

Latino Representation in U.S. Legislatures: Past, Present, and Future

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One of the most fundamental concepts in the study of Congress is that of representation. Political scientists have tried to understand the many ways members of Congress represent their constituents¹. In the United States, representation of blacks by blacks and Latinos by Latinos has been dismal, to say the least². In terms of sheer numbers, African Americans and Latinos still do not have an equal proportion of representatives in Congress when juxtaposed to their respective populations. For example, in the early 1990s, California's population was 35 percent Latino, yet Latinos held only 6 percent of the congressional seats (Grofman ed, 1992)³. African Americans outnumber Latinos in Congress 2-1 and in state legislatures 3-1. Recent redistricting changes, the steady growth of Latinos in the population, and future elections will probably increase the numbers of Latinos in these offices.

To date, however, no systematic study has investigated Latino representation in state legislatures and Congress⁴. In an effort to fill this research gap, my dissertation examines the conditions under which Latinos are elected to state legislatures and Congress and assess the extent to which Latino legislators behave and vote differently than non-Latino legislators.

Representation Defined

What does representation entail? Does it mean that blacks can only be represented by blacks? Hanna F. Pitkin introduced two notions of representation: descriptive and substantive. Descriptive (or dyadic) representation involves Latinos having a Latino

¹ See Fenno (1978), Arnold (1990), Swain (1995), and Kingdon (1984).

² In the political science literature, the use of the term Latino is preferred to Hispanic. As such, I will abide by convention here. In addition, the term Latino or Latinos will refer to males and females of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, or other Spanish-speaking descent.

³ California's Latino population statistic includes citizens as well as non-citizens.

⁴ Rodolfo Espino's dissertation focuses on Latino representation in Congress.

represent their district, while substantive representation involves a non-Latino representative voting the way her Latino constituents prefer. By examining districts with similar demographics and different (white or Latino) representatives, this dichotomous distinction can be somewhat refined.

Descriptive representation occurs when the person representing looks like the represented in some way. If a district were majority Catholic, then a Catholic representative would descriptively represent the district. Canon (1999) notes three different values of descriptive representation:

- There exists a distinct value in having role models.
- Descriptive representation is not useful unless linked to substantive representation.
- Modern day politics extols the value of leaders that “look like America.”

Most would agree that descriptive representation is important to a certain extent.

Precisely how members of Congress represent their constituents is just as important.

Johnson and Secret (1996) refer to Edmund Burke’s theory of representation with which he combined “a conception of the focus of representation with a concept of the style of representation.” In addition, the local and national aspects of representation must also be considered, according to Burke. Burke’s notion of a trustee and delegate style of representation must be combined, according to Pitkin (1967) in order for genuine representation to occur. Johnson and Secret found that African American congressmen were much more concerned with local interests, while Latino congressmen were focused on national representation. They postulate that it is probably due to the much weaker (descriptive) representation of Latinos in the U.S. Congress. Because of historically low

numbers of representatives on the Hill, I would expect Latino members of Congress to vote and act differently than other members of their party on issues important to Latinos.

Miller and Stokes (1963) contributed to the literature on representation by searching for the “congruence” between the beliefs of constituents and the way the legislators voted. Hence, policy responsiveness or congruence has become a way to assess the extent to which representation is occurring.

Perhaps the best description of precisely how representatives respond to their constituents is from Fenno’s interviews. Fenno’s *Home Style* (1978) aptly explores several congressmen’s efforts to represent their districts. This aspect of representation is crucial in order to be able to explain roll call votes and their implications. Unfortunately, Fenno’s research style is expensive, difficult, and thus less ubiquitous than roll call analysis.

In the area of racial representation, however, Carol Swain’s *Black Faces, Black Interests* is an analysis of how African Americans are represented in Congress. Swain’s interviews with African American members of Congress provide great insight into the varying styles within the black community. Her analyses of former Rep. Mike Espy (D-Mississippi) and Rep. John Conyers (D-Michigan) show just how different African American members of Congress had to respond to their districts in order to secure re-election. Swain’s fundamental thesis, however, that blacks would be better served by electing Democratic members of Congress, regardless of race, has been a controversial one. For example, Canon (1999) notes that Swain does not account for all white representatives with at least a 25 percent black population in the 103rd Congress. Grose (2002) argues that Swain neglects the importance of black descriptive representation in

terms of yielding substantive representation as measured by pork project allocation and constituency service. For roll-call voting, Grose concedes that Swain is correct in calling for the election of more Democratic legislators as a way to increase black substantive representation.

Furthermore, Swain's thesis cannot be applied to Latinos for a variety of reasons. Latinos are not politically monolithic, nor are they as strongly partisan. It is true that the majority of Latinos identify with the Democratic Party, but a significantly larger percentage of Latinos have been willing to cross party lines in certain elections, such as the 2001 election of Michael R. Bloomberg as Mayor of New York City.⁵ For example, President Bush received approximately 35 percent of the Latino vote in the 2000 election—far from a majority, but much better than the low single digits he received from African Americans.

This debate between advocates of different types of representation continues to affect members of the Latino community. Former Congressional Hispanic Caucus chairman Rep. Silvestre Reyes (D-Texas) has indicated his clear support for substantive over descriptive representation. He would rather support incumbent white members of Congress than risk the divisiveness of a primary, perhaps referring to Diana DeGette's Denver district in which a Latina challenged her in the primary in a 54 percent minority district (Wallison 2001). On the other hand, Larry Gonzalez of the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) believes that the Congressional Hispanic Caucus is simply neglecting what should be its apparent goal—the election of more Latinos to Congress.

Research in this area is important because the results could shed light on what is the most effective way of representing Latino interests. In addition,

⁵ Bloomberg received 50 percent of the Latino vote in his 2001 victory.

research previously done on African American representation must be updated in light of the differences between both minority groups and the contributions of scholars of legislative politics. What previous studies on racial representation have lacked is an ability to synthesize what we have learned in the field of legislative politics with the contributions of scholars of race and ethnicity.

To date, very little research has been done regarding Latino representation in the U.S. Congress. Some existing research addresses the question of substantive and descriptive representation by examining a collection of approximately 15 roll call votes compiled by the Southwest Voter Research Institute (SWVRI) for previous Congresses. Given the population boom of Latinos in just the past few years, more research on this subject using different data is clearly warranted. To what extent does having a Latino/a representative make a difference in terms of substantive representation? An analysis of roll-call data can shed light on the differences, if any, among representatives' voting patterns, but it cannot answer the normative question of whether Latino elected officials are essential to advancing a Latino agenda.

Latino Representation: Earlier Findings

The literature on the question of Latino representation in the U.S. Congress is quite sparse, although several studies have been conducted in recent years. Since Latinos have only recently surpassed African Americans as the largest minority group in the United States, it is only a matter of time before more scholars and politicians turn their attention to a minority group that is more diverse and less partisan. The earliest work on Latino representation borrowed heavily from previous work on African American representation in the Congress. As such, Latinos were assumed to be a monolithic group

generally more liberal than whites. Welch and Hibbing (1984) noted that Latino Conservative Coalition scores were more liberal than non-Latino representative scores. This study, however, only classified members from 1973-1980. It was not until 1992 that members of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban groups were to be simultaneously (descriptively) represented in the Congress. Earlier Latino representatives were Mexican Americans, who are one of the more Democratic Latino groups in the United States.

Hero and Tolbert go beyond Welch and Hibbing's (1984) earlier analysis by entertaining the use of Southwest Voter Research Initiative (SWVRI) scores for the 100th Congress to gauge the representation of Latinos and their interests. In their analysis, Hero and Tolbert find that high SWVRI scores for Latino representatives were not significantly different than for non-Latino representatives. In essence, they find that Latinos benefit from collective representation and that dyadic representation is not evident. Kerr and Miller (1997) respond to this article by arguing that dyadic representation of Latino interests is present. For them, "dyadic and collective representation can and do occur simultaneously in the political system and, as an analytical matter, should be considered together" (Kerr and Miller 1997, 1071). While exposing some of the methodological problems with the paper, Kerr and Miller do not provide the necessary prescriptions for a better analysis. For example, the SWVRI scores in question are few in number and only cover the 100th Congress. For Hero and Tolbert to conclude based on these data that there is little, direct substantive representation of Latinos is premature.

David Lublin, however, uses Poole-Rosenthal NOMINATE scores in his analyses. Poole-Rosenthal scores do a much better job of assessing the political ideology

of members of Congress as all votes are included, not just a few select votes, such as ADA or ACU scores. The Poole-Rosenthal scores are also continuously distributed, unlike interest group ratings (Lublin 1997). Lublin interacts Latino population with the party of the representative and finds that Republican members are more conservative when they have higher Latino populations and Democrats are significantly more liberal (Lublin 1997; Canon 1999). Lublin explains this by noting the differences in who Democrats represent (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans) and who Republicans generally represent (Cuban Americans). As Canon (1999) notes, Lublin does not control for these constituency differences within the Latino community (365). Lublin's research provides a better way of looking at Latino representation than before. The data are more comprehensive and systematic, which leads to more accurate insights into the nature of Latino representation.

Latino Presence in Legislatures and Congress: Key Research Questions

Some of the central questions that need to be addressed are as follows: (1) Under what conditions are Latinos elected to Congress and state legislatures? While it is true that many Latinos are elected from majority Latino districts, many Latino legislators do not represent districts with majority Latino populations. (2) How much does the ethnic composition of a district affect the chances that a Latino candidate will run for office? Challengers to incumbents often face an uphill climb in their efforts to be elected to a given office. Latino candidates may find it advantageous to run in a district with a majority-minority population, as did Rep. Robert Menendez (D-NJ). However, no Latinos in the U.S. Congress represent majority white districts. (3) Additionally, how much does the ethnic composition of a district affect the chances that a Latino candidate

will be elected in a given district? At least at the national level, very little evidence exists that Latinos are being elected from districts with white majorities (See Table 1). No districts with a combined white and Latino population majority elect Latino members of Congress. At the state level, this pattern differs, which is why it is crucial to understand the variables that contribute to Latino victories at the state level.

Latino Legislative Behavior: Key Research Questions

After explaining the conditions by which Latinos are elected to state legislatures and Congress, the key questions become: (1) What difference does it make whether Latinos are elected to Congress and state legislatures? By virtue of being Latino, legislators may care about different issues or more strongly advocate positions on a subset of issues, such as immigration policy. (2) More pointedly, do Latino legislators vote differently from others who represent similar constituencies? Studies of Latino public opinion have shown that Latinos tend to be fiscally liberal and socially conservative.⁶ Many Latinos in Congress and legislatures, however, have largely sided with the Democratic Party on votes regarding abortion and gay rights. This section is an attempt to ascertain the extent to which Latinos differ from other representatives in terms of voting behavior. (3) Do Latino legislators champion different types of interests than other legislators who represent similar constituencies? Being Latino may explain why some legislators fight for causes not otherwise important to other races. For example, Cuban American legislators may have a much more passionate view about the embargo on Cuba than other Latinos because of personal experiences.

⁶ See Kaiser Foundation study for more details. The majority of Hispanics of all backgrounds (Cubans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans) believe in a larger role for government, yet are opposed to abortion and gay rights legislation.

Latino Legislative Behavior: Summary of Preliminary Findings

In the 100th Congress, the findings of Hero and Tolbert coincided with my findings (Casellas 2003). Apparently, the SWVRI scores, albeit limited, were correlated with the Poole Rosenthal ideology scores, which are the most comprehensive available. For the 87th-104th Congress, however, the results are different—whether one is represented by a Mexican or Puerto Rican representative has a negative, significant effect on the Poole Rosenthal score. When percent Latino in district is considered, there is no effect on the ideology of the representative. Hero and Tolbert found no significance for Latino representative in their analysis (1995). Analyzing data from all districts for the 87th-104th Congress, my results show strong effects of all the explanatory variables, except the percent Latino in district and Cuban Representative.

Kerr and Miller (1997) indeed have a point concerning Hero and Tolbert's conclusions regarding their analyses. By merely interpreting the coefficient for Latino representative as insignificant, Hero and Tolbert “conclude that dyadic substantive representation of Hispanics is lacking” (Kerr and Miller 1997, 1067). These data can only provide some sort of benchmark indicating the extent to which Latinos are substantively represented.

While these data do not address normative concerns, it is nonetheless important to entertain some of these issues. There is no question that Latinos suffer from a lack of descriptive representation in all levels of government. To what extent is it important that Latinos be represented by other Latinos? Is it the case that more Latinos in Congress will contribute to greater political involvement among Latinos? For African Americans, Gay (2001) has concluded that more African Americans in Congress only rarely contributes to

greater political involvement among black constituents. Gordon and Segura (2002) conclude their analysis of California's Latino population by finding that the collective representation of Latinos in the legislature had an overall positive effect on the Latino population's overall evaluation of government. Whether these findings can be generalized to non-Mexican Latinos and nationwide is a question that deserves additional research that should include additional public opinion data on how important it is to Latinos that their representatives are like them. In addition, my analysis shows that percentage of Latinos in House districts does little to affect ideology scores. Without concluding the non-existence of Latino substantive representation, it is safe to conclude that substantive representation of Latino interests is not at the same level as African Americans, for example.

Future research in this area may take different forms. For example, Katherine Tate has used data from the 1996 national telephone survey of African Americans to determine how blacks feel about the way in which they are represented. This line of research may be applied to the study of Latino representation to determine the extent to which African Americans and Latinos differ in their approaches to representation.

Another promising and necessary line of research is to study the extent to which redistricting has affected and will affect the representation of Latino interests. David Canon's work on this subject, as well as David Lublin's research must be updated to reflect the latest increases in the Latino population. A comprehensive study is needed solely on the issue of Latino representation, and this to date has not been done within political science.⁷

⁷ I hope to develop these ideas in my dissertation.

Moreover, scholarly research on this subject must be informed by the analysis of those members of Congress who do serve substantial Latino populations. Much in the same way Carol Swain was able to connect with African American members of Congress for her research, the need is great for scholarship that engages Latino members of Congress as well as white congressmen that represent heavily Latino districts, such as Howard Berman (D-California). For an analysis of roll call votes, while in many ways instructive, must be supplemented by the myriad of different ways that constitute representation.

Why Study Latino Presence and Behavior in Legislatures and Congress?

Previous scholars have examined similar questions for the representation of African-Americans in Congress.⁸ In order to gain greater leverage on these questions, I examine Latino representation for both Congress and a set of state legislatures. By including state legislatures, I am able to examine similar legislative institutions where Latinos have made considerable progress in recent years, and hence gain greater leverage over the central research question. Indeed, all too often scholars of legislative politics focus exclusively on the U.S. Congress, which neglects the numerous microcosms that exist at state houses across the nation.

Latino Candidacy and Election to Legislatures & Congress: Review

The central purpose of my research is to ascertain how and in what conditions Latinos run and are elected to legislatures and Congress. The dependent variable of interest is whether a Latino runs in a state House, state Senate, and U.S. House district in

⁸ For example, Swain (1995) and Canon (1999) have studied African American representation in Congress.

a given general election.⁹ Of course, Latinos are not unlike other candidates for legislative positions in the considerations that they employ in order to decide whether to run for office. Certainly, if an incumbent retires and an open seat becomes available, more candidates may decide to run for political office.¹⁰ Incumbency no doubt confers enormous benefits, and challengers decide to run based on whether an incumbent is in the race. The ability to raise money clearly matters, but is more critical for challengers than incumbents.¹¹ Some of the explanatory variables that will help explain the dependent variable will be percentage Latino in district, party of member, rural vs. urban nature of district, percentage black in district, whether the seat is open, median income, and percent Democratic in district. Latino candidates will be more likely to run in districts with higher percentages of Latinos because their chances of winning would disproportionately increase. Additionally, with few exceptions, Latinos tend to have lower incomes than non-Hispanic whites, and thus I would expect lower income districts to be more amenable to prospective Latino candidates. As for party identifications, Latinos tend to vote for Democratic officeholders and thus this variable most certainly has an impact on potential candidates.

Regarding how Latino candidates perform in general elections, the next component of the dissertation will examine the percent vote for Latino candidate in a given district as the dependent variable.¹² It is my contention that Latinos are primarily

⁹ Latinos running in primaries will be examined provided the availability data. Running in primaries clearly matters, because successful primary winners go on to run in general elections. Third party candidates will also be excluded because they tend to be fringe candidates with little chance of winning a general election.

¹⁰ See Fowler and McClure (1989) for more on the dynamics of potential candidates in congressional districts, as well as the role of political ambition in determining who runs for Congress.

¹¹ See Cox and Katz (1993) and Jacobson (2001) for more on incumbency advantage and factors determining who runs for congressional districts.

¹² As before, when “district” is used, I am referring to state House, state Senate, and U.S. House districts.

elected from districts with substantial majorities of Latino voters, much in the same pattern as African Americans. The central explanatory variable is the percentage of Latinos in a given district. Other rather important explanatory variables include incumbency, party membership, challenger quality, income of district, urban vs. rural nature of district, and black percentage in the district. I would expect all of these variables to have an impact on Latino descriptive representation in legislatures based on previous scholarship on Congressional elections.¹³ This type of analysis will involve Latino representation in the U.S. Congress, as well as state legislatures across the United States.

Latino Election to Legislatures & Congress: Summary of Preliminary Findings

As expected, the strongest predictor of the presence of a Latino in nearly all of the lower chambers studied and Congress is the percentage of Latinos in a given district, at least in the bivariate models. Unexpectedly, percentage Democratic is not a powerful predictor in that it only has a significant effect on the presence of a Latino member in Arizona and New York. Interestingly, the percentage African American is signed in the negative direction for nearly all states and Congress, and is significant in Arizona and New York. What this all means is that notwithstanding many key demographic controls, the best way to know whether a Latino represents a given district is to know the percentage of Latinos in such a district. For African Americans, percentage Democratic is highly collinear and to some extent this is true for some Latino populations, but in most states, only the key explanatory variable has a significant impact on the presence of Latinos in the lower chamber. In all of these states' lower chambers, then, we see heavy

¹³ First, I want to explain how Latinos are elected to legislatures. The logical question to follow will be: How do Latino legislators behave? and Do they behave differently than non-Latinos? These later questions will address substantive representation.

ethnic/racially based voting in that regardless of partisanship and percent African American in district, Latinos serve Latino majority districts.

Latino Candidate Positions: Review

This section explores the extent to which Latino candidates differ in the positions they take on crucial public policy issues. Do Latino incumbents and challengers take similar positions on issues that affect the Latino community? Do Latino challengers to non-Latino incumbents adopt altogether different opinions on issues such as immigration policy?

Political scientists have often relied exclusively on roll-call voting analysis and neglected the importance of candidate positioning. Only recently have some political scientists explored the role of candidate positioning in House elections (Ansolabehere, Snyder and Stewart 2001). This void has resulted largely from the dearth of data on candidate positioning. In the context of Latino representation, no study has examined the nature of position-taking among Latino candidates for state legislatures and Congress. I hypothesize that Latino candidates will vary in their positions according to the type of district in which they are running, but that in matters relating to immigration and English Only policies, Latino candidates will advocate similar positions regardless of party or su-ethnic group.

Latino Population Influence on Roll Call Voting: Review

After having explored the conditions under which Latinos are elected to Congress and to American state legislatures, the next step is to assess the extent to which Latino legislators make any difference in terms of roll-call voting behavior. To date very little

research has examined Latino representation across all state legislatures in addition to the U.S. Congress.

The earliest work on Latino representation borrowed heavily from previous work on African American representation in the Congress. As such, Latinos were assumed to be a monolithic group generally more liberal than whites. Welch and Hibbing (1984) noted that Latino Conservative Coalition scores were more liberal than non-Latino representative scores. This study, however, only classified members from 1973-1980. It was not until 1992 that members of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban groups were to be simultaneously represented in the Congress. Earlier Latino representatives were Mexican Americans, who are one of the more liberal Latino groups in the United States.

The void of systematic roll-call behavior analysis must be filled, and a variety of dependent variables must be used in order to ascertain the extent to which Latinos are substantively represented in legislatures. In line with my own previous research on Latino representation at the federal level, I would expect to find that a legislator's political party will be the key predictor of legislative roll call behavior, and that percentage Latino in a given district has little significant impact on how legislators vote (Casellas 2002).

Representation Off the Floor: Review

Scholarly research on Latino representation must be informed by the analysis of those legislators who do serve substantial Latino populations. Much in the same way Carol Swain was able to connect with African American members of Congress for her research, the need is great for scholarship that engages Latino members of Congress as well as white congressmen that represent heavily Latino districts, such as Howard

Berman (D-California). While in many ways instructive, this analysis of roll call voting must be supplemented by the myriad of different ways that constitute representation.

What, then, are these different forms of representation, and how can one operationalize such concepts? Bill sponsorships, as well as the distribution of funding for Hispanic Serving Institutions (H.S.I.'s) can help uncover the extent to which Latinos are represented by legislators. For example, in his study of Black representation, Grose (2002) argues that many scholars have previously only looked at roll-call voting as measures of substantive representation.¹⁴ Moreover, Hall (1996) has demonstrated that participation in Congress goes beyond mere roll-call voting behavior. Normative theorists such as Mansbridge (1999) have also agreed that representation involves more than just roll-call voting.

Simply put, are Latino legislators more likely to engage in symbolic and substantive representation of Latino interests? Are white or black members with substantial percentages of Latinos in their districts more likely to support bills, or support H.S.I. funding? In terms of trust, recent scholarship has shown that black voters tend to trust members of their own group more so than non-black legislators (Endersby and Menifield 2000; Gay 2001; Tate 2001). Endersby and Menifield include an interactive term for black population of a district and race of the legislator to gauge this effect. Theoretically, I would also submit this to be the case with Latino voters, as well (Santos and Huerta 2001).

Conclusion

Now that Latinos are the largest minority group in the United States, scholarship that examines the representation of Latinos is urgent. The first issue that needs to be

¹⁴ Canon (1999) and Swain (1995) are exceptions.

addressed is what has been termed descriptive representation. That is, what accounts for Latino presence in state legislatures and Congress? In 1990, the California legislature was comprised of seven Latinos. Today, the same legislature is comprised of twenty-six Latino members in both the Assembly and Senate. Is it just the growth of Latino voters that explains this huge increase, or are Latinos being elected from more heterogeneous districts?

The second challenge is to examine the difference, if any, that Latino legislators make in how they vote and how they represent their constituents. Roll call voting patterns from the Congress and state legislatures will be analyzed using various dependent variables. Representation involves more than how members vote on bills. Therefore, off the floor activities, such as bill sponsorships and funding for Hispanic Serving Institutions will be examined for state legislators and members of Congress.

To date, no systematic study on the nature of Latino representation in state legislatures and Congress has been conducted. Latino representation must be studied taking into account the contributions of legislative scholars in the areas of representation, accountability, incumbency advantage, and decision-making. (Arnold 1990; Fenno 1978; Cox and Katz 1993; Kingdon 1984). Moreover, the work on Latino representation in the areas of public opinion and social capital must not be neglected in this research (De la Garza 1992; Garcia 2001). In addition, great strides in the study of African American representation must also be taken into account, including the works of Swain (1995), Canon (1999), and Lublin (1997).

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Table 1: Latino Representatives in the U.S. Congress ranked in descending order of Latino population (2002)

| Name | District | % Latino | % Black | Party | NHLAScore¹⁵ |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| Lucille Roybal-Allard | 33-California | 86% | 4% | Democrat | N/A |
| Ruben Hinojosa | 15-Texas | 79% | 2% | Democrat | 92% |
| Silvestre Reyes | 16-Texas | 78% | 3% | Democrat | 92 |
| Lincoln Diaz-Balart | 21-Florida | 78% | 5% | Republican | 67 |
| Grace Napolitano | 34-California | 72% | 2% | Democrat | N/A |
| Ileana Ros-Lehtinen | 15-Florida | 71% | 5% | Republican | 58 |
| Solomon Ortiz | 27-Texas | 71% | 2% | Democrat | 92 |
| Luis Gutierrez | 4—Illinois | 70% | 3% | Democrat | 96 |
| Charles Gonzalez | 20-Texas | 67% | 6% | Democrat | N/A |
| Henry Bonilla | 23-Texas | 66% | 1% | Republican | 42 |
| Ciro Rodriguez | 28-Texas | 65% | 8% | Democrat | 100 |
| Xavier Becerra | 30-California | 64% | 3% | Democrat | 96 |
| Jose Serrano | 16-New York | 63% | 36% | Democrat | 96 |
| Ed Pastor | 2-Arizona | 63% | 5% | Democrat | 100 |
| Loretta Sanchez | 46-California | 62% | 2% | Democrat | 83 |
| Hilda Solis | 31-California | 59% | 1% | Democrat | N/A |
| Joe Baca | 42-California | 51% | 12% | Democrat | N/A |
| Nydia Velazquez | 12-New York | 49% | 13% | Democrat | 88 |
| Robert Menendez | 13-New Jersey | 47% | 13% | Democrat | 96 |

Source: National Journal's *Almanac of American Politics*, 2002.

¹⁵ National Hispanic Leadership Agenda (NHLA) scores begin in 105th Congress (1997-8), and some members of Congress in the table were elected beginning in the 106th or subsequent Congresses. For these members, N/A is noted.

Figure 1:

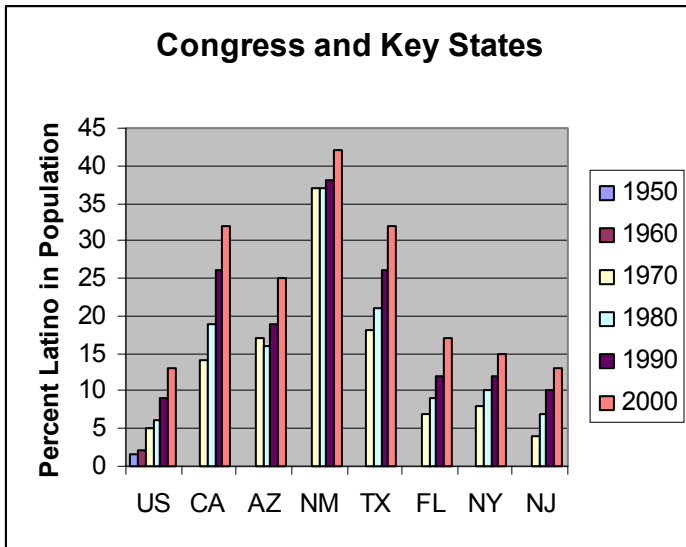


Figure 2:

