

A Sense of Belonging: Habitual Voting among Latinos

Angela X. Ocampo [‡]

University of California, Los Angeles

April 28, 2016

Abstract

Research on Latino political behavior has primarily focused on participation cross-sectionally. Little is known about the cycle of Latino participation over time and no theoretical framework exists to understand such process. To address these shortcomings, this paper examines and theorizes on Latino habitual participation. The paper asks: what factors influence Latinos to engage on a habitual or inconsistent basis? I hypothesize that Latino political behavior is anchored on the concept of belonging. Latinos with a strong sense of attachment to U.S. society are likely to maintain consistent levels of participation over time. Those lacking a sense of belonging are likely to become inconsistent or become disengaged. To test these hypotheses, I utilize a robust subsample of Latinos from the 2008 (CMPS) Collaborative Multi-racial post-election survey merged with voter validated data for each respondent over the span of 15 years (2000-2015). This merged panel-like data allows for the examination of Latino voting behavior over various cycles and distinct types of elections. The findings indicate that controlling for demographics, socioeconomic factors and previous vote history Latinos with a strong sense of belonging are likely to become habitual voters.

*Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles. angelaxocampo@ucla.edu

[†]Prepared for presentation at the Jack W. Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy Graduate Student Conference. May 7th, 2016. University of California, Irvine, CA.

Introduction

It is estimated that 27.3 million Latinos will be eligible to vote in the 2016 presidential election. This rate is projected to be 40% higher than it was in 2008.¹ Moreover, it appears to be that most of the growth in the number of Latino eligible voters has come from U.S. Latino citizens who became adults. However, despite the growth of the overall Latino electorate, the number of Latino nonvoters has also increased. In 2008, approximately 9.8 million Latinos were eligible but did not vote, and in 2012, despite a record high Latino turnout, 12.1 million Latinos did not participate.

As is the case each presidential and midterm election year, pundits, politicians and scholars carefully examine Latino turnout rates to better understand the overall levels of participation among Latinos. What these turnout rates tell us is that Latinos, like the remainder of the population, turnout at lower rates in off-year elections and that Latino presidential turnout rate from the 1980s until the present has been between 44% and 48%. In the most recent midterm election, Latinos turned out at a rate of approximately 27%, a drop from the estimated 31.2% rate of turnout in 2010. As figure 1 below indicates, there has been fluctuation in the level of Latino turnout by type of election. And there also appears to be a decline in the overall rate of participation in midterm elections. What these trends do not tell us, however, is how many Latino voters in a given election year are first time voters or occasional voters and how many are consistent or habitual participants over time. Overall, the complete cycle of Latino political participation remains very much an open question.

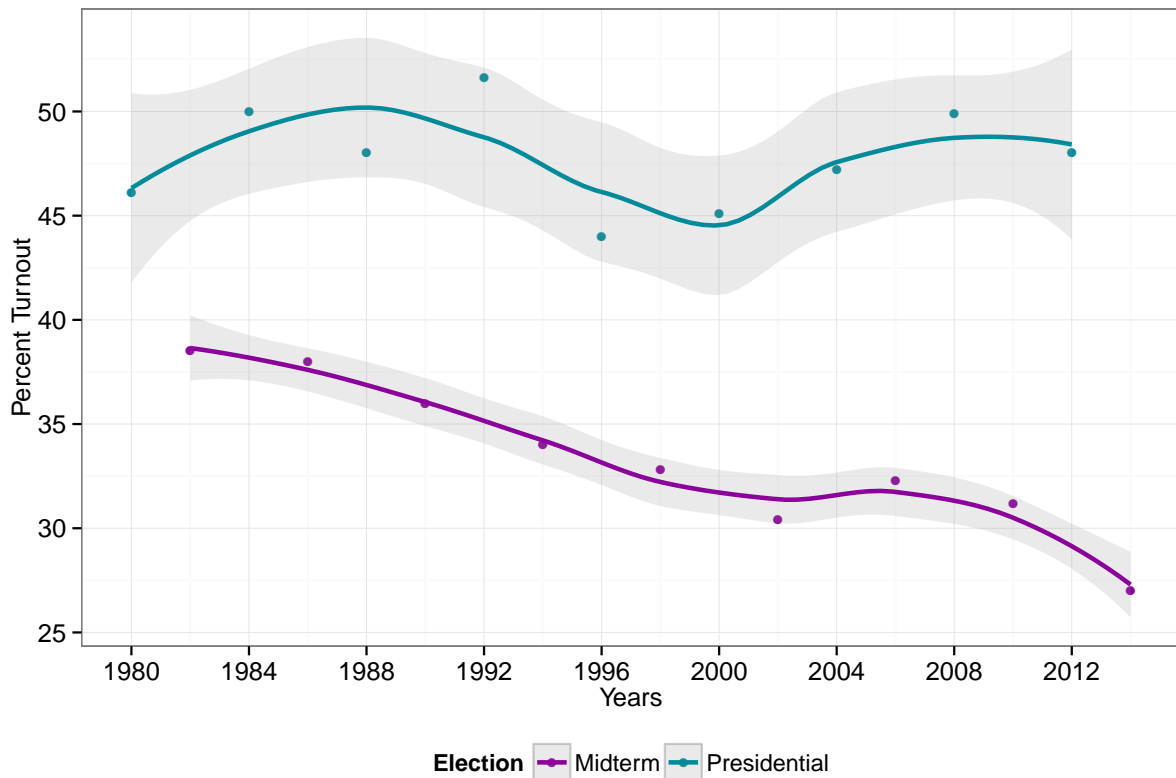
We have some knowledge as to what factors generally influence Latinos to turn out in a given year. However, we know very little about what distinguishes habitual Latino participants from irregular and non-participants. Very few studies of Latino political be-

¹Manuel Krogstad, Jens, Hugo Lopez, Mark, Lopez, Gustavo, Passel, Jeffrey and Patten Eileen. 2016. "Looking Forward to 2016. The Changing Latino Electorate." <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/01/19/looking-forward-to-2016-the-changing-latino-electorate/> January 19, 2016.

havior to-date have examined Latino engagement overtime (Barreto, 2004; Barreto, Ramirez and Woods, 2005; Barreto and Woods, 2005; Michelson, Garcia Bedolla and Green, 2009; Malhotra et al., 2011; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, 2012; Ramírez, 2013). These studies have looked at turnout in multiple cycles and have examined the enduring effects of get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts. Despite the positive and significant findings of these studies, they do not theorize about Latino habitual or inconsistent participation. In the broader political science literature, there seems to be agreement that once an individual becomes a consistent participant, they maintain that trajectory as habituals (Plutzer, 2002; Gerber, Green and Shachar, 2003). However, among Latinos there appears to be little understanding of why and how some individuals become consistent participants and others do not.

This paper attempts to address this puzzle and aims to understand what factors influence Latino consistent and inconsistent voting behavior over time. The overarching argument of this paper is that Latinos behave politically according to their sense of belonging or sense of membership in U.S. society. To belong is to feel that one is a member of the society and that one is also recognized and valued as a member. This paper posits that a sense of belonging –or lack of belonging– is fundamental to Latino political behavior because belonging underlies the way that Latinos perceive themselves within American society and in relation to the polity. A sense of belonging is inherently afforded to some members in this society but not all. Latinos endure everyday experiences of discrimination, profiling, and stigmatization. These experiences drastically shape the way in which they come to see themselves and may not necessarily regard themselves as part of the U.S. society. In other words, some Latinos may not develop feelings of social citizenship because of the hostile climate in which they find themselves. This sentiment could result in complete disengagement as Latinos would not be highly vested in a society where perceive that they are outsiders. However, if the hostility is momentary different levels of political engagement might take-place. I argue that if Latinos have a sense of belonging, or want to belong, then

Figure 1: Latino Turnout Rates in Presidential and Midterm Elections 1980-2014



²Source: U.S. Census Bureau. The Diversifying Electorate – Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections). May 2013 and 2015. Population Characteristics: Current Population Survey

they are more likely to become habitual participants. However, if Latinos hold negative orientations characterized by feelings of entrenched marginalization or alienation, Latinos are more likely to remain electorally disengaged over time.

As the paper demonstrates, Latinos with a strong sense of systemic marginalization operationalized by feelings of group discrimination are less likely to enter the electorate and vote over repeated election cycles. However, the effect of a sense of systemic oppression appears to be mediated by a strong sense of linked fate. Moreover, Latino habitual engagement appears to be positively influenced by the sense that one's immediate locality has hostile immigration policies and is threatening. Thus, providing support to the hypothesis that individuals who want to belong and make a claim of membership do in fact become first time voters and habitual participants.

Latino Political Participation

Previous scholarship on Latino political participation has found that socioeconomic factors, citizenship, generation, group consciousness, national origin, and political and electoral contexts are amongst the strongest predictors of participation (DeSipio, 1996; Hero and Campbell, 1996; DeSipio, 1998; Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001; Jones-Correa and Leal, 2001; Stokes, 2003; DeSipio, 2003; Schildkraut, 2005; Sanchez, 2006*b*; Barreto, 2007; Ramírez, 2013). The majority of these works, however, have only examined Latino participation at one point in time. Meaning that they have only studied aggregate Latino participation in one given year (cross-sectionally) or they have only focused on participation at the individual level in one election cycle. Even though these cross-sectional studies have paved the way for the study of Latino politics, they are limited as they do not address nor theorize about Latino political participation as a process that occurs over time.

Among one of the most important predictors of Latino participation is group con-

sciousness. Group consciousness refers to a sense of commonality between members of a group who, based on shared experiences of deprivation, are influenced to participate politically (Verba and Nie, 1972; Miller et al., 1981; Padilla, 1985). Latino group consciousness has been previously evaluated by capturing: 1.) a general level of identification with the pan-ethnic group, 2.) an understanding of the position of the group within the larger social structure, 3.) a sense of motivation to want to improve the material conditions of the group, and 4.) a common sense that the group shares political goals (Garcia, 2003; Padilla, 1985; Sanchez, 2006*a,b*). It has been found that group consciousness is positively correlated with high levels of Latino political engagement (Sanchez, 2006*b*). Greater levels of participation among Latinos also occur when there are Latino-specific political activities to become involved in, such as contacting a co-ethnic member of Congress (Stokes, 2003; Sanchez, 2006*b*).

Group consciousness and group identity have been further explored as they vary by national origin and perceptions of discrimination. Latinos who reported having felt discriminated against demonstrated a higher probability of being politically engaged in non-electoral domains (DeSipio, 2003). Those who strongly self-identify as American and also reported feelings of discrimination have been less likely to be politically engaged (Schildkraut, 2005). On the other hand, Latinos who strongly identify pan-ethnically and also report feelings of discrimination are have a higher likelihood of being politically engaged (Schildkraut, 2005). The polar power dimension of group consciousness, which measures feelings toward the status and resources of one's group, has been shown to increase only political participation among Mexican Americans (Stokes, 2003). On the other hand, systemic blame, or feelings that one's low-level group position due to institutionalized inequality tends to increase political participation among Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Group identification with a pan-ethnic label, as opposed to a national origin label, positively influence Cuban political participation (Stokes, 2003). From the literature on Latino group consciousness it is not too clear how these components influence Latino participation at more than one point in time. In other

words, we do not know if all components are equally responsible for bringing Latinos into the electorate and then continuing to carry them into habitual participation.

In understanding Latino political engagement, the concepts of trust, alienation, efficacy and government skepticism have been the least studied. Citrin and his colleagues define political alienation in terms of distance, rejection and separation, not just a simple dislike of the political system. “To be politically alienated is to feel a relative enduring sense of estrangement from existing political institutions, values and leaders” (Citrin et al., 1975). Few works have looked at political alienation among minority communities (Abramson, 1972; Long, 1978; Rodgers, 1974), and even fewer have looked at political alienation among Latinos (Michelson, 2000; Pantoja and Segura, 2003).

Latino politics scholars who have studied political alienation and political trust have studied these two as countering concepts. Some have found that Latinos overall are less trusting of government, tend to have low levels of trust, and these trust levels vary by national origin group (Michelson, 2000, 2001; Fraga et al., 2012). On the other hand, a few others have shown that by comparison Latinos are more trusting than other racial groups (Abrajano and Alvarez, 2010). Interestingly, some work has shown that the presence of Latino legislators is associated with lower levels of political alienation, potentially because Latinos are more likely to feel a close connection with those in the polity (Pantoja and Segura, 2003). Much less is known about how political alienation and political trust among Latinos influences them to become political participants and to stay engaged over time. Also, very little work has been done to unpack the notion of alienation among Latinos, and to assess whether or not this concept might be different at all among people who endure a great deal of discrimination and hostility.

A closely related concept that has been examined to understand political participation is political efficacy. Efficacy is “the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact in the political process, i.e. that it is worthwhile to perform one’s civic

duties” Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954, pg. 187). Efficacy has been divided into two further concepts: internal and external. Internal efficacy is the belief that one can understand politics and therefore participate in politics, while external efficacy is the belief that the government will respond to one’s demands. Michelson (2000) finds that Chicago Latinos report low levels of internal efficacy and on one form of external efficacy than do other national origin groups (Michelson, 2000). A subsequent study of California Latinos found that Latinos were less likely to have feelings of internal efficacy than Anglos (Michelson, 2001).

The works that have examined trust and political efficacy among Latinos, however, have largely assumed that Latino experiences in society and with the political system are very similar to those of whites. After all, most of these early concepts were developed envisioning a population that was largely accepted and inherently belonged in the polity. But this scholarship has not explored the possibility that Latinos may have distinct types of political efficacy and government trust, and that even before obtaining these political orientations they must first feel welcomed, embraced and valued as members of U.S. society.

Sustained Engagement among Latinos

Few studies to-date have examined Latino sustained engagement (Barreto, 2004; Barreto, Ramirez and Woods, 2005; Barreto and Woods, 2005; Michelson, Garcia Bedolla and Green, 2009; Malhotra et al., 2011; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, 2012; Ramírez, 2013). These studies can be largely divided into two camps. One camp focuses on the role of threat in politicizing one’s identity and relies on observational data. The second camp examines the enduring effects of get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts and relies on experimental data.

The first camp has found that the coalescing of a threatening context with shared group identity can result in political empowerment and sustained mobilization over time. The anti-immigrant and anti-Latino climate of the 1990s in California, precipitated by proposi-

tions 187, 209, and 227³ mobilized the Latino community on the basis of exclusion. This context spurred high rates of Latino naturalization and high rates of turnout among cohorts of individuals that had naturalized in such threatening context (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001). Other cohorts that also naturalized at this time but did not share similar political circumstances did not exhibit the same magnitude in turnout (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001). Additional studies that have examined the robustness of these cohort effects have found that contrary to what has been argued by many, the high turnout rates among Latinos in the 1990s in California, was not the result of amnesty expansion from IRCA in the late 1980s (Barreto, Ramirez and Woods, 2005). More recent work has provided additional evidence to back these findings and it has demonstrated that the group of voters who naturalized in the racialized context of the California 90s continue to vote at high rates election after election well into the 2000s (Ramírez, 2013). While these studies have established the importance of threat –when combined with shared group identity– in spurring habitual participation, not much is known about the trajectory of other types of Latino participants. We do not know how other Latinos who might have not received such a strong threatening stimulus can develop consistent rates of engagement.

Within this first camp of sustained Latino engagement scholars, have also looked at turnout within certain time frames (i.e. the 1996 to 2000). This work has established that residing in overlapping majority-minority districts for distinct level offices or jurisdictions influences Latinos to have high levels of participation across election cycles over time (Barreto, 2004). Furthermore, aggregate-level research on Latino turnout from the 1994 through the 1998 election in California has shown that turnout rates have been largely a function of

³Proposition 187, also known as *Save Our State (SOS)*, was an initiative to begin a citizenship screening system in California that would deny undocumented individuals from accessing health services, public education, and other services. Proposition 209, also known as the *California Civil Rights Initiative*, ammended the state constitution so as to omit the consideration of race, sex or ethnicity in public education, public contracting, and public employment. Proposition 227, was an initiative that passed in 1998 to end almost all ,bilingual education in schools. The passage of these propositions was reflective of the state’s concern and hysteria over undocumented immigraiton into the U.S. and the growing Latino population in California.

opposition to the 1990s propositions and a process of detachment from the Republican party (Barreto and Woods, 2005). While these works of Latino sustained examined have examined turnout in multiple cycles and have isolated key driving determinants of participation across time they do not address why some individuals might not continue to participate. It is unclear whether or not the stimulus that has brought individuals to participate more than once is also the mechanism by which they stay engaged and if anything at all discourages Latinos from staying on a path to habitual engagement.

The second camp has examined the enduring effects of get-out-the-vote (GOTV) mobilization efforts on Latino voters. This camp of scholarship has primarily looked at how long these mobilization effects last, and whether or not these effects are the same depending on the mode of mobilization or the type of election that individuals are mobilized in (Malhotra et al., 2011; Michelson, Garcia Bedolla and Green, 2009; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, 2012). For the most part, these works have found “enduring” effects of canvassing efforts regardless of the salience of the election (Michelson, Garcia Bedolla and Green, 2009), and aside from whether or not the stimulus was highly noticeable and potentially impersonal (Malhotra et al., 2011). However, despite the positive and significant findings these studies have not been able to isolate why it is exactly that the canvassing efforts were able to instill some sort of habit in the behavior of their subjects. In other words, it is not clear why those who received the treatments became habitual voters and while some despite receiving a stimulus did not become habitual voters after all. Garcia-Bedolla and Michelson (2012) suggest that mobilization efforts among low propensity minority voters have the potential to change their perceptions about who voters are and what voters might look like. Thus, they contend, that it is by changing these perceptions that individuals are able to more closely relate to the political system and participate consistently. Whether or not this is the process by which Latinos and other individuals become habitual participants is uncertain given that data does not capture what attitudes might have changed in the minds of these individuals

after having received the treatment.

The Habit of Voting

In the larger political science literature other scholars have taken up the question of what factors might be driving habitual voting. This literature argues that sustained participation across time emerges from a habit forming process that is enhanced through the act of voting. Though, unsure about how this process works, scholars argue and find that prior engagement is the single strongest predictor of recurrent turnout (Brody and Sniderman, 1977; Green and Shachar, 2000; Gerber, Green and Shachar, 2003; Denny and Doyle, 2009; Coppock and Green, 2015). Offering a vast amount of statistical evidence, scholars have recently found that individuals are likely to become habitual voters depending on which particular types of elections and electoral contexts they first become voters (Coppock and Green, 2015).

A theoretical and methodological improvement on the BDT learning model (Bendor, Diermeier and Ting, 2003), a behavioral choice model that looks at the possibility of “reinforcement learning” as explanation for voter turnout (Fowler, 2006), began to account for not only individual habitual voting but also persistent voting in the aggregate. Despite these fine tunings and vast new data, the explanation for why voting is habit forming is not at all too clear, and it is even less clear how this process might work among racial and ethnic minorities. Possible explanations include that mobilizing efforts during election season are likely to target already likely voters, thus reinforcing the habit of voting. It is plausible that individuals might obtain psychological or social benefits from voting, and this ends up reinforcing the act of voting. However, whether or not these explanations or any other alternative ones are the mechanism by which Latinos end up becoming habitual or occasional voters or become completely unengaged is still an open question.

Belonging

While this paper considers the role of prior participation in influencing habitual turnout, its main argument rests on the idea of belonging. I argue that the concept of belonging is a significant and important explanatory force behind habitual turnout among Latinos. A sense of belonging, as defined here, is characterized by two components, an individual one and a relative one. The individual component is defined by feelings that one is a member of the larger U.S. society and its polity. The relative component is defined by the perception that one is recognized as a member of U.S. society and one's presence is valued by others. Belonging can manifest itself in a myriad of ways. These include optimal belonging, aspirational belonging, and lack of belonging.

Optimal belonging is defined as the sense that one feels that one is part of U.S. society and the sense that the government, its institutions, and the rest of U.S. society recognize one's presence as legitimate. Optimal belonging has both a positive individual and a positive relative component. On the contrary, aspirational belonging is defined by an individual feeling that one belongs and feels as part of U.S. society but perceives that one is not recognized as a valued member. In order to gain such recognition, Latinos might engage in political acts to claim membership. This constitutes a reactionary response to an immediate threat. In addition, individuals may find themselves feeling that they are not part of the larger U.S. society. They might feel marginalized and perceive that others do not recognize them as members. This constitutes a lack of belonging. Latinos who lack a sense of belonging may not become habitual voters.

A sense of belonging is important for all people in society (Maslow, 1943; Baumeister and Leary, 1995). It is a human need and motivation that drives attitudes and behaviors. It must be recognized that developing a sense of belonging is much more attainable for white Americans. White Americans grow up having ordinary experiences that never put to

question their sense of membership in the U.S. The Latino experience, however, is primarily marked by an ethnoracial hierarchy that positions Latinos as outsiders (Nelson and Tienda, 1985; Bonilla-Silva and Lewis, 1999; Schmidt et al., 2009). Latinos dwell in a society that does not grant them inherent membership (Masuoka and Junn, 2013) but rather a society where either Latinos themselves must strive to secure membership or other institutions and organizations must work to enhance and foster their sense of belonging. In other words, U.S. society does not grant Latinos an immediate form of social citizenship that would lead them to develop a feelings of belongingness and consequently positive orientations towards the polity.

Social identity theory and research on inter-group relations tells us that group dynamics inform a person's sense of belonging. More specifically, these theories help frame the relational component of belonging. According to Tajfel (Tajfel, 1981, pg. 255) an individual's social identity involves "knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership". A sense of belonging is an internalized state of group membership (Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013) and it is fundamentally defined by the kind of perceived relation to the group. While social identity theory outlines how individuals come to see themselves, this self-identity stems from how it is that individuals perceive themselves in relation to membership within a larger group or community.

To better understand the perceptions that one develops about one's membership in a group, social identity scholars have established the group value model. This model is key to defining the relational component of belonging. The group value model posits that people rely on their experiences within groups to inform their identity or sense of self (Tyler and Lind, 1992; Tyler, 1994). Individuals regard cues about their relationship with group or community members to learn about their status within these groups (Tyler and Lind, 1992). The group value model argues that respect cues are especially important in learning of one's

status in a group. If one is treated with respect by group leaders and group peers then this is a sign of group inclusion (Tyler and Lind, 1992). In this model of inter-group relations, the notion of respect is seen a relational concept as it is tied to the position that individuals hold within a group. The perception that one is respected signifies that one is a belonging group member.

Scholars have operationalized respect in the group value model in a variety of different ways. Some have defined it as perceived liking by members and authority figures in a group (Branscombe et al., 2002; Ellemers, Doosje and Spears, 2004; Spears, Ellemers and Doosje, 2005). Others have conceptualized it as a measure of treatment quality, one that is fair and respectful (De Cremer & Blader, 2006; Simon & Sturmer, 2003, 2005; Smith et al., 2003; Tyler, Degoe, & Smith, 1996). While a few others have examined respect as a perception of worth and standing within a group –or perceived status– (Tyler and Smith, 1999). The concept of belonging advanced in this paper borrows from these theoretical underpinnings of perceived recognition and perceived respect.

I content that prior engagement is an important predictor of habitual voting for Latinos but not the only one. I argue that having a sense of belonging is fundamental to habitual turnout. If Latinos feel a sense of internal belonging but are presented with a threatening context that informs them that they are not valued or welcomed they will react and develop consistent levels of participation. By participating politically they make claims of belonging. A number of instances of Latino mobilization in response to anti-immigrant legislation and hostile contexts serve as example of how some Latinos make a claim to social membership by acting on aspirational belonging (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001; Ramírez, 2013; Bada et al., 2006).

On the other hand, other Latinos might feel completely alienated, marginalized and might not develop positive attitudinal frames that allow them to become habitual voters. Latinos who lack a sense of belonging and who feel systemic, societal or political estrangement

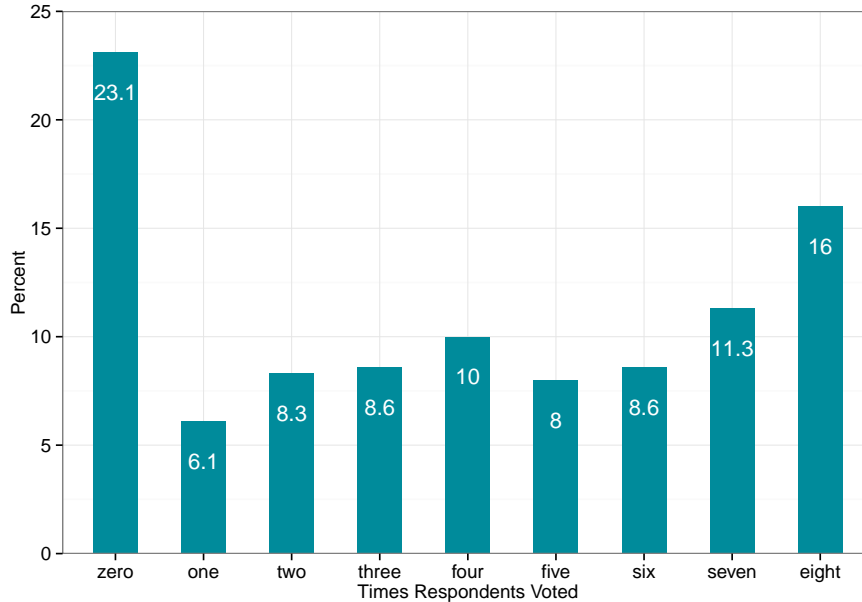
–operationalized by the perception that discrimination prevents their group from achieving success– are less likely to be habitual voters. The frustration of these individuals with the political system and greater societal ills is likely to turn them away from electoral participation. It is likely that these individuals may turn to other forms of non-electoral participation but it is highly probable that these Latinos might become greatly unengaged.

Data

To test these hypotheses, I rely on the 2008 Collaborative Multi-racial Post-election Survey (CMPS). The CMPS is a post-election national telephone survey of the four largest racial and ethnic groups: Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos and Whites. This survey of registered voters includes a variety of items that covered sociopolitical attitudes, demographics, mobilization and political activities. The Latino sub-sample contained 1,577 respondents. Validated turnout for the CMPS was obtained through the vendor TargetSmart. In addition to validating 2008 turnout, vote history going back to 2000 and subsequent voting behavior from 2008 until 2015 was appended to the dataset. The past and future voting behavior of the Latino CMPS respondents has allowed me to measure whether or not the respondents engaged in habitual voting, if they were occasional and inconsistent voters and whether or not they remained disengaged over the 2000-2015 time frame. To my knowledge this is the first panel-like dataset of Latinos that includes validated vote history over a 15 year span. Figure 2 below gives us an indication of how many times the Latino respondents in the CMPS voted in all presidential and midterm elections from 2000 until 2014.

The analysis below focuses on two key outcome variables. First, I model *entering the electorate* for the first time. In order to do this, I utilize a split sample of voters with no prior vote history from 2000-2006 to determine what influenced these individuals to become voters for the first time in 2008. For this specific model the dependent variable is coded as

Figure 2: Levels of Participation among Latinos in CMPS from 2000 – 2014



0 if the respondent did not enter the electorate in 2008 and as a 1 if the respondent voted in 2008.⁴ For the remainder of the models, the dependent variable is a categorical variable that keeps track of the times that a respondent voted starting out in 2008 until 2014⁵. There are five possible categories that a respondent could find herself in: either having voted zero times, once, twice, three, or four times. Respondents who voted zero times are those who are considered to be *greatly disengaged*. Those who voted in all four possible presidential

⁴The *entering the electorate* for the first time model assumes that because voters have no vote history from 2000-2006 and if they vote in 2008 they are first time voters. This assumption is grounded on the extant literature, which indicates that prior participation is the strongest predictor of turnout. Therefore, it is very probable that individuals are in fact entering the electorate in 2008 if this is the first time voting and they have no vote history in the 6 year span (2000-2006).

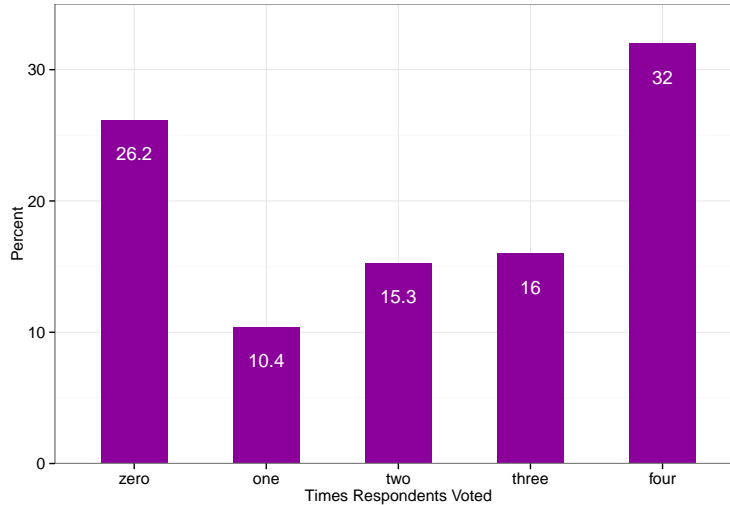
⁵Though this is essentially a count of how many times the respondent voted, dependency in the counts would break the key assumptions in any count model (i.e. poisson, negative binomial, zero-truncated, etc.). Given that the variable most appropriate resembles an ordered system of participation stages or categories that individuals can fall into, it is appropriate and reasonable to model this as an ordered logit. Other models such as a multinomial logit were used to examine the sensitivity of the findings to the type of model but the results were essentially the same.

and midterm elections from 2008 until 2014 are considered to be *habituals*. Individuals who voted between one and three times are categorically considered to be *occasionals*, but some of these might only be presidential voters. The distribution of the categorical voter-type dependent variable is shown in figure 3. Approximately 26% of respondents did not vote in either 2008 or any subsequent election until the present. On the other hand, 32% of respondents voted in both presidential and midterm elections since 2008. The percentage of occasional votes amounts to 41.7% from 2008 through 2014. From the data we can also infer that about 40% of Latinos who voted in 2008 did not vote again in 2012. Moreover, we can infer that about 32% of Latino voters in 2008 were first time voters as this percentage was the fraction of voters who had no prior history going back to 2000. In addition to this, approximately 32% of respondents in the entire sample were presidential voters only, meaning that they only turned out to vote in presidential elections from 2000 until 2014. Figure 4 below highlights the importance of relying on validated-turnout, particularly when investigating turnout over time. The figure corroborates many of the political science findings that indicate that respondents tend to overreport their participation rates.

One of the key independent variables is prior vote, this variable is a count of how many elections from 2000 until 2004 the respondent participated in. This variable allows me to test the extent to which there is support for the findings in the extant literature. To assess how orientations towards the government influence habitual voting behavior, I include a measure of government trust using a 4-category item that asks respondents how much of the time do they trust the government in Washington D.C. to do what is right. The variable ranges from 0 never at all trusting to 1 always trusting.

Absent a specific measure of belonging, I rely on two items to assess whether or not respondents might display attitudes that would be consistent with lacking belonging or with attitudes relating to having aspirational belonging. Lacking belonging is characterized by a feeling of systemic marginalization and feelings of not being a member in U.S. society. To

Figure 3: Distribution of outcome variable:
Latino Participation from 2008 – 2014



tap into this sentiment, I use an item that asks respondents if they feel that discrimination in the U.S. preventing is a major, a minor or not a problem at all that is preventing Latinos from succeeding. This variable was recoded to range from 0 to 1, 0 not believing it was a problem at all to 1 feeling that it was a major problem. This question, which in many instances has been utilized to measure group consciousness, is also an item that provides some indication about whether or not an individual might feel a sense of systemic oppression and disenfranchisement. Individuals who feel that their in-group is marginalized to the extent that this hurts their success is a sentiment that is likely to be correlated with feelings of an outsider, of not feeling like one belongs.

As previously mentioned, aspirational belonging –having feelings of belonging but being cognizant that others in society do not recognize one’s membership– might influence Latinos to participate. That is only if I they have a sense of urgency to act politically on their behalf or on the behalf of their group members. I operationalize this concept by utilizing a measure that looks at whether or not individuals believe that the policies in their local

context are favorable or unfavorable towards immigrants. This item was coded as a dummy variable where 0 indicates that one perceives not residing in an unfavorable context and 1 indicates that one perceives that one lives in a place that is unfavorable towards immigrants.

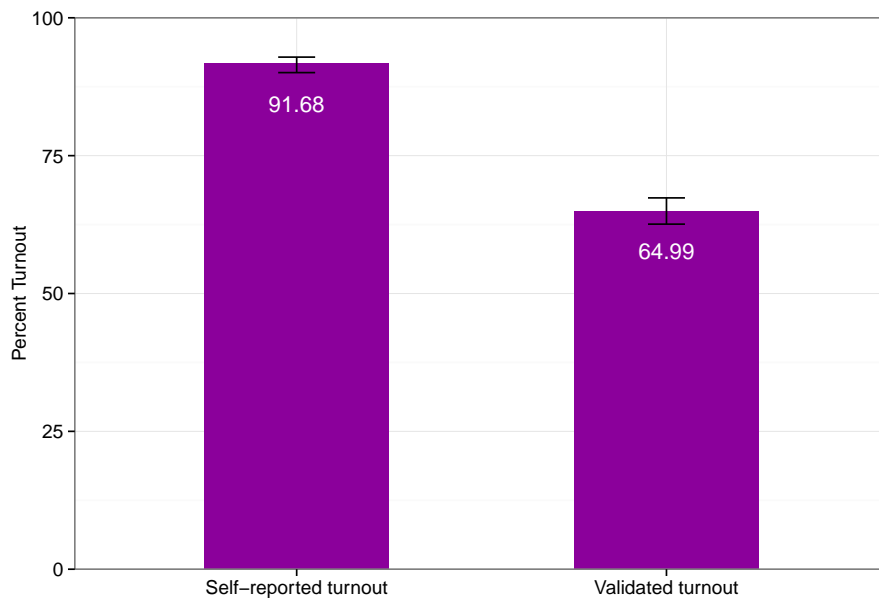
Linked fate among Latinos has been a strong predictor of cross-sectional Latino turnout, and I expect that it will also influence habitual participation. Linked fate is measured through a 4-category item that asks respondents how much they feel that their doing well depends on the wellbeing of their group members. The item was recoded to range from 0 to 1, 0 being not at all feeling this way and 1 feeling that their wellbeing depends a lot on the wellbeing of other Latinos. My expectation is that feeling a close tie to members of their group will be intertwined with feelings of urgency to belong as members of society therefore, I expect that linked fate will positively be correlated with habitual turnout.

Categorical dummies were included for levels of socioeconomic status where the excluded category was income above \$100K. Level of education is a 6-item category representing the highest level of education completed. This variable was recoded to range from 0 to 1, where 0 represented the category of having completed 1–8 years and 1 represented having achieved post graduate education. Party identification was also included in the models and these were dummy variables where independents were the reference category. Additionally, the models included controls for national origin, age, nativity, gender and language of interview.

Analysis

The data was examined using both logit and ordered logit models. Before turning into the habitual turnout models, a unique feature of the dataset is that it allows me to examine the political behavior of the respondents over a 15 year cycle. This enables me to split up the sample in a variety of ways in order to examine a multitude of patterns. From

Figure 4: 2008 Turnout Among Latinos in CMPS
Self-reported v. Validated turnout



this rich dataset we can learn about participation across varying types of elections from local to off-year and presidential elections. Given that prior vote history has been found to be one of the strongest predictors of habitual turnout it is important to establish what factors have influenced Latinos to become voters in the first place. This data allows us to do that.

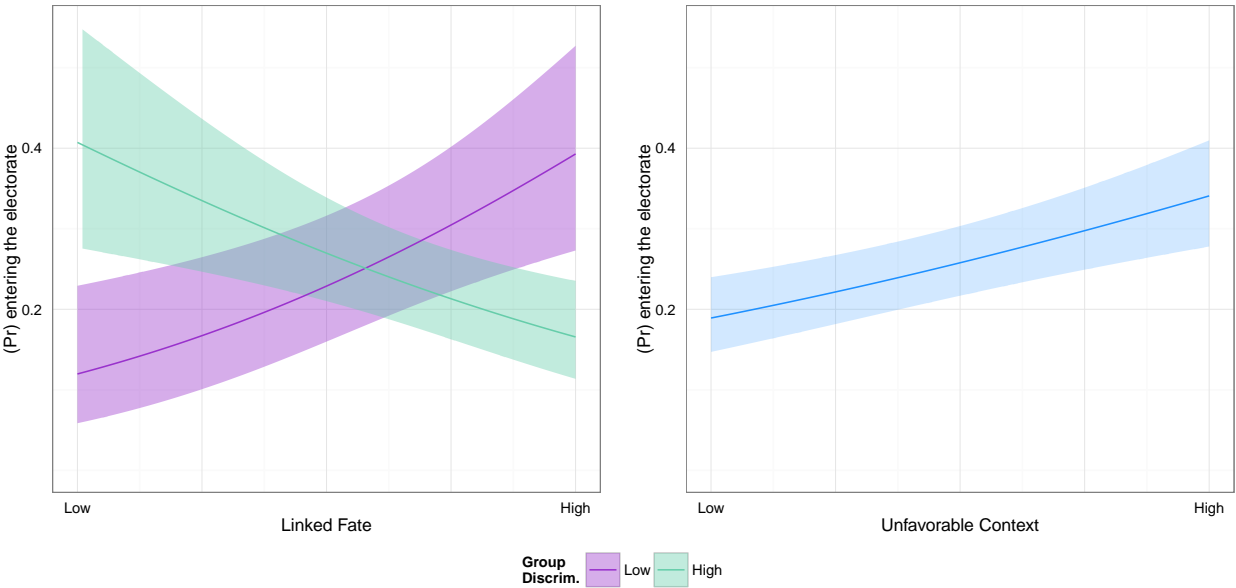
Table 1 displays the results from a logit model of entering the electorate for the first time. The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure where 0 is not entering the electorate in 2008 and 1 is having entered the electorate in 2008. Again, this model was ran on a subset of respondents that had no prior vote history and are thought to be *entering* the electorate for the first time. The findings indicate that linked fate, feelings of group discrimination, and perceptions of residing in an unfavorable context influence Latinos to enter the electorate. The model also includes an interaction term between group discrimination and linked fate in order to examine how perceiving that systemic discrimination is preventing Latinos from succeeding influences one to enter the electorate according to varying levels of having linked fate. Age also appears to be positively associated with entering the electorate. Older Latinos were the less likely they are to enter the electorate in 2008. No significant findings emerge for government trust and self-reported contact by campaigns or third parties.

The model in table 1 indicates that linked fate, on its own, is positively associated with voting in the 2008 election for the first time. Feelings of group discrimination also appear to have an independent influence on first time voting, and this is a positive relationship. That is, that group discrimination on its own mobilizes Latinos to enter the electorate. However, the influence of linked fate and group discrimination appears to be different when these two happen together. In order to better understand this relationship the left panel of figure 5 plots the predicted probability of voting for the first time as a function of linked fate and feelings of group discrimination, holding all other variables at their means. The predicted probability of entering the electorate among Latinos increases when moving from low to high feelings of linked fate, only if these individuals have a low sense of group discrimination. In

other words, Latinos appear to only be entering the electorate so long a sense of group marginalization is low. The predicted probability that Latinos enter the electorate if they have a low sense of group discrimination increases from 12% to 39% (a 27% point increase) as their sense of linked fate moves from low to high. However, if their perception of group discrimination is high, their probability of entering the electorate declines from 41% to 17% when moving from low to high in linked fate. This is a decline of 24% points.

The extent to which perceiving that one resides in an unfavorable context towards immigrants also increases the likelihood that Latinos will enter the electorate. The predicted probability is plotted on figure 5, right hand side panel. All other variables are held at their means. The predicted probability of entering the electorate moving from low to high unfavorable context increases from 19% to 34%. This effect appears to be much smaller than that of linked fate. However, it is still sizable probability increase of 15% points.

Figure 5: Predicted probability of entering the electorate



*Note: Solid lines indicate the predicted probability of entering the electorate (voting for the first time in 2008) as a function of levels of linked fate and feelings of group discrimination. All other covariates are held at their means. Shaded regions mark the uncertainty of the predicted probabilities at with 90% c.i.

Table 1: Predictors among Latinos of entering the electorate

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Vote in 2008
Linked Fate	1.560** (0.702)
Group. Discrim.	1.620** (0.749)
Linked Fate**Group Discrim.	-2.801*** (0.969)
Personal Discrim.	-0.272 (0.290)
Unfav. Context	0.796*** (0.270)
Gov't Trust	-0.180 (0.563)
Contacted	-0.103 (0.281)
<i>Socioeconomics</i>	
Less than \$40K	0.656 (0.498)
\$40K – \$80K	0.094 (0.491)
\$80 \$100K	0.728 (0.617)
Missing income	0.158 (0.523)
Education	0.917 (0.663)
<i>Party ID</i>	
Democrat	-0.290 (0.359)
Republican	-0.184 (0.432)
<i>National origin</i>	
Mexican	-0.397 (0.334)
Puerto Rican	-0.254 (0.504)
Cuban	0.112 (0.827)
Central American	-0.150 (0.489)
<i>Controls</i>	
Age	-0.021** (0.008)
Foreign Born	-0.033 (0.321)
Female	-0.042 (0.265)
Spanish Int.	0.249 (0.313)
Constant	-1.471 (0.980)
Observations	348
Log Likelihood	-189.350
Akaike Inf. Crit.	424.700

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

*This table presents logistic regression coefficients. Standard errors in parenthesis.

Moving on to the models that predict what factors influence individuals to be different types of voters – from disengaged to habitual–, I rely on an ordered logit model. The dependent variable here is a categorical variable consisting of five categories that a voter can fall under: a zero time voter, one, two, three and four time voter. These are all of the possible categories that Latinos could fall under given that there were four total voting opportunities from 2008 until 2014. The results are shown on table 2. The two models were ran on the full sample of Latinos. Model 2 includes an interaction term to determine how varying levels of group discrimination influence the extent to which linked fate predicts whether or not individuals become different voter types.

The findings indicate that prior voting history is amongst one of the strongest positive predictors of habitual turnout. However, other determinants such as perceived group discrimination and unfavorable context towards immigrants are also significant and negative predictors of habitual participation. In other words, the greater the sense that one’s group is discriminated against the less likely individuals will fall under the categories of being a high frequency voter. The effect of group discrimination on habitual participation occurs independently of linked fate, but this effect also appears to be negative when linked fate is present. Linked fate on its own does not appear to have an influence on habitual participation. On the other hand, feeling that one resides in a hostile environment towards immigrants makes one more likely to fall in a high frequency category of voting. Surprisingly, no significant correlation is found between feelings of government trust and recurrent voting. Socioeconomics are also associated with habitual participation. Low levels of income are negatively associated with being a four-time voter –or a habitual voter– whereas higher levels of education are associated with a greater likelihood of being a habitual voter. Older Latinos are also less likely to become habitual voters. And those who are less likely to be English speakers are less likely to be four-time voters. Having been mobilized in 2008 had no significant effect of inducing habitual participation in subsequent elections.

The substantive effects regarding group discrimination and the favorability of a context are best illustrated using predicted probabilities. Figure 6 displays the predicted probability of being both a zero-time and a four-time voter as a function of perception that one resides in an unfavorable context. The predicted probability of being a four-time voter as opposed to any other type of voter increases from 17.8% to 24.1% when moving from a low unfavorable context to a high unfavorable context. The predicted probability of being a completely disengaged type of voter (zero-time voter) goes from 18.3% to 13% as the context becomes much more unfavorable. In other words, individuals are more likely to be habitual voters if they perceive an immediate threat in their place of residence as it particularly relates to hostile immigration policies.

Figure 7 presents the substantive effects of being a zero-time voter and being a four-time voter by level of linked fate and group discrimination. The left hand-side panel indicates that among those who have a low sense of group discrimination have about of an equal probability of being a zero-time voter regardless of their level of linked fate. However, if Latinos have a high sense of discrimination and a low level of linked fate, their predicted probability of being a zero type voter is as opposed to any other type of voter is much higher at 22.8%. This is 9.2% points higher than if they had a high sense of linked fate. The panel on the right hand side presents the substantive effects of being a four-type of voter as opposed to other types. If Latinos have a low sense of group discrimination their predicted probability of being a four-time voter is around 23% to 25% regardless of their sense of linked fate. However, if Latinos have a high feelings of group discrimination, their predicted probability of being a four-time voter as opposed to being any other type of voters declines from 23% to 14%, that is if their sense of linked fate also declines from high to low.

Table 2: Predictors of Habitual Turnout among Latinos

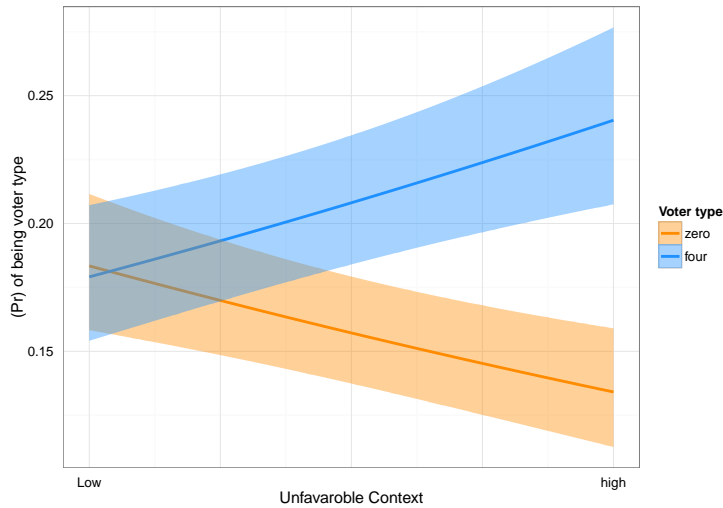
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Participation level 2008-2014	
	(Model 1)	(Model 2)
Linked Fate	0.177 (0.175)	-0.123 (0.327)
Group Discrim.	-0.391** (0.168)	-0.759** (0.313)
Linkedfate**Group Discrim.		0.756* (0.449)
Unfav. Context	0.383*** (0.126)	0.213* (0.127)
Prior Vote	1.013*** (0.050)	1.094*** (0.050)
Gov't Trust	0.368 (0.254)	0.251 (0.253)
Contacted	0.042 (0.133)	-0.013 (0.132)
<i>Socioeconomics</i>		
Less than \$40K	-0.265 (0.227)	-0.548** (0.232)
\$40K - \$80K	-0.385* (0.219)	-0.382* (0.218)
\$80K - \$100K	-0.029 (0.275)	-0.007 (0.287)
Missing Income	-0.410* (0.243)	-0.398 (0.245)
Education	0.490* (0.287)	0.466* (0.249)
<i>Party ID</i>		
Democrat	-0.323* (0.178)	-0.130 (0.180)
Republican	-0.066 (0.202)	-0.020 (0.208)
<i>National origin</i>		
Mexican	0.055 (0.156)	0.026 (0.150)
Puerto Rican	-0.386 (0.235)	-0.496** (0.221)
Cuban	0.123 (0.351)	0.121 (0.328)
Central American	0.068 (0.247)	0.419 (0.262)
<i>Controls</i>		
Age	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)
Foreign born	0.211 (0.144)	0.153 (0.150)
Female	0.089 (0.125)	0.193 (0.127)
Spanish Int.	-0.180 (0.152)	-0.357** (0.161)
Observations	1,029	1,045
Log Likelihood	-1,320.142	-1,265.152

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

*This table presents ordered logit coefficients. Standard errors in parenthesis.

Figure 6: Predicted probability of being a type of voter

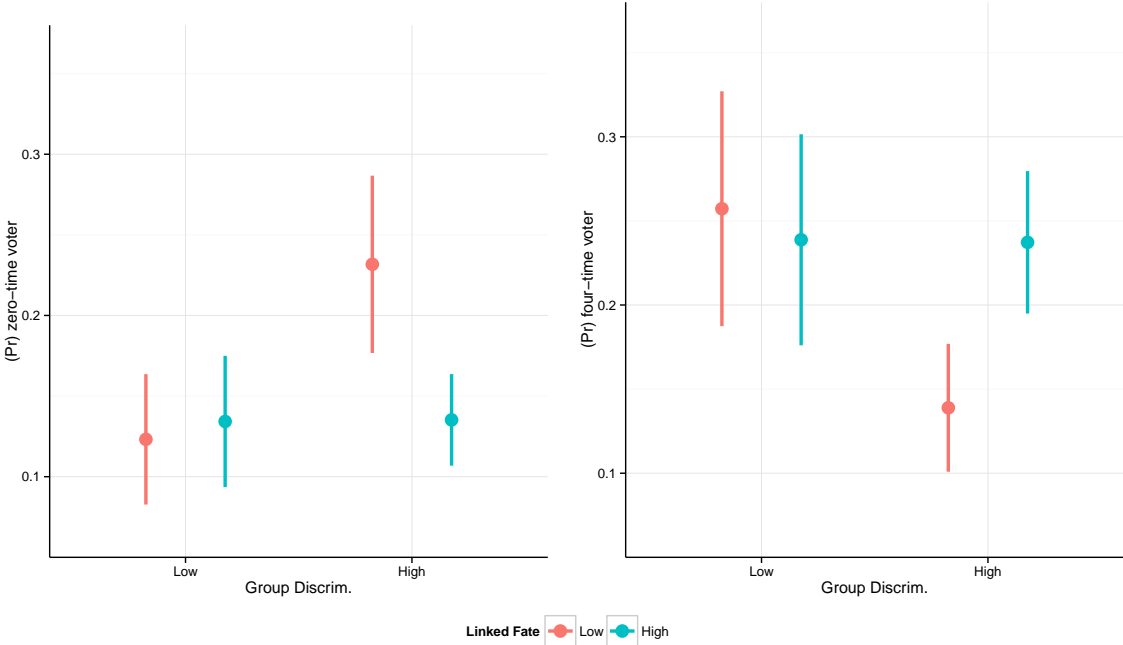


*Note: Solid lines indicate the predicted probability of being a certain type of voter (disengaged = 0-timer; habitual = four-timer) as a function of levels of linked fate and feelings of group discrimination. All other covariates are held at their means. Shaded regions mark the uncertainty of the predicted probabilities with 90% c.i.)

Conclusion

Studies of Latino participation have only examined cross-sectional behavior and have failed to observe and explain what factors might account for Latino recurrent or irregular voting behavior across election cycles. In this paper, I have investigated the entrance of Latinos into the electorate and I have also examined Latino continued engagement over various election cycles. I have argued that Latino habitual participation while being strongly influenced by previous vote history, is also driven by a host of other factors. Linked fate appears to influence Latinos to become first time voters only, but as the findings indicate, it does not appear to be enough to keep Latinos in the electorate on a regular basis. Group discrimination has an independent positive effect in influencing Latinos to become first time voters. However, when interacted with linked fate the effect is the opposite. Latinos with a strong sense of linked fate and a high sense of group discrimination are likely to not become

Figure 7: Predicted probability of being a zero-time and a four-time voter by group discrimination and linked fate



*Note: Dots indicate the predicted probability of being a zero-time voter or a four-time voter as opposed to any other type of voter by levels of linked fate and feelings of group discrimination. All other covariates are held at their means. The bars represent the 90% c.i. of the predicted probabilities.

first time voters.

The findings lend support to the idea that the concept of belonging in the various ways in which it has been theorized and operationalized here, appears to determine whether or not Latinos enter the electorate and whether or not they engage in habitual voting. If the desire to want to belong is present amidst residing in a context that Latinos might perceive as being hostile to immigrants, Latinos are more likely to participate electorally time after time. This type of exogenous threat that is immediate appears to be mobilizing. As the findings demonstrates, it mobilizes Latinos to enter the electorate for the first time and also to continue participating election after election. This finding supports previous work that has established the role threatening contexts in mobilizing and allowing cohorts of naturalized citizens to maintain engaged over time (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001; Ramírez, 2013). This paper allows us to extend this previous finding beyond naturalized cohorts, as the realization that one lives in an unfavorable context towards immigrants has the capability of mobilizing Latinos with no vote history controlling for other factors. Moreover, this perception also appears to fuel mobilization among Latinos in a way that is consistent year after year.

Feelings of system of group marginalization, which I argue are correlated with a lack of belonging, appear to have a negative impact on voting for the first time and subsequent habitual turnout, specially among those with low levels of linked fate. Linked fate alone appears to mobilize Latinos into becoming voters. It is plausible that a closer connection to the in-group might make Latinos more likely to want to act politically on behalf of their group and this is enough to propel them into the electorate. However, even for those with linked fate, very strong feelings of group discrimination are discouraging and these tend to steer Latinos away from entering the electorate. There are similar findings when examining habitual turnout. Latinos have a lower probability of being four-time voters if their sense of group discrimination is high and their level of linked fate is low. This indicates that a

closeness to Latinos as a group might counteract the negative effects that individuals feel of systemic marginalization. In all, perceived group discrimination discourages habitual voting and it does so amongst voters with no prior vote history as well as with voters that have voted in the past. Interestingly, it appears that linked fate propels Latinos into the electorate and it might tone down the effects of a lack of belonging.

While these findings might be somewhat at odds with previous literature that has examined the mobilizing role of group consciousness, as operationalized by perceived group discrimination (Sanchez, 2006*b*), it is plausible that an accumulated sense group discrimination and frustration over time (not just cross-sectionally) leads individuals to become disillusioned. This in turn can result in completely disengagement. Equally likely is the possibility that because Latinos feel a strong sense of marginalization, this might influence them to seek other avenues of participation that are not electoral. And this could be reason why they desist from being voters. This conjecture is one that deserves much more investigation.

We have learned that only about a third of Latinos are recurrent voters and a large percentage of them, about 41.7% of them, are dropping within and in-between election cycles. While we have come to discover some of the factors that influence habitual voting, this paper is a starting point to investigating the puzzle of Latino political participation beyond its traditional dichotomous outcome. If we are to better understand how the Latino electorate is poised to influence American politics we must aim to better comprehend the process by which Latinos end up in various categories of participation. This paper is also a first step towards better understanding how a sense of belonging or lack of belonging is related to participation, and how this concept might interact with some of our established notions of linked fate and group consciousness. Future work should continue to develop more fine grained measures of belonging and continue to push the study of Latino political behavior as a process occurring over time.

References

- Abrajano, Marisa A. and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. "Assessing the causes and effects of political trust among US Latinos." *American Politics Research* 38(1):110–141.
- Abramson, Paul R. 1972. "Political Efficacy and Political Trust Among Black School Children: Two Explanations." *The Journal of Politics* 34(4):1243–1275.
- Bada, Xochitl, Jonathan Fox, Elvia Zazueta and Ingrid Garcia. 2006. Immigrant Marches Spring 2006. Technical report Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
- Barreto, Matt A. 2007. "¡S Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *The American Political Science Review* 101:425–441.
- Barreto, Matt A., Ricardo Ramirez and Nathan D. Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Effect of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly* 86(4):pp. 792–811.
- Barreto, Matt A., Segura Gary M. Woods Nathan D. 2004. "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review* null:65–75.
- Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. *Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. University of Virginia Press chapter The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County.
- Baumeister, Roy F. and Mark R. Leary. 1995. "The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation." *Psychological bulletin* 117(3):497.
- Bendor, Jonathan, Daniel Diermeier and Michael Ting. 2003. "A Behavioral Model of Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 02:261–280.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo and Amanda Lewis. 1999. "The new racism: Racial structure in the United States, 1960s-1990s." *Race, ethnicity, and nationality in the United States* pp. 55–101.
- Branscombe, Nyla R., Russell Spears, Naomi Ellemers and Bertjan Doosje. 2002. "Intragroup and intergroup evaluation effects on group behavior." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28(6):744–753.
- Brody, Richard A. and Paul M. Sniderman. 1977. "From Life Space to Polling Place: The Relevance of Personal Concerns for Voting Behavior." *British Journal of Political Science* 7(3):337–360.
- Campbell, Angus, Gerald Gurin and Warren Edward Miller. 1954. "The voter decides."

- Citrin, Jack, Herbert McClosky, J. Merrill Shanks and Paul M. Sniderman. 1975. "Personal and Political Sources of Political Alienation." *British Journal of Political Science* 5(01):1–31.
- Coppock, Alexander and Donald P Green. 2015. "Is Voting Habit Forming? New Evidence from Experiments and Regression Discontinuities." *American Journal of Political Science* .
- Denny, Kevin and Orla Doyle. 2009. "Does Voting History Matter? Analysing Persistence in Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1):17–35.
- DeSipio, Louis. 1996. "Making Citizens or Good Citizens? Naturalization as a Predictor of Organizational and Electoral Behavior among Latino Immigrants." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2):194–213.
- DeSipio, Louis. 1998. *Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate*. University Press of Virginia.
- DeSipio, Louis. 2003. "The second generation: Political behaviors of adult children of immigrants in the United States."
- Ellemers, Naomi, Bertjan Doosje and Russell Spears. 2004. "Sources of respect: The effects of being liked by ingroups and outgroups." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 34(2):155–172.
- Fowler, James H. 2006. "Habitual Voting and Behavioral Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 68(2):335–344.
- Fraga, Luis Ricardo, John A. Garcia, Rodney E. Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers and Gary M. Segura. 2012. *Latinos in the new millennium : an almanac of opinion, behavior, and policy preferences*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Garcia, John A. 2003. *Latino politics in America : community, culture, and interests*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Garcia Bedolla, Lisa and Melissa R. Michelson. 2012. *Mobilizing inclusion : transforming the electorate through get-out-the-vote campaigns*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green and Ron Shachar. 2003. "Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3):540–550.
- Green, Donald P. and Ron Shachar. 2000. "Habit Formation and Political Behaviour: Evidence of Consuetude in Voter Turnout." *British Journal of Political Science* 30(04):561–573.

- Hero, Rodney E. and Anne G. Campbell. 1996. "Understanding Latino Political Participation: Exploring the Evidence from the Latino National Political Survey." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2):129–141.
- Huddy, Leonie, David O. Sears and Jack S. Levy. 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford University Press.
- Jones-Correa, Michael A and David L Leal. 2001. "Political participation: Does religion matter?" *Political Research Quarterly* 54(4):751–770.
- Long, Samuel. 1978. "Personality and political alienation among white and black youth: A test of the social deprivation model." *The Journal of Politics* 40(02):433–457.
- Malhotra, Neil, Melissa R. Michelson, Todd Rogers and Ali Adam Valenzuela. 2011. "Text Messages as Mobilization Tools: The Conditional Effect of Habitual Voting and Election Salience." *American Politics Research* 39(4):664–681.
- Maslow, Abraham Harold. 1943. "A theory of human motivation." *Psychological review* 50(4):370.
- Masuoka, N. and J. Junn. 2013. *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*. Chicago Studies in American Politics University of Chicago Press.
- Michelson, Melissa R. 2000. "Political Efficacy and Electoral Participation of Chicago Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 81(1):136–150.
- Michelson, Melissa R. 2001. "Political Trust Among Chicago Latinos." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23(3-4):323–334.
- Michelson, Melissa R., Lisa Garcia Bedolla and Donald P. Green. 2009. New Experiments in Minority Voter Mobilization: Third and Final Report on the California Votes Initiative. Technical report The James Irvine Foundation.
- Miller, Arthur H., Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin and Oksana Malanchuk. 1981. "Group Consciousness and Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 25(3):494–511.
- Nelson, Candace and Marta Tienda. 1985. "The structuring of Hispanic ethnicity: Historical and contemporary perspectives." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 8(1):49–74.
- Padilla, Felix M. 1985. *Latino ethnic consciousness : the case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Pantoja, Adrian D. and Gary M. Segura. 2003. "Does Ethnicity Matter? Descriptive Representation in Legislatures and Political Alienation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly (Blackwell Publishing Limited)* 84:441–460.

- Pantoja, Adrian D., Ricardo Ramirez and Gary M. Segura. 2001. "Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos." *Political Research Quarterly* 54(4):729–750.
- Plutzer, Eric. 2002. "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood." *The American Political Science Review* 96(1):41–56.
- Ramírez, R. 2013. *Mobilizing Opportunities: The Evolving Latino Electorate and the Future of American Politics*. Race, Ethnicity, and Politics University of Virginia Press.
- Rodgers, Harrell R., Jr. 1974. "Toward Explanation of the Political Efficacy and Political Cynicism of Black Adolescents: An Exploratory Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 18(2):257–282.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006a. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion." *Political Research Quarterly* 59(3):435–446.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006b. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Political Participation Among Latinos in the United States." *American Politics Research* 34(4):427–450.
- Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2005. "The Rise and Fall of Political Engagement among Latinos: The Role of Identity and Perceptions of Discrimination." *Political Behavior* 27(3):285–312.
- Schmidt, Ronald, Rodney E. Hero, Andrew L. Aoki and Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh. 2009. *Newcomers, Outsiders, and Insiders: Immigrants and American Racial Politics in the Early Twenty-first Century*. The Politics of Race and Ethnicity University of Michigan Press.
- Spears, Russell, Naomi Ellemers and Bertjan Doosje. 2005. "Let Me Count the Ways in which I Respect Thee: Does Competence Compensate or Compromise Lack of Liking from the Group?" *European Journal of Social Psychology* 35(2):263–279.
- Stokes, Atiya Kai. 2003. "Latino Group Consciousness and Political Participation." *American Politics Research* 31(4):361–378.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1981. *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. CUP Archive.
- Tyler, Tom R. 1994. "Psychological Models of the Justice Motive: Antecedents of Distributive and Procedural Justice." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 67(5):850.
- Tyler, Tom R. and E. Allan Lind. 1992. "A Relational Model of Authority in Groups." *Advances in experimental social psychology* 25:115–92.
- Tyler, Tom R. and Heather J. Smith. 1999. *The psychology of the social self*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. chapter Justice, social identity, and group processes, pp. 223–264.

Verba, Sidney and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: political democracy and social equality*. New York: Harper & Row.