the variance. The variance of their responses to the questions indicated the relative variances within each group on the question. The output of this analysis can be seen on the chart, "Inter-Group Variances of GSS Independent Variables".

#### Analysis of Variance for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans and Whites

According to my data, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans actually showed more variance than Whites on three issues: welfare spending, foreign aid spending, and crime spending. From the chart, these values were:

<u>Dependent Variables</u>	<u>Variance of Response</u>		
	MEX & PRs	WHITES	DIFFERENCE
Foreign Aid Spending	.47	.28	.19
Welfare Spending	.66	.56	.10
Crime Spending	.38	.34	.04

These findings were unexpected. While Whites would be expected, in general, to exhibit greater response variance to any question than that of a "unified group", they did not on three

## INTER-GROUP VARIANCES OF GSS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

VARIABLE	BLACK RESPONSE	MEXICAN AND PUERTO RICAN RESPONSE	WHITE RESPONSE
	VARIANCE	VARIANCE	VARIANCE
TX	0.20	0.22	0.23
EQ2	0.56	0.64	0.79
NATFARE	0.66	0.66	0.56
NATEDUC	0.25	0.32	0.43
PV	0.62		0.59
ABA	0.22	0.20	0.24
GAY	0.14	0.17	0.20
HEALTH	0.28	0.31	0.36
NATCRIME	0.34	0.38	0.34
NATSOC	0.28	0.32	0.38
NATENVIR	0.39	0.37	0.44
NATAID	0.46	0.47	0.28
NATCITY	0.44	0.54	0.58

### Additional information:

VARIABLE	BLACK RESPONSE	MEXICAN AND PUERTO RICAN RESPONSE	WHITE RESPONSE
	MEAN AND (N)	MEAN AND (N)	MEAN AND (N)
TX	.27 (2031)	.32 (378)	.36 (11751)
EQ2	.50 (1704)	.80 (353)	.89 (10211)
NATFARE	1.75 (2421)	2.08 (498)	2.36 (15822)
NATEDUC	1.29 (2488)	1.47 (501)	1.53 (15928)
PV	.85 (2932)	.90 (585)	1.09 (18229)
ABA	.66 (2341)	.72 (431)	.81 (13513)
GAY	.83 (2506)	.78 (480)	.73 (14306)
HEALTH	.29 (2488)	.43 (500)	.45 (15804)
NATCRIME	1.31 (2437)	1.36 (498)	1.36 (15724)
NATSOC	1.31 (1804)	1.44 (338)	1.54 (9137)
NATENVIR	1.40 (2375)	1.41 (478)	1.50 (15855)
NATAID	2.58 (2370)	2.53 (475)	2.71 (15778)
NATCITY	1.42 (2320)	1.52 (458)	1.71 (14228)

issues when compared to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Regardless of their common grouping as Latinos, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans showed a greater range of opinion on foreign aid, welfare, and crime spending preferences, and hence, revealed less cohesion of opinion than did Whites. While the differences in the variance on crime spending were only marginal, it was still surprising that Mexican and Puerto Rican opinion was even as variable as White opinion, let alone more variant considering that Whites in America represent a great continuum of views from the far left to the far right. The variances on welfare spending and foreign aid, however exhibited an even more dramatic difference. Both of those variables indicated a more significant discrepancy between Latino and White variances than any other independent variable (variance was .10 higher for Latinos on welfare and .19 higher for Latinos on foreign aid). Since both foreign aid and welfare spending are egalitarian in nature, my data indicated that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were less cohesive than Whites towards egalitarian policies.

#### ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PUERTO RICANS AND MEXICANS AND BLACKS

Puerto Ricans and Mexicans showed greater variance than Blacks on almost every variable (see "Inter-Group Variances of GSS Independent Variables"). These included:

Dependent Variables	Variance of Response		
	Mex & PRs	BLACKS	DIFFERENCE
Health Spending	.43	.29	.14
City Spending	.54	.44	.10
Equal Wealth Distb. Views	.64	.56	.08
Education Spending	.32	.25	.07
Crime Spending	.38	.34	.06
Views on Homosexuality	.17	.14	.03
Social Security Spending	.56	.53	.03
Taxation Views	.22	.20	.02
Foreign Aid Spending	.47	.46	.01



For each one of these nine variables, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans showed greater variance, and hence, less cohesiveness of opinion than Blacks. My data indicated these tendencies:

(1) As a group, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were less cohesive than Blacks in redistributive policies (with positive variance differences of .08 for equalization of wealth and .02 for views on taxation).

(2) As a group, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were less cohesive than Blacks in non-redistributive spending policies (with variance differences of .14 for health spending, .03 for social security spending, and .06 for crime spending).

(3) As a group, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans were generally less cohesive than Blacks in non-redistributive investment-oriented spending preferences (with variance differences of .07 for education spending, .10 for city spending, and a modest -.02 variance difference for environmental spending).

(4) As a group, Puerto Rican and Mexican cohesiveness did not significantly differ from that of Blacks on policies of social liberalism and egalitarianism (with variance differences of .03 for views on homosexuality and -.02 for views on abortion, social liberalism did not show significant differentiation between Latinos and Blacks. For egalitarian policies, the group variances differed by .01 for views on foreign aid, and not at all for views on welfare.)

In general, my data indicated a predominant trend of less cohesion among Puerto Ricans and Mexicans than of Blacks except in egalitarian and socially liberal policies where their cohesiveness was equal.

## ANALYSIS OF ALL THREE GROUPS

By taking the average variance of all 13 dependent variables for each group, I was able to place each group on a relative continuum of general cohesiveness:

### GENERAL CONTINUUM OF COHESIVENESS FOR AMERICAN GROUPS

MORE COHESIVE		LESS COHESIVE
.350	.375	.400
..... .....	..... .....	..... .....
BLACKS	LATINOS	WHITES
.352	.383	.403

I conclude this section with the finding that Latinos approach an average variance of response for the 13 political dependent variables closer to Whites than to Blacks. This finding is especially remarkable upon considering that the Latino population today represents only a fraction of even the Black population in the U.S. (this was especially during the period which the GSS was conducted). With respect to Dahl's theory of ethnic assimilation, I have shown that Latinos are relatively politically inhomogeneous.

Further, my findings indicate, contrary to the inference forwarded by F. Chris Garcia and Rodolfo de la Garza in 1977 that Latinos are relatively inhomogeneous on welfare spending, education spending, crime spending, and to a lesser extent, on health spending.<sup>82</sup>

In this section I have discovered that Latinos have a high relative variance in political opinion, compared to Blacks, approaching the variance of Whites on average. This fact is especially remarkable due to the relatively small population of Latinos in the United States. In my next section, I will attempt to account for where within Latinos as a group, this variance of

opinion lies.

## VI. INTRA-LATINO ANALYSIS

### Discussion and Conclusions of Intra-Latino Regression Analysis:

This Section will be composed of two parts. First I will analyze significance tables of my GSS Intra-Latino multiple regressions to find whether my findings agree with the theories of Dahl and Garcia. My second section is somewhat ancillary to my discussion of the theory, but it is useful in the sense that, "...neither in 1984 nor since have independent national surveys and public opinion polls systematically included Latinos as a separate population whose social and political attitudes and behaviors could be analyzed. Moreover, when Latinos are included, the several sub-groups are not identified separately so as to know whether the views presented are those of Mexican-, Puerto Rican-, or Cuban-origin respondents."<sup>83</sup> Due to the fact that I found an ethnicity variable on the GSS which could distinguish Mexican from Puerto Rican respondents, I have used that ethnicity as a distinguishing independent variable in my data.

### Analysis of Theoretical Findings and Conclusions

Dahl theorized that variance in political views should act as a function of socio-economic status. My work shows that this part of his theory appears to hold true for Latinos as a group. In 12 out of my 13 categories either income or education or both were significant dividing factors for all Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as a group. (See Chart - Data Summary of Intra-Latino Analysis (asterisks indicate significant differentiation)) My

# DATA SUMMARY OF INTRA-LATINO ANALYSIS

## SIGNIFICANCE ANALYSIS:

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:	DEPENDENT VARIABLES:													
	ECWTH	TX	WFARE	F.AID	GAY	ABRTN	PV	EDUC	ENVR	CITY	CRM	HLTH	S.SEC	
ETHNICITY	**	**						*	**					4
INCOME		**	**	**			**	**				*	**	7
EDUCATION				**	**	**		**	**	**	**	**		8
GENDER				**			**	**				**		4
AGE				**	**		**							3
PARTYID		*					**							2
PV				*		**								2
	1	3	1	5	2	2	4	4	2	1	1	3	1	TOTALS

findings confirm that for Latinos, political views appear to act as a function of socio-economic status. Thus, I have found evidence of low political cohesion, among Latinos in the sense that they are divided upon socio-economic variables, one of Dahl's pre-conditions for finding a group at least in his second stage of ethnic assimilation.

In four cases my data indicate, however, that political views acted as a function of ethnicity (ethnicity indicating that national identity was distinguished as either Puerto Rican or Mexican). Those differences were found in the categories of taxation contentment, equal wealth distribution, environmental spending, and to a lesser extent, education spending (again, see Chart). In other words, their national ancestry, alone, accounted for differences of political opinion, even when income, education, gender, age, political views, and political party were compensated for in my multiple regression.

It is my feeling that the divide between Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans on these issues had much to do with their separate histories. On environmental spending, for example, Puerto Ricans were more politically liberal than Mexicans (with a beta of  $-.12$  and a sig T of  $.03$ ). This may have been because Puerto Ricans have always been U.S. citizens, and may be more concerned with the upkeep of their homeland than newcomers to this country would be. The same argument may hold true for views on equalizing wealth (with a beta of  $-.15$  and a sig T of  $.02$ ), taxation contentment (with a beta of  $-.12$  and a sig T of  $.03$ ), and to a lesser extent on education spending (with a beta of  $-.08$  and a sig T of  $.07$ ), all of which show Puerto Ricans more fiscally liberal than Mexicans (being American citizens, Puerto

# INTRA-LATINO MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS (SOURCE: GSS)

## REDISTRIBUTIVE POLICIES

### Latino Views of Wealth Equalization

Dependent variable: EQ2		Values of EQ2:	
Multiple R	0.02	1	Government Should Equalize Wealth
R Square	0.05	2	
Adj R Square	0.02	3	Government Should Not Equalize Wealth
N = 388			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
ETHNICITY (ETH) (0 = MEXICAN, 1 = PUERTO RICAN)	-0.16	0.02 **
INCOME (#)	0.11	0.15
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.08	0.18
GENDER (SEX)	0.04	0.30
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTID)	0.08	0.37
AGE	-0.02	0.82
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	0.01	0.92
CONSTANT		0.28

### Latino Views of Taxation

Dependent variable: TX		Values of TX:	
Multiple R	0.21	1	Taxes Are Too High
R Square	0.05	2	Taxes Are Too Low or
Adj R Square	0.02		Content With Taxes
N = 376			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
INCOME (#)	-0.14	0.02 **
ETHNICITY (ETH) (0 = MEXICAN, 1 = PUERTO RICAN)	-0.12	0.03 **
POLITICAL PARTY (0 = more DEM, 6 = more REP)	0.11	0.07 *
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.07	0.20
EDUCATION (Degree)	0.05	0.41
GENDER (Sex)	0.05	0.50
AGE	0.00	0.95
CONSTANT		0.01

## EGALITARIAN POLICIES

### Latino Views on Welfare Spending

Dependent variable: FARE		Values of FARE:	
Multiple R	0.21	1	Too Little Welfare Spending
R Square	0.06	2	Welfare Spending About Right
Adj R Square	0.03	3	Too Much Welfare Spending
N = 504			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
INCOME (#)	0.18	0.00 ***
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	0.08	0.14
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.08	0.22
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTID)	0.02	0.73
AGE	0.01	0.82
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.10	0.85
GENDER (SEX)	0.00	0.98
CONSTANT		0.00

### Latino Views on Foreign Aid

Dependent variable: NATAID		Values of NATAID:	
Multiple R	0.34	1	Too Little Spending on Foreign Aid
R Square	0.12	2	Foreign Aid About Right
Adj R Square	0.10	3	Too Much Spending on Foreign Aid
N = 475			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
AGE	0.20	0.00 ***
INCOME (#)	0.15	0.00 ***
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV) (1=lib 2=mod 3=con)	-0.13	0.01 **
EDUCATION (Degree)	0.13	0.02 **
GENDER (Sex) (1=MALE, 2=FEMALE)	-0.12	0.03 **
POLITICAL PARTY (Partyid)	-0.07	0.18
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.05	0.29
CONSTANT		0.00

## Latino Views on Homosexuality

Dependent variable: GAY

Multiple R	0.31	Values of GAY:
R Square	0.10	0 Homosexuality is Always Wrong
Adj R Square	0.08	1 Homosexuality is Not Always Wrong or
N = 480		Nothing Wrong With Homosexuality

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	0.25	0.00 ***
AGE	-0.11	0.03 **
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	-0.09	0.10
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.07	0.15
GENDER (SEX)	0.08	0.25
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	-0.03	0.51
INCOME (IN)	0.01	0.80
CONSTANT		0.02

## Latino Views of Abortion on Demand

Dependent variable: ABA

Multiple R	0.26	Values of ABA:
R Square	0.06	0 Support Abortion on Demand
Adj R Square	0.05	1 Oppose Abortion on Demand
N = 431		

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV) (1=lib 2=mod 3=con)	0.19	0.00 ***
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	-0.14	0.01 **
CATHOLIC (0 = NO, 1 = YES)	-0.12	0.03 **
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.07	0.16
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	-0.05	0.35
GENDER (SEX)	0.04	0.43
AGE	0.04	0.46
INCOME (IN)	-0.02	0.74
CONSTANT		0.00

## Latino Self-Declared (Social) Political Views

Dependent variable: PV

Multiple R	0.27	Values of PV:
R Square	0.08	1 Liberal
Adj R Square	0.06	2 Moderate
N = 603		3 Conservative

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
INCOME (IN)	0.19	0.00 ***
POLITICAL PARTY (0 = more DEM, 5 = more REP)	0.14	0.00 ***
GENDER (SEX) (1 = MALE, 2 = FEMALE)	0.13	0.00 ***
AGE	0.13	0.01 **
NOT BORN IN U.S. (NBT)	0.07	0.19
ETHNICITY (ETH)	0.03	0.59
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	0.02	0.83
CONSTANT		0.52

## NON-REDISTRIBUTIVE INVESTMENT-ORIENTED SPENDING POLICIES

## Latino Views on Education Spending

Dependent variable: Educat

Multiple R	0.30	Values of Educat:
R Square	0.09	1 Too Little Education Spending
Adj R Square	0.07	2 Education Spending About Right
N = 506		3 Too Much Education Spending

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
INCOME (IN)	-0.17	0.00 ***
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	-0.16	0.00 ***
GENDER (SEX) (1 = MALE, 2 = FEMALE)	0.12	0.02 **
ETHNICITY (ETH) (0 = MEXICAN, 1 = PUERTO RICAN)	-0.08	0.07 *
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	0.05	0.36
AGE	-0.05	0.39
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.01	0.85
CONSTANT		0.00

## Latino Views on Environmental Spending

Dependent variable: NATENVR

Multiple R	0.22	Values of NATENVR:
R Square	0.05	1 Too Little Spending on the Environment
Adj R Square	0.03	2 Environmental Spending About Right
N = 476		3 Too Much Spending on the Environment

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
EDUCATION (Degree)	-0.13	0.02 **
ETHNICITY (ETH) (0=MEXICAN, 1=PUERTO RICAN)	-0.12	0.03 **
GENDER (Sex)	0.06	0.13
INCOME (IN)	-0.07	0.22
AGE	0.06	0.25
POLITICAL PARTY (PartyId)	0.05	0.39
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	-0.02	0.87
CONSTANT		0.00

Latino Views on Problems of Cities

Dependent variable: NATCITY		Values of NATCITY	
Multiple R	0.18	1	Too Little Spending on Problems of Cities
R Square	0.03	2	Spending on City Problems About Right
Adj R Square	0.01	3	Too Much Spending on Problems of Cities
N = 483			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
EDUCATION (Degree)	-0.13	0.03 **
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.09	0.11
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.07	0.20
INCOME (\$)	-0.05	0.40
GENDER (SEX)	0.04	0.42
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	0.02	0.68
AGE	-0.01	0.82
CONSTANT		0.00

GENERAL NON-REDISTRIBUTIVE SPENDING POLICIES

Latino Views on Crime Spending

Dependent variable: CRIME		Values of CRIME:	
Multiple R	0.19	1	Too Little Crime Spending
R Square	0.04	2	Crime Spending About Right
Adj R Square	0.02	3	Too Much Crime Spending
N = 501			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	-0.13	0.01 **
AGE	0.08	0.17
GENDER (SEX)	0.07	0.20
ETHNICITY (ETH)	0.07	0.28
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	0.04	0.47
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.02	0.67
INCOME (\$)	0.01	0.88
CONSTANT		0.00

Latino Views on Health Spending

Dependent variable: HEALTH		Values of HEALTH	
Multiple R	0.28	1	Too Little Health Spending
R Square	0.07	2	Health Spending About Right
Adj R Square	0.05	3	Too Much Health Spending
N = 505			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
GENDER (SEX) (1 = MALE, 2 = FEMALE)	0.16	0.00 ***
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	-0.13	0.02 **
INCOME (\$)	-0.10	0.07 *
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	0.06	0.25
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.06	0.26
AGE	-0.05	0.30
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	-0.02	0.74
CONSTANT		0.01

Latino Views on Social Security Spending

Dependent variable: NATSOC		Values of NATSOC:	
Multiple R	0.20	1	Too Little Social Security Spending
R Square	0.04	2	Social Security Spending About Right
Adj R Square	0.02	3	Too Much Social Security Spending
N = 336			

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	BETA	Sig T
INCOME (\$)	-0.16	0.01 **
EDUCATION (DEGREE)	-0.08	0.34
GENDER (SEX)	-0.06	0.35
ETHNICITY (ETH)	-0.06	0.38
POLITICAL PARTY (PARTYID)	0.05	0.47
AGE	-0.03	0.68
SOCIAL POLITICAL VIEWS (PV)	0.00	0.94
CONSTANT		0.00



Ricans may feel that they are entitled to more governmental compensation for their low status in society, than those who came into society poor).

In lieu of these findings, when analyzed in the framework of Dahl's theory of ethnic assimilation, Latinos would be best placed at least into Dahl's second stage of political assimilation, if not higher. But the significant differences of opinion based on ethnicity between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans indicated another finding - that Latinos are a fairly inhomogeneous group, but that their ancestry serves as a source of cohesion within their own specific ethnic group within Latinos. When this fact is combined with the fact that socio-economic factors significantly divide them in 12 out of my 13 categories, it is evident that Latinos are, indeed a divided group.

While I have classified Latinos as a group at least of stage two or greater on Dahl's scale, the classification is a bit ambiguous due to the fact that "Latino" seems a "supra-ethnicity", composed of multiple, horizontally-linked groups, (as shown by the fact that national origin ethnicity divides Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in 4 of my 13 cases and by their distinct and separate histories), and Dahl does not address anything analogous to "supra-ethnicities" in his theory. As Rodney Hero commented, "...the "distinct" and "tenuous" nature of Latino status in the United States has made it difficult to develop explanatory frameworks appropriate to their unique status."<sup>84</sup> This is an important consideration in appraising Latino political cohesion, in general.

From the results of my data I was also able to assess Garcia

and de la Garza's 1977 claim that "...demands made by the entire community focus on changes in education, police relations (crime)... health and welfare programs."85 My data indicated that on education spending (see Table "Latino Views on Education Spending") Latinos were significantly divided by their ethnicity (beta  $-.08$ , sig T  $.07$ ), their income (beta  $-.17$ , sig T  $.00$ ), their education (beta  $-.16$ , sig T  $.00$ ), and their gender (beta  $.12$ , sig T  $.02$ ) Further, from my Inter-group section, their overall variance of response was greater than that of Blacks, but less than that of Whites to the question (Variances were  $.25$  for Blacks,  $.32$  for Latinos and  $.43$  for Whites). Thus, I found little substantiation for the claim that "the entire community [has] focus[ed] on changes in education".

Latinos were divided on crime spending by only a single significant variable, education (beta  $-.13$ , sig T  $.01$ ) (See Table "Latino Views on Crime Spending"), but surprisingly, their variance of response to the question of whether there was adequate crime spending varied more than that for Blacks or Whites (Variances were  $.34$  for Blacks and Whites and  $.38$  for Latinos). Thus there is some evidence that Latinos are not significantly divided, on crime spending by any of my independent variables (with the exception of education), but when compared to other groups, they are relatively more variant, but not by a very significant amount. Thus, my data indicates that Garcia and de la Garza's claim for crime spending is also quite weak.

On health spending (See Table "Latino Views on Health Spending"), there were significant differences within Latinos based on income (beta  $-.10$ , sig T  $.07$ ), education (beta  $-.13$ , sig T  $.02$ ), and gender (beta  $.16$ , sig T  $.00$ ), and their variance of

response is still slightly above that of Blacks (Variances were .28 for Blacks, .31 for Latinos, and .36 for Whites). Again, there is little substantiation for Garcia's and de la Garza's claim on health spending as an independent variable.

Finally, for welfare spending (See Table "Latino Views on Welfare Spending", Latinos were significantly divided by income (beta .16 sig T .00). Their variance of response to this equaled that of Blacks, and was even above that of Whites (Variance was .66 for Latinos and Blacks and .56 for Whites). Thus their final claim has, as their other claims were, shown not to be represented by my data. Part of the problem may lie with the fact that I have used both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in my analysis, and they were dealing with "Chicanos", yet my data, at the very least indicates that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans as a group have not shown politically cohesive tendencies in these areas.

My next Intra-Latino section will help analyze Latino Political views. While this section does not prove or disprove political theory, the results are of significance due to the fact that as Rodney Hero stated, this has never been done before.

The Second Part of this section, while not directly applicable to proving or disproving theory, is still of interest to place Latinos on the political map. I have delegated this section, for that reason to Appendix A at the end of this study. It will draw from my Intra-group multiple regressions presented in this section.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Dahl theorized that variance in political views act as a

function of socio-economic status. My work shows that this part of his theory appears to hold true for Latinos as a group. (in 12 out of my 13 categories either income or education or both were significant dividing factors for all Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as a group). Income and education were also the largest sources of divisions of attitude within Latinos as a groups. Thus, my findings confirm that for Latinos, political views appear to act as a function of socio-economic status.

My work, however, has uncovered a second important finding. My data indicated that in the important issues of wealth equalization, taxation, environmental protection, and marginally, in education, Latinos are significantly divided by their ethnicity (their classification as a Puerto Rican or as a Mexican). I believe that this differentiation, for the most part, between ethnic groups within Latinos could be accounted for by the fact that Puerto Ricans have remained American citizens, while many (although not all) Mexicans have been immigrants to America. For Dahl's theory of ethnic assimilation to be correctly applied to a group, the group, in its first stages must be considered demographically and politically homogeneous. Latinos were found to be relatively inhomogeneous in my inter-group study on most issues, and in my intra-group study they showed significant variance of opinion as a function of socio-economic status. In four cases they were even divided as a function of their ethnicity. A finding that indicated that Latinos are somewhat cohesive within their own national-origin ethnic identity groups. If treated as ethnic group under Dahl's theory, my work indicated that Latinos would be best placed at least into Dahl's second stage of political assimilation. The

significant differences of opinion based on ethnicity between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans indicated that Latinos are a somewhat inhomogeneous group just based on their ancestry, alone, but when combined with the fact that socio-economic factors significantly divide them in 12 out of my 13 categories, it is evident that Latinos are, indeed a fairly inhomogeneous group.

Although I cannot prove that Latinos as a group have never been inhomogeneous from the beginning in America, and therefore should not be classified as an ethnic group as defined by Dahl, it is my suspicion that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican Americans may have, from their start in America, been politically and culturally different from each other in many ways.

What distinguishes a group as an ethnic group under Dahl's first stage is a group's uniformity of, "...education, speech, dress, demeanor, skills, income, neighborhood, ignorance of American institutions and folkways, and lack of self-confidence,"<sup>86</sup> all of which are attributes which help form identity. In other words, to fit under Dahl's definition of an ethnic group, the group must be homogeneous from the start, but "Chicanos", alone have been distinguished culturally from one another, throughout American history, by, acculturation, a rural-urban split, and socio-economics (Garcia, de la Garza, 1977).

My Inter-group section offered evidence that as it stands now, Latinos are relatively variant in their political views. F. Chris Garcia and Rodolfo de la Garza noted in 1977 that not Mexican-Americans alone had never been politically homogeneous, and that even the term, "Chicano", "...suggests a unity and cohesiveness that has not characterized prior Mexican American political activity.<sup>87</sup>) Raul Yzaguirre noted, "Lack of

organization has plagued efforts to empower Hispanics.... Hispanics lack strong, entrenched organization..."<sup>88</sup> From this evidence of low group mobilization and political cohesion, it is my suspicion that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans should not be lumped together as a single ethnic group as it is used under Dahl's theory, but that Dahl's stages would best be applied to each group separately. This is because Latino as a categorization seems more of an umbrella term for all people of Spanish -origin, horizontally linked to form a "supra-ethnicity", and are not composed of a single ethnic group.

My Chicago case study supports this conclusion in the sense that after redistricting, when ethnic groups were able to elect a "candidate of their choice", Mexican wards elected Mexican-Americans to office and Puerto Rican wards elected Puerto Ricans to office. This lends support to my finding, at least in Chicago, that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican Americans may compose two separate ethnic and political groups.

Rodney Hero's theory of two-tiered pluralism accounted for the generally low socio-economic status of Latinos and their low political status (on a second tier in society than Whites) due to their history of conquest against them, and of ensuing discrimination against them. While I believe Hero was correct in that these factors certainly have, in part, accounted for the "second tier" status of Latinos today, I believe that Hero's theory would best be served with the inclusion of relatively low Latino political cohesion, and low political mobilization that my paper suggests, as factors which contribute to their low status in American society.

My finding of differences due to ethnicity within Latinos as

a group does not disprove Dahl's theory, and does not discount his ethnic stages. Instead my findings suggest that Latinos should not be counted as an ethnic group under his framework, but that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans should be viewed separately.

It is my contention that Dahl's stages of assimilation may not hold for Latinos as a group ethnicity, because it has been an ethnicity externally imposed on its members, a "supra-ethnicity" composed of horizontally linked ethnic groups. While Hero addressed low Latino status, his accounting for it did not take into consideration that they may have low status due to their low mobilization (as evidenced throughout my Chicago section), possibly caused by lack of ethnic group horizontal cohesion under their "supra-ethnicity". While Latinos do share language (for the most part), and all their ethnic groups have been historically been discriminated against in America, this paper has shown them to be relatively politically inhomogeneous in many ways (but that is not to say that they are an assimilated group), and that Latinos are divided by separate histories. Contrary to Dahl's prerequisite for stage one of his theory, ethnic identity of "Latino" is distinct from that of other, more homogeneous groups, such as Germans, which Dahl dealt with, and Latinos are different from European immigrants in that some of them were not "voluntary immigrants", but a conquered people of the U.S. I believe that the term Latino is best described as a "supra-ethnicity" composed of groups who still largely self-identify as "Mexican" or "Puerto Rican" Americans even though others have attempted to consciously externally impose the terms "Hispanic", "Chicano", and "Latino" to try and unify them years after they

have lived in America, and that this term could be useful for future studies of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans-Americans, and other ethnic groups.

The End.



## APPENDIX A.

### ADDITIONAL FINDINGS OF INTRA-GROUP SECTION

This Appendix uses information obtained from the multiple regressions of national GSS data used for the intra-group section. The Data indicated:

1. Even while taking into consideration all the independent variables: income, education, gender, age, political party, and political views, Mexican Americans were found to be significantly more conservative than Puerto Rican Americans on redistributive policies, and also on the non-redistributive investment-oriented spending preference of environmental spending, but not in any of the other issue areas (not in egalitarian, policies, policies of social welfare (social policies), and general non-redistributive spending policies).

The conclusion that Mexican Americans were more conservative than Puerto Rican Americans on redistributive preferences was based on the multiple regressions run in the tables "Latino Views of Wealth Equalization and "Latino Views of Taxation". Both of these dependent variables were grouped under the category of redistributive policies.

Wealth Equalization showed a beta of  $-.15$  and a Sig T of  $.02$ , and Taxation showed a beta of  $-.12$  and a sig T of  $.03$ . This finding was of significance, because it indicated the existence of a possible underlying difference in attitude between Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican-Americans.

The conclusion that Mexican Americans were more conservative

than Puerto Rican Americans on Environmental Spending was based on the multiple regressions run in the tables "Latino Views on Environmental Spending". This was included under non-redistributive investment-oriented spending policies. The multiple regression indicated a beta of  $-.12$  and a sig T of  $.03$  for a difference between the two ethnicities, even with taking the independent variables into consideration. The significance of this finding is also in its finding of a possible underlying difference in opinion between Mexican and Puerto Rican Americans. I believe that perhaps, much like in my previous argument, because Mexican Americans are composed of immigrants to the United States, while Puerto Ricans are by birth, indigenous citizens, that Puerto Ricans have a much greater stake in the upkeep of American land, while newcomers may not yet feel that as strongly.

2. Adjusting for all other independent variables, better educated Latinos were found to be far more liberal on social policies and significantly more liberal on all non-redistributive spending policies than more poorly educated Latinos. They were also found to be somewhat more conservative than more poorly educated Latinos on egalitarian spending preferences. Education did not impact any other issue area significantly.

3. Adjusting for all other independent variables, wealthier Latinos were found to be significantly more conservative than poorer Latinos on redistributive and egalitarian policies, and far more conservative on their self-declared political views. The wealthy were also found to be more liberal on most non-

redistributive spending policies. Income did not impact any other issue area significantly.

4. Adjusting for all other independent variables, older Latinos were found to be far more conservative than younger Latinos only on foreign aid policies. Older Latinos were also found to be slightly more conservative on their self-declared political views and on their views on Homosexuals. Age did not impact any other issue area significantly.

5. Adjusting for all other independent variables, Latino women were found to be somewhat more liberal than Latino men on their foreign aid preferences. Women were found to be significantly more conservative than men on their self-declared political views and on some non-redistributive spending policies. Gender did not impact any other issue area significantly.

6. Adjusting for all other independent variables, Latino political party affiliation found republicans more conservative than democrats only on their self-declared political views. Political party did not impact any other issue area significantly.

## APPENDIX B

The categorization of my 13 dependent variables into the six sub-categorizations of Redistributive Policies, Egalitarian Policies, Policies of Social Liberalism, and Non-Redistributive Spending Policies (both investment-oriented and general) was used as a general guideline to help group Latino policy areas. While these areas were, by no means perfectly designated, their use in this paper was to try and distinguish Latino political views more distinctly than just indicating they are fiscally or socially liberal or conservative. The categorizations were based upon correlations of the 13 variables which I conducted using SPSS. The results of those correlations will be included here.

## APPENDIX C.

This section will include a sample run of one of my SPSS runs. Throughout the writing of this paper, I have literally accumulated stacks of these piled up at home. This SPSS run has been included just as an example of how my data was processed.

## FINAL WORD.

Much of the work that I have pursued for this paper has not even made it into the paper (such as a leadership section which I spent nearly a month reading for and collecting data on, a section on English as an official language of the U.S., etc, etc, etc...) As a television executive who I once worked with said to me, "They taught us in journalism school that an article should compose only about ten percent of what you have actually learned." Well, I am not certain that even ten percent of what I have learned has shown up in this product. but as a result, by

chasing many wild geese, I have begun to learn (the hard way) how to write even better papers in the future. I may write the history of how this paper was actually written someday, but it would probably end up being longer than the original.

Nathaniel A. Wharton

July, 1993

-> select if ethnic = 17 or ethnic = 22.  
 -> correlation eq2 tx natfare nataid gay aba pv nateduc natenvir natcity  
 -> natcrime health natsoc.

- - Correlation Coefficients - -

	EQ2	TX	NATFARE	NATAID	GAY	ABA
EQ2		.1228	.1359	-.0201	.0000	.0375
TX	.1228		.0331	-.0008	-.0177	-.0431
NATFARE	.1359	.0331		.1933**	-.0755	.0909
NATAID	-.0201	-.0008	.1933**		-.0465	.1034
GAY	.0000	-.0177	-.0755	-.0465		.2963**
ABA	.0375	-.0431	.0909	.1034	.2963**	
PV	.1041	.0403	.0203	-.1044*	.1002*	.1637**
NATEDUC	.0362	.0615	-.0141	-.0322	.0858	.0930
NATENVIR	-.0602	.0482	.0185	-.0064	.0453	.0717
NATCITY	.0059	.1018	.1633**	.0683	.0288	.0883
NATCRIME	-.0027	.0620	.0573	.0311	-.0098	.0635
HEALTH	.0891	.0596	.0541	-.1214**	.0590	.0407
NATSOC	.0344	.1286	.2843**	.1250	-.0933	-.1113

\* - Signif. LE .05

\*\* - Signif. LE .01

(2-tailed)

	PV	NATEDUC	NATENVIR	NATCITY	NATCRIME	HEALTH
EQ2	.1041	.0362	-.0602	.0059	-.0027	.0891
TX	.0403	.0615	.0482	.1018	.0620	.0596
NATFARE	.0203	-.0141	.0185	.1633**	.0573	.0541
NATAID	-.1044*	-.0322	-.0064	.0683	.0311	-.1214**
GAY	.1002*	.0858	.0453	.0288	-.0098	.0590
ABA	.1637**	.0930	.0717	.0883	.0635	.0407
PV		-.0315	-.0282	.0541	.0213	-.0442
NATEDUC	-.0315		.2047**	.2289**	.1773**	.3052**
NATENVIR	-.0282	.2047**		.2590**	.2288**	.3804**
NATCITY	.0541	.2289**	.2590**		.3083**	.2664**
NATCRIME	.0213	.1773**	.2288**	.3083**		.2380**
HEALTH	-.0442	.3052**	.3804**	.2664**	.2380**	
NATSOC	-.0645	.2557**	.0455	.2041*	-.0828	.1489

NATSOC

EQ2	.0344
TX	.1286
NATFARE	.2843**
NATAID	.1250
GAY	-.0933
ABA	-.1113
PV	-.0645
NATEDUC	.2557**
NATENVIR	.0455
NATCITY	.2041*
NATCRIME	-.0828
HEALTH	.1489
NATSOC	

```

-> compute dtax = (.36 - tx) * (.36 - tx).
-> compute deq2 = (.89 - eq2) * (.89 - eq2).
-> compute dfare = (2.38 - natfare) * (2.38 - natfare).
-> compute deduc = (1.53 - nateduc) * (1.53 - nateduc).
-> compute dpv = (1.09 - pv) * (1.09 - pv).
-> compute daba = (.61 - aba) * (.61 - aba).
-> compute dgay = (.73 - gay) * (.73 - gay).
-> compute dhealth = (.45 - health) * (.45 - health).
-> compute dcrime = (1.36 - natcrime) * (1.36 - natcrime).
-> compute dsoc = (1.54 - natsoc) * (1.54 - natsoc).
-> compute denvir = (1.5 - natenvir) * (1.5 - natenvir).
-> compute daid = (2.71 - nataid) * (2.71 - nataid).
-> compute dcity = (1.71 - natcity) * (1.71 - natcity).
-> select if race = 1.
-> descriptives /variables dtax deq2 dfare deduc dpv daba dgay dhealth
-> dcrime dsoc denvir daid dcity
-> /statistics variance mean std.

```

There are 184,432 bytes of memory available.  
The largest contiguous area has 183,888 bytes.

988 bytes of memory required for the DESCRIPTIVES procedure.

52 bytes have already been acquired.

936 bytes remain to be acquired.

22 Jun 93 SPSS Release 4.0 for Sun 4

14:24:44 SocSci and PubPol Comp Center Sun-4

SunOS 4.0

Page 3

Number of valid observations (listwise) = 1063.00

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Variance	Valid N	Label
DTAX	.23	.13	.02	11751	
DEQ2	.79	.43	.19	10211	
DFARE	.56	.60	.36	15822	
DEDUC	.43	.54	.30	15928	
DPV	.59	.50	.25	19229	
DABA	.24	.11	.01	13313	
DGAY	.20	.20	.04	14306	
DHEALTH	.36	.51	.26	15904	
DCRIME	.34	.58	.33	15724	
DSOC	.38	.47	.22	9137	
DENVIR	.44	.58	.34	15655	
DAID	.28	.56	.32	15778	
DCITY	.58	.55	.31	14229	

WHITES RUN

```

-> compute dcrime = (1.36 - natcrime) * (1.36 - natcrime).
-> compute dsoc = (1.44 - natsoc) * (1.44 - natsoc).
-> compute denvir = (1.41 - natenvir) * (1.41 - natenvir).
-> compute daid = (2.53 - nataid) * (2.53 - nataid).
-> compute dcity = (1.52 - natcity) * (1.52 - natcity).
-> select if ETHNIC = 17 OR ethnic = 22.
-> descriptives /variables dtax deq2 dfare deduc dpv daba dgay dhealth
-> dcrime dsoc denvir daid dcity
-> /statistics variance mean std.

```

There are 184,400 bytes of memory available.  
The largest contiguous area has 183,856 bytes.

988 bytes of memory required for the DESCRIPTIVES procedure.

52 bytes have already been acquired.

936 bytes remain to be acquired.

22 Jun 93 SPSS Release 4.0 for Sun 4

13:49:34 SocSci and PubPol Comp Center Sun-4

SunOS 4.0

Page 3

Number of valid observations (listwise) = 33.00

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Variance	Valid N	Label
DTAX	.22	.17	.03	378	
DEQ2	.64	.66	.44	353	
DFARE	.66	.48	.23	499	
DEDUC	.32	.39	.15	501	
DPV	.57	.50	.25	585	
DABA	.20	.20	.04	431	
DGAY	.17	.23	.05	480	
DHEALTH	.31	.40	.16	500	
DCRIME	.38	.66	.43	496	
DSOC	.32	.41	.17	336	
DENVIR	.37	.57	.32	478	
DAID	.47	.66	.43	475	
DCITY	.54	.68	.47	458	

LATINO  
RUN

The mean  
value for  
the distance of  
each value of TX  
from the mean

Square roots of these  
figures are the SD



```

-> compute dtax = (.27 - tx) * (.27 - tx).
-> compute deq2 = (.5 - eq2) * (.5 - eq2).
-> compute dfare = (1.75 - natfare) * (1.75 - natfare).
-> compute deduc = (1.29 - nateduc) * (1.29 - nateduc).
-> compute dpv = (.85 - pv) * (.85 - pv).
-> compute daba = (.66 - aba) * (.66 - aba).
-> compute dgay = (.83 - gay) * (.83 - gay).
-> compute dhealth = (.29 - health) * (.29 - health).
-> compute dcrime = (1.31 - natcrime) * (1.31 - natcrime).
-> compute dsoc = (1.31 - natsoc) * (1.31 - natsoc).
-> compute denvir = (1.40 - natenvir) * (1.40 - natenvir).
-> compute daid = (2.58 - nataid) * (2.58 - nataid).
-> compute dcity = (1.42 - natcity) * (1.42 - natcity).
-> select if race = 2.
-> descriptives /variables dtax deq2 dfare deduc dpv daba dgay dhealth
-> dcrime dsoc denvir daid dcity
-> /statistics variance mean std.

```

There are 184,440 bytes of memory available.  
The largest contiguous area has 183,888 bytes.

988 bytes of memory required for the DESCRIPTIVES procedure.

52 bytes have already been acquired.

936 bytes remain to be acquired.

22 Jun 93 SPSS Release 4.0 for Sun 4

14:35:39 SocSci and PubPol Comp Center Sun-4

SunOS 4.0

Page 3

Number of valid observations (listwise) = 246.00

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Variance	Valid	
				N	Label
DTAX	.20	.20	.04	2031	
DEQ2	.56	.73	.53	1704	
DFARE	.66	.54	.30	2421	
DEDUC	.25	.42	.17	2488	
DPV	.62	.50	.25	2932	
DABA	.22	.15	.02	2341	
DGAY	.14	.25	.06	2506	
DHEALTH	.28	.55	.30	2469	
DCRIME	.34	.68	.46	2437	
DSOC	.28	.52	.27	1604	
DENVIR	.39	.63	.39	2375	
DAID	.45	.71	.50	2370	
DCITY	.44	.69	.47	2320	

BLACKS  
RUN

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