

**THE LATINO ELECTORAL EXPERIENCE IN A SMALL CITY: TWENTY YEARS OF
LATINO NONSUCCESS IN CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS IN PASCO, WASHINGTON**

**Tim Shadix
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Whitman College
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Introduction

This report seeks to address the factors shaping the complete absence of Latino representatives on the city council in Pasco, Washington, a city with a 56.3% Latino population, by 2000 Census count. This is not simply the condition of the current moment, but a trend with considerable history. Since 1989, nine Latino candidates have run for the city council in fifteen races and none have succeeded in winning office. The primary means of approaching the issue for this report has been through examining and analyzing election records, obtained with considerable help from the diligent employees at the Franklin County elections office. My research seeks to understand why Latinos in Pasco have experienced repeated and universal nonsuccess in municipal elections for over twenty years. I look for possible violations of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (VRA), which could be indicated by racially polarized voting occurring in at-large election systems. Finding little, I focus on the low levels of Latino turnout and the affect of VRA section 203 provisions of bilingual elections on increasing political participation. Ensuring equitable access to the city government for Latinos is of the utmost importance. Numerous investigations (Geron, 2005; Barreto, 2007; Van Osdol, 2004) have found that who sits on a city council tends to determine who gets the important resources distributed by the municipal government. These resources include such important goods and services as city jobs and contracts, schools, roads, transportation, and social services (Davidson, 1994). With all of the benefits, both in material and cultural status, which arise from accurate representation in the local government, the striking absence of this vital representation for Latinos in Pasco is troubling and must be addressed. I make the recommendations that city, state and national efforts focus more exclusively on increasing Latino turnout, and that Franklin County consider voluntary reforms in its election system to include measures that would level the playing field somewhat for Latino candidates.

Scholarly Literature Discussion

There exists a large body of literature on Latino political representation in the United States, and it is important to review relevant studies within this field in order to place my research in Pasco, Washington in a broader context. The situation in Paso is unlikely to be entirely unique, and many of the circumstance are probably reflective of larger national and statewide trends. A 2007 research brief released by the National Association of Latino Elected

and Appointed Officials (NALEO) provides a comprehensive overview of Latino political participation and representation at the national and state level. In Washington State, the Latino population totals an estimated 541,722, or about 9% of the total population. These numbers are significantly reduced, however, when it comes to the number of Latinos participating in electoral politics. This is due to the population's age structure, citizenship status and low levels of voter registration. Of the 541,722 Latinos in Washington State, 62% are 18 years of age or older, with 56% of this voting-age population holding citizenship. This leaves a potential Latino electorate of 190,567, but actual voter registration only reaches 92,211 statewide to comprise a 3% share of Washington's electorate (NALEO).

The small Latino share of Washington's total electorate can be misleading in terms of judging the potential for Latino electoral participation and representation at the local level. This is because the state's Latino population is highly concentrated in a few regions. Latinos make up a significant portion of the registered voters in Adams, Franklin and Yakima counties, with Latino shares of 20.0%, 16.9%, and 15.0% respectively. As one of the largest cities in Franklin County, Pasco has 3,035 registered Latino voters by NALEO's count, equaling 17.4% of the electorate. The relatively substantial proportion of the electorate claimed by Latinos in these counties is not reflected by any sort of equivalent level of representation in local government offices. There were only two Latino elected city officials in the entire state in 1998, and the number had only risen to four by 2007, with the maximum number in office at any one time reaching six officials statewide in 2004 and 2005 (NALEO). The low levels of Latino representation in Washington State are part of a national trend of Latino representation failing to proportionately reflect Latino population levels and growth. Between 1984 and 2002, the Latino population in the United States increased by 150 percent, while the number of Latino officeholders only increased by 55.1 percent (de la Garza and DeSipio, 2006, 142). This suggests that the gap between Latino population levels and Latino representation in governing bodies is only increasing.

Why is this a problem? Some community members I spoke with during my research thought that the race or ethnicity of candidates and officials was merely a surface characteristic that had little to do with the actual decisions and practices of representatives. However, research by a number of authors suggests otherwise. In reality, the ethnic composition of a city council can ultimately have an affect on the relative proportion of municipal resources distributed to different racial and ethnic groups. Chandler Davidson writes in *The Recent Evolution of Voting Rights Law Affecting Racial and Language Minorities* that depriving minorities of a "committed advocate" in the government "may also deprive them of the substantial benefits that government bestows – from streetlights to storm sewers, municipal employment to fire protection, fair law enforcement to efficient public transportation" (Davidson, 1994, 23). Kim Geron (2005) and Matt A. Barreto (2007) also argue that more proportional bureaucratic representation has beneficial policy effects for minorities and is an important measure of Latino political incorporation. Geron examines the case of Salinas, a Latino-majority city in California that went from having zero Latino representation on the city council to proportionate representation during the 1990s. Under the direction of a Latino city manager and council members, the city established an affirmative action plan and equal employment opportunity policies, which within four years led to a 13 percent increase in women and minorities hired or promoted for city jobs. Additionally, more bilingual and bicultural workers were hired for jobs with frequent public

contact, reducing previous problems of communication between the city government and the Spanish-speaking community (179-181). It seems in many cases that the Latino community has much to gain by seeking to have Latin officeholders preside in local government positions.

Research conducted by Matthew Van Osdol (2004) through extensive interviews in Pasco, Washington illustrates also how the absence of Latino officeholders in the city council has detrimental consequences for the majority Latino population. Despite comprising 53 percent of the population in Pasco, Latinos only held 42, or 16.6 percent, of 253 possible city jobs, and of those positions held by Latinos, only two were characterized as “officials/administrators” and none as “professionals” (27). The entirely non-Latino council was not distributing jobs proportionately, nor did it seem to represent the Latino community’s interests. The Council and Latinos clashed on numerous occasions when the city attempted to remove a Catholic church known for providing social services to the downtown area, blocked the construction of farm worker housing, and attempted to dissolve the joint city-county Housing Authority, 70 percent of whose services go to Latinos (47-51). Miscommunications, translation problems, and occasional open hostility were reported as problems during city council meetings (32). The Latino community, it seems, did not feel adequately represented by the non-Latino officeholders.

There are a number of possible explanations for the notably low levels of success among Latino candidates in cities such as Pasco. One factor commonly looked for is the existence of election procedures that inhibit the ability of the minority group to elect their candidate of choice. The primary legal means of addressing these types of constraints over the past fifty years has been the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA).

The VRA was initially part of an effort during the civil rights movement to eliminate the severe disenfranchisement of black voters. When the Supreme Court moved against more extreme measures of voter disenfranchisement, such as striking down all-white primaries in 1944, southern states and local governments responded by implementing well-tried election practices from earlier eras to suppress minority votes. Rather than disenfranchising black voters by preventing them from voting through tests or intimidation, these measures served instead to effectively dilute the minority vote. Chandler Davidson defines vote dilution as the “process whereby election laws or practices, either singly or in concert, combine with systematic bloc voting among an identifiable group to diminish the voting strength of at least one other group.” Bloc voting refers to voters of one cohesive group voting for the candidate from their group in an election while the opposing cohesive group does the same for their candidate. If the candidates belong to racial or ethnic groups, then this phenomenon is considered “racial bloc voting,” or “racially polarized voting” (Davidson, 1994, 22).

There are numerous election procedures that have the effect of diminishing, or diluting, the minority vote in an environment with racially polarized voting. Chief among them are at-large election plans. In an at-large system, a multi-member district is used, meaning that every voter can vote for any of the candidates running for office in the jurisdiction (Davidson, 1994, 27). If racially polarized voting occurs in such an election, then any candidate from the minority group running against a candidate from the majority would lose, since the majority voting as a cohesive bloc for their candidate would make it numerically impossible for the minority candidate to prevail. The most common alternative to at-large systems is the creation of single-

member districts, or wards, within a city, ideally having at least a few districts constituted by a majority of the minority population. Only the voters residing within a single-member district vote for the candidates from that district, meaning that minorities could elect representatives for their districts even if they were still a numerical minority in the overall municipality (25).

The VRA has been of use to Latino voting rights activists in allowing at-large election systems to be challenged legally when they combine with racially polarized voting to dilute Latino votes. There were two instrumental developments in the 1980s that shaped the way these cases are approached. In response to a 1980 Supreme Court case, *City of Mobile v. Bolden*, unrealistically requiring that discriminatory intent be demonstrated in the design of at-large election systems if they are to be challenged, Congress included in the VRA's 1982 renewal an amendment to section 2 that removed this burden of proof. The amended section 2 served to "explicitly prohibit any voting procedure that so much as resulted in members of the protected classes having 'less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice'" (Davidson, 1994, 35). This amendment has enabled the Justice Department or private parties to sue any jurisdiction based solely on the demonstrated existence of vote dilution, regardless of intent. The criteria for determining vote dilution were established in the 1986 case *Thornburg v. Gingles*, which codified a "three-pronged test" to substantiate section 2 claims of diluting effects:

- (i) "the minority group must be sufficiently large and geographically compact that it would constitute a majority in at least one single-member district,
- (ii) the minority group must show that it is politically cohesive, and
- (iii) the Anglo majority must vote sufficiently as a bloc so that candidates preferred by the minority are usually defeated" (Sass, 2000, 611).

Political cohesiveness on the part of the minority group is generally established by racial bloc voting, therefore when this is combined with the third requirement, racially polarized voting becomes the "linchpin" in establishing a section 2 vote dilution claim (Davidson, 1994, 37). Therefore, cities or voting jurisdictions using at-large election systems and exhibiting characteristics of racially polarized voting in election are potential candidates for section 2 VRA cases.

Judging by research published by Barreto in 2007, the racially polarized voting criteria for section 2 dilution cases are likely to be a widely found phenomenon. Barreto analyzed elections with Latino candidates for local offices in Los Angeles, Houston, New York, San Francisco and Denver and found that "the Latino population always preferred the Latino candidate, whereas non-Latinos as a group never voted in favor of the Latino" (434). In other words, racially polarized voting was found to occur universally in these elections, suggesting it is the general trend at least for large cities with substantial Latino populations.

In addition to the possible actions of challenging vote-diluting at-large elections systems, the VRA provides another important provision for decreasing Latino vote suppression. When the VRA was renewed for the first time in 1975, Congress expanded provisions under section 4 banning literacy tests to include special provisions for language minorities. Going a step further, section 203 was codified to specifically address the problems of language minority groups, intending "to permit persons disabled by such disparities to vote now," referring to unequal educational opportunities as well as the absence of bilingual assistance at the polls (Tucker,

2007, 6). A state or political subdivision becomes covered by section 203 if either more than five percent or more than ten thousand of the voting-age citizens are “members of a single language minority and are limited-English proficient” (8). Jurisdictions under section 203 coverage are forbidden from providing English-only voting materials, must publicize minority language materials and assistance availability through effective minority outlets, provide for effective bilingual voter registration programs, and ensure language assistance is available at the polls on elections (7). “Voting materials” are construed widely to be “registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other materials or information relating to the electoral process, including ballots” (6). The responsibility for implementing all of these provisions lies with the jurisdiction, and covered jurisdictions must be in full compliance, regardless of good intentions or efforts, in order to avoid potential action by the Department of Justice (Ibid.).

The requirement that jurisdictions covered by section 203 provide language assistance at the polls would seem to be somewhat complicated by the switch to vote by mail elections (VBM) in Washington and other states. Expert voting rights attorney Joaquin Avila writes of section 203 that it mandates that jurisdictions “provide *both* written and oral assistance at the polls to persons who are not proficient in English” [*emphasis added*] (Avila, 2006, 328). How then do these provisions apply in states such as Oregon and Washington that no longer use the polls, but only mail-in ballots for elections? I was not able to find any scholarly discussion about how vote by mail elections affect section 203 provisions. However, it would appear that if voters are voting at home they do not have access to the same level of oral assistance as at the polls previously, even if there are places they can go to for assistance. Considering the effects of vote by mail on minority voters, particularly those with limited English proficiency, is critical to investigate, as disproportionate affects would suggest a violation of the spirit of the VRA and section 203.

Although I found no literature on vote by mail as it relates to the VRA, there have been some studies done on the outcomes of vote by mail elections for voter turnout and the electorate composition. In an extensive analysis of Oregon’s vote by mail system, Adam J. Berinsky et al. found encouraging results in that that VBM increased voter turnout overall. However, they write that VBM does so by retaining existing voters, rather than mobilizing new voters and habitual non-voters (Berinsky et al., 2001, 190). Given the demographic characteristics of these groups of voters, VBM essentially mobilizes the elderly, well educated and wealthier. The result being that, “In short, VBM accentuates resource stratifications that already exist in the electorate” (191). Karp and Banducci (2000) obtained similar results in an earlier study. In addition to the demographics Berinsky et al. found as significant, Karp and Banducci uncovered a racial component, noting that “as the percent of nonwhite residents increases by 10%, turnout in the [VBM] election...will decrease by 2 to 7%” (Karp and Banducci 2000, 233). This may have a small effect overall, but given the recent changes to VBM systems, it is important to note the role that this election procedure may be having on Latino voter participation.

VBM and the problems it potentially poses to section 203 bring up the complexities of addressing issues of minority vote dilution. VRA litigation has focused on single-member districts as the fix to minority vote dilution from at-large election systems and racially polarized voting. However, there is some debate surrounding the actual effectiveness of single-member minority-majority districts. In *The Triumph of Tokenism: The Voting Rights Act and the Theory of Black Electoral Success*, Lani Guinier argues that even if a minority candidate is elected from

a single-member district, they risk being ignored by the majority officeholders, since the creation of minority-majority districts form areas where majority leaders feel they have no constituents and thus no obligation to pay attention to their needs. Therefore, rather than creating single-member districts to remedy racial minority vote dilution in at-large election systems, Guinier proposes an alternate election process known as proportionate interest representation. Under this system, the threshold of votes required to win an election is lowered. Rather than needing 50 percent plus one of the votes to win an election, a candidate would only need, say 20 percent plus one. The percentage would vary depending on the number of offices needing to be filled. For instance a 20 percent threshold would fill four seats, since only four candidates could receive 20 percent plus one (without the voting totals adding up to greater than 100 percent). Voters could potentially be given multiple votes to distribute among the candidates as they wished, which would mean that even if a minority group comprised less than 20 percent of the electorate in this scenario, they could still elect a minority candidate by pooling all their votes to that one candidate (Guinier, 1991, 1136-1142). This system would reduce the minority vote dilution in an at-large election system with racially polarized voting, while also avoiding the potential shortcomings of single-member districts. The existence of viable alternatives such as Guinier's is an important reminder of the potential for voting rights improvements through voluntary changes in election procedures, not just from litigation forcing single-member districts.

Given the history of the VRA in tackling at-large election system, and given Barreto's findings that suggest racially polarized voting to be the norm when Latinos run for office, it would seem to be worthwhile to analyze elections in Pasco, Washington for any evidence of election processes contributing to the low success of Latino candidates. Based on this previous research, I determined to analyze city council elections in Pasco to see if racially polarized voting was occurring in elections when a Latino candidate ran against a non-Latino candidate, with the idea that evidence from these findings could potentially point to the need for a VRA case. Additionally, the provisions of section 203 for bilingual elections materials are extremely important for encouraging Latino voters, leading me to investigate to what extent Franklin County is in compliance with section 203. This investigation was supplemented by interviews with Latino political candidates and analyses of Census data to consider factors not necessarily addressed by specific provisions of the VRA.

Discussion of Research Methods

The first step in my primary research was to obtain election records from Franklin County, Washington for all primary and general elections from 1985 to present. Using these records, I then narrowed my search down by identifying elections where a Latino candidate ran against a non-Latino in an election. These were good elections to use for looking for racially polarized voting.

When racially polarized voting occurs, members of ethnic groups tend to vote as a block for candidates of the same ethnic group. This means that if a particular group, such as Latinos, comprise a minority of voters in a city or district, their efforts to elect a Latino candidate of their choosing may be prevented by the numerically larger non-Latino population voting as a block for a non-Latino candidate.

In order to determine if racially polarized voting has contributed to the electoral nonsuccess of Latino candidates in Pasco, I examined the records of elections for the Pasco city council from 2001 to 2007. During this time period, there were seven instances when a Latino candidate ran against a non-Latino candidate for a position on the city council. These types of elections are good examples to analyze for racially polarized voting because they feature candidates from different ethnic groups, a situation that could cause group members to vote as a block in support of the candidate sharing their ethnicity. Of these seven races I selected four to analyze: the 2001 general election, the 2003 primary election, and two races in the 2005 primary election.

In the first step of my analysis, a list of the voters participating in the election, organized by precinct, was cross-referenced with a Spanish surnames table to identify probable Latino voters. The results were then tallied to give the number of Latino voters and the number of non-Latino voters voting in each precinct for that election. Using these numbers, the percentage of Latino voters in each precinct was then calculated. If racially polarized voting occurred, then as the proportion of Latino voters in a precinct increases, the number of votes for the Latino candidate in that precinct should increase correspondingly. Conversely, as the proportion of non-Latino voters increases, the proportion of votes for the Latino candidate should decrease correspondingly.

To obtain the data for the second variable of this relationship, a precinct-by-precinct election summary was used. For each precinct, the number of votes for the Latino candidate and the number of votes for the non-Latino candidate were counted and the percentage of votes going to the Latino candidate calculated from these numbers. The actual analysis of these numbers was performed using statistics software to perform a linear regression analysis of the variables. The percentage of Latino voters or non-Latino voters in a precinct is the independent variable and the percentage of the vote going to the Latino candidate is the dependent variable

Following my analysis, I determined to interview the auditor and elections administrator for Franklin County about bilingual election materials. This interview would allow me to assess the degree to which the county was following its section 203 coverage, which could be a possible factor in Latino access to voting information. Additionally, I interviewed two Latino political candidates to hear their perspective on the situation. I was able to contact these candidates by looking up their information on the Franklin County elections office website.

Voting Rights Assessment

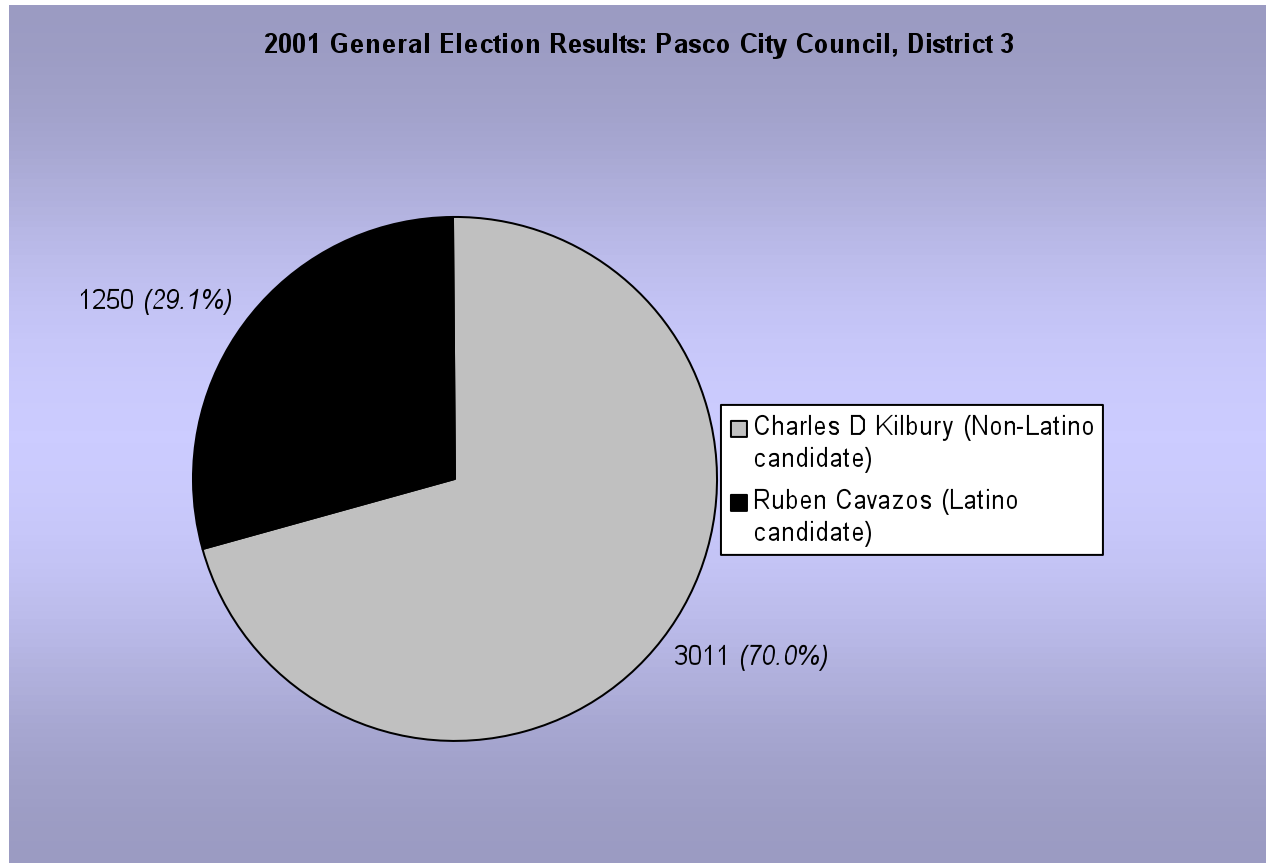
To recap, the purpose of this analysis is to determine if conditions in Pasco meet the requirements for a VRA minority vote dilution case. Those requirements being:

- (i) “The minority group must be sufficiently large and geographically compact that it would constitute a majority in at least one single-member district,
- (ii) The minority group must show that it is politically cohesive, and
- (iii) The Anglo majority must vote sufficiently as a bloc so that candidates preferred by the minority are usually defeated” (Sass, 2000, 611).

2001 General Elections

In the 2001 general elections in Franklin County, Charles D Kilbury and Ruben Cavazos ran for the Pasco City Council District 3, Position 3 office. Kilbury won the election by 70.0% to 29.1%, receiving 3011 votes to Cavazos' 1250 (See Chart I). In the general elections in Pasco, all voters in the municipal district are able to vote for any candidate running for the city council. This means that even though this election was for a district position, it was in fact an at-large election.

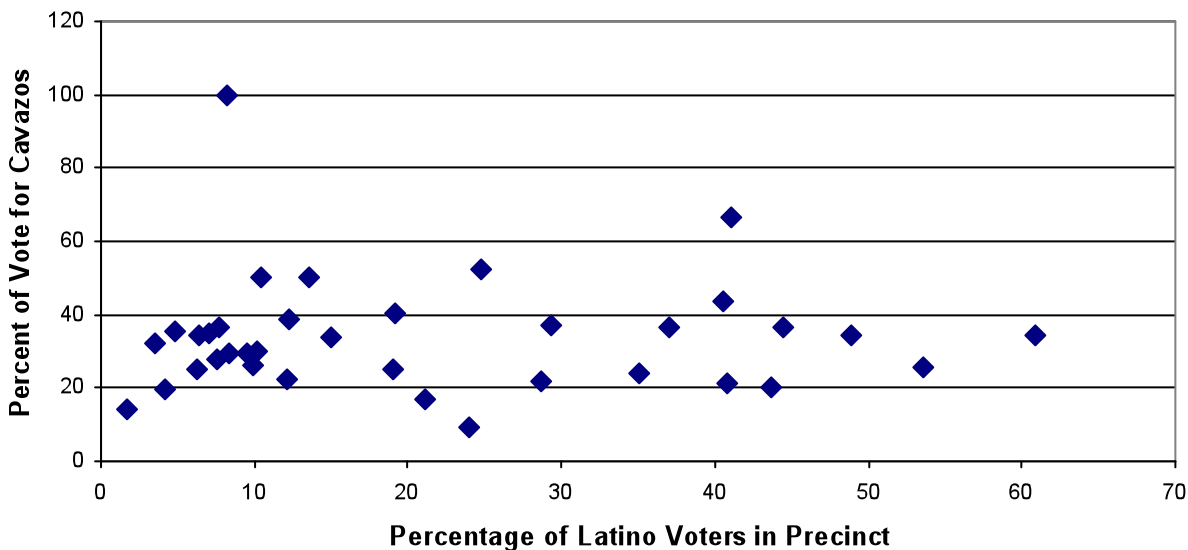
Chart I.



The results of the election analysis process described above show that the variables of the percentage of Latino voters in a precinct and the percent of the vote for Cavazos, the Latino candidate, are related by a correlation coefficient, r , of 0.013 and a coefficient of determination, r^2 , of 0.00. In order for a correlation to be described as statistically strong it should have an r -value greater than 0.8. The correlation coefficient for the variables here suggests that any correlation is weak. The coefficient of determination of 0.00 indicates that 0.00% of the variation in the dependent variable is due to the variation in the independent variable. This means that the increases in votes for the Latino candidate in this election are not due to corresponding increases in the proportion of Latino voters in a precinct. This can be represented visually in a scatter-plot of the data, included below (Graph I).

Graph I.

**2001 General Election
Pasco City Council, Dist. 3, Pos. 3
Candidates: Charles D Kilbury, Ruben Cavazos**

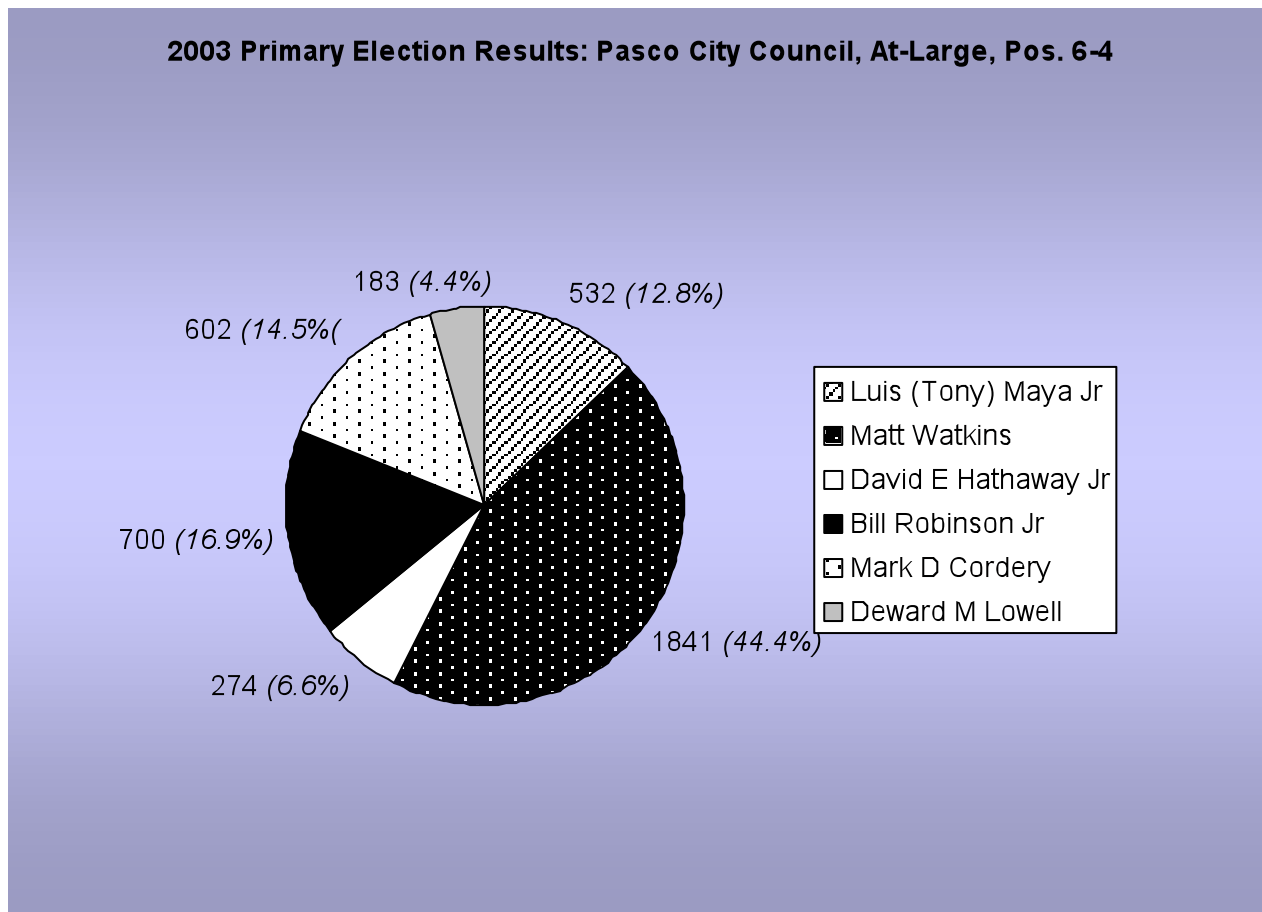


The points in the graph do not fall into any linear pattern that would suggest a probability of racially polarized voting. In summary, the correlation determined for this election does not present a probability of racially polarized voting. The relationship between the percentage of the Latino population in a precinct and the amount of the vote received by the candidate appears to be more or less arbitrary in this election. It would therefore be necessary to look to other possible factors in determining the reasons for the outcome of this election.

2003 Primary Elections

The 2003 primary elections included a race with many candidates vying for the at-large, designated position 6-4 seat on the city council. Latino candidate Luis (Tony) Maya Jr ran against non-Latino competitors David E Hathaway Jr, Bill Robinson Jr., Mark D Cordery, and Deward M Lowell. Watkins won the election with 44.4% of the vote, and Maya came in fourth with 12.8%. See Chart II for a full breakdown of the election.

Chart II.

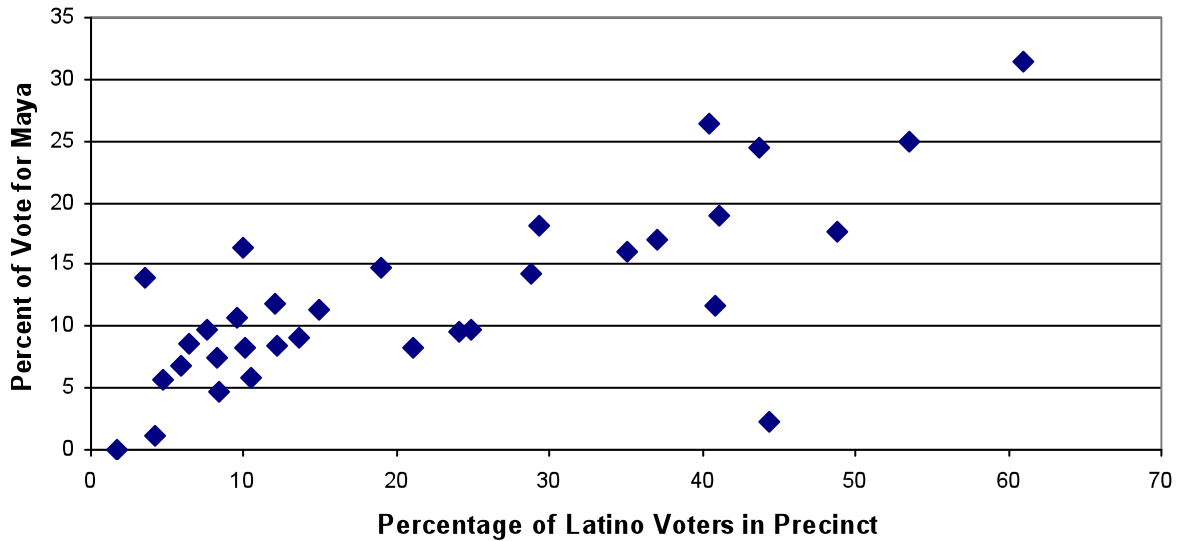


The linear regression analysis of this election indicated that there is a moderate possibility that racially polarized voting occurred. The relationship between the independent and dependent variables is correlated by an r-value of 0.737 with a coefficient determinant of 0.543. This does not quite meet the standard of an r-value of 0.8 required for a relationship to be considered statistically significant, but it is very close. The coefficient determinant indicates that there is a probability of 54.3% that changes in the independent variable are a result of changes in the dependent variable. Which means that it is somewhat likely that increasing votes for the Latino candidate Maya can be attributed to increasing percentages of Latino voters in the precincts.

This trend is easy to see in a scatter plot of the data (Graph II).

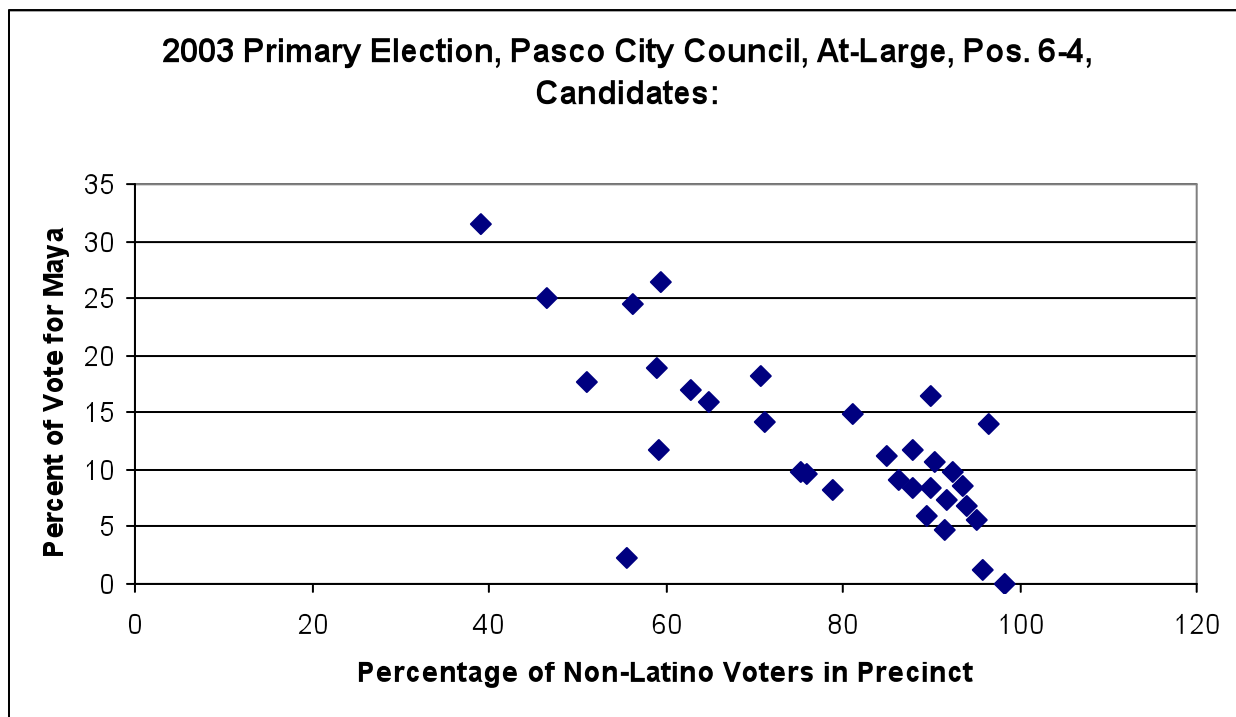
Graph II.

2003 Primary Election
 Pasco City Council, At large, Pos. 6-4
 Candidates: Luis (Tony) Maya Jr, Matt Watkins, David E Hathaway, Bill
 Robinson Jr, Mark D Cordery, Deward M Lowell



Although there are outliers, in general as the data points move along the x-axis, representing an increase in the percentage of Latino voters, they simultaneously move farther up the y-axis, showing a corresponding increase in the percent of votes for Maya. It is helpful to also represent the inverse of the situation, where we look at the percentage of the non-Latino population in the precinct instead, as shown in Graph III.

Graph III.



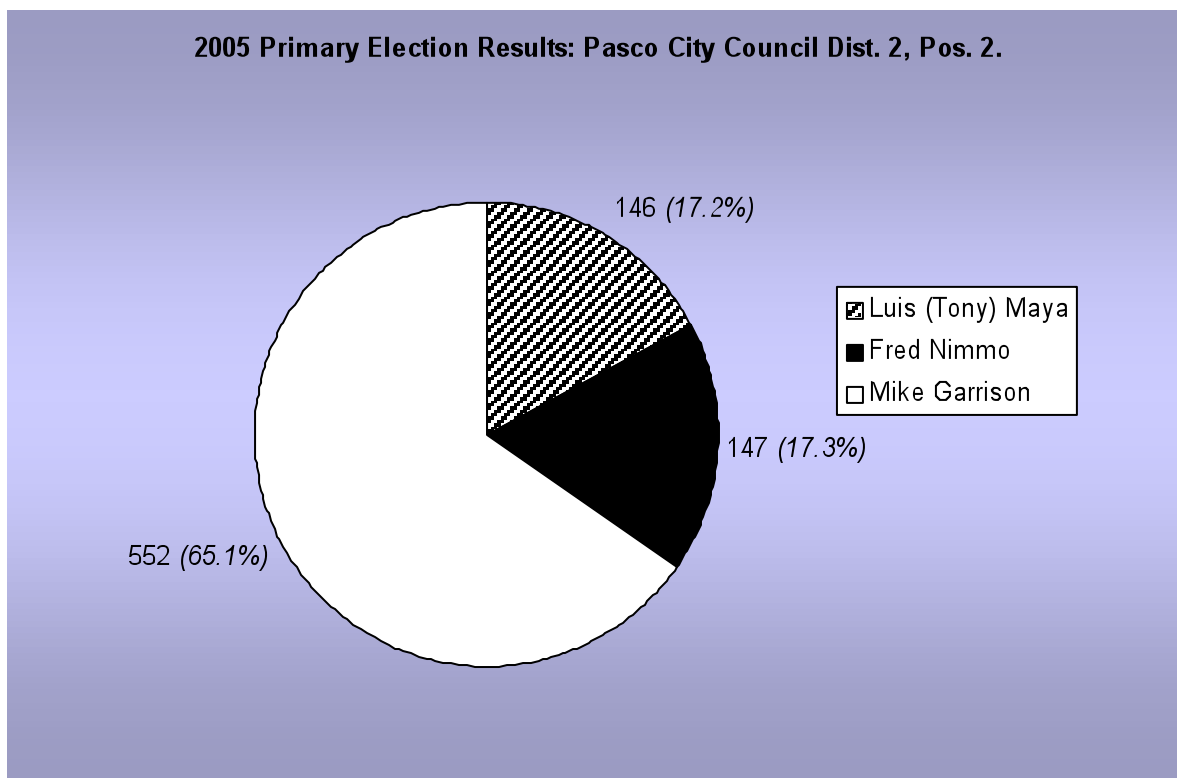
This graph illustrates how precincts with higher percentages of non-Latino voters gave far fewer votes to the Latino candidate. This suggests that both Latino and non-Latino voters in this election exhibited at least some ethnic block voting behavior. In this election it is possible to suggest that racially polarized voting may have been a factor influencing the outcome of the election. This was an at-large election, meaning if non-Latinos as a block did not vote for Maya, they would have prevented him from winning out of sheer numerical superiority, in spite of Maya appearing to have strong support from Latino voters. These circumstances suggest a possible incidence of racial minority vote dilution.

2005 Primary Elections

Luis (Tony) Maya ran for the city council again two years later in the 2005 primary elections. This time he ran against non-Latino candidates Fred Nimmo and Mike Garrison for the District 2, Position 2 seat. Garrison won by an overwhelming 65.1% with 552 votes, while Maya and Nimmo were very close with 146 and 147 garnering them 17.2% and 17.3% of the vote, respectively (See Chart III). Because this was a primary district election, only the six precincts in District 2 cast votes for these candidates. Therefore, analyzing this election does not completely fit with the standard model of analyzing at-large elections for polarized voting with the intent of proving the at-large system to have diluting effects for minority voters. However, Latino voters

comprise a minority of District 2, meaning that racially polarized voting would still constrain the success of Latino candidates.

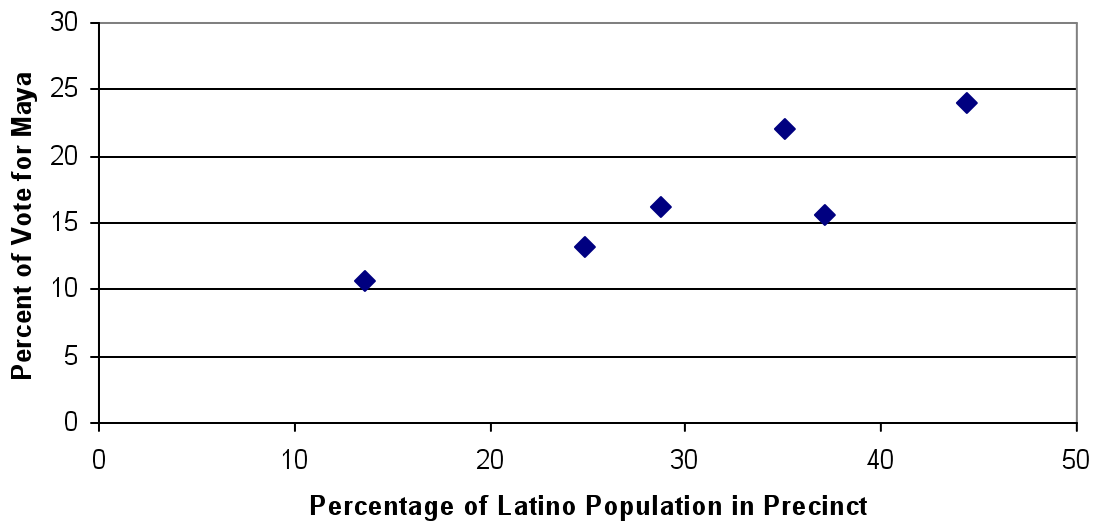
Chart III.



As in the previous time Maya ran for the city council, the 2005 election again showed the possibility that racially polarized voting occurred. Linear regression analysis of the race revealed a statistically significant r-value of 0.876 and a coefficient determinant of 0.768. This determinant indicates that there is a probability of 76.8% that the increases in votes for Maya are caused by an increase in the number of Latino voters in a precinct. In other words, the likelihood that racial block voting occurred in the election is about 77%.

Graph IV shows a scatterplot for this election:

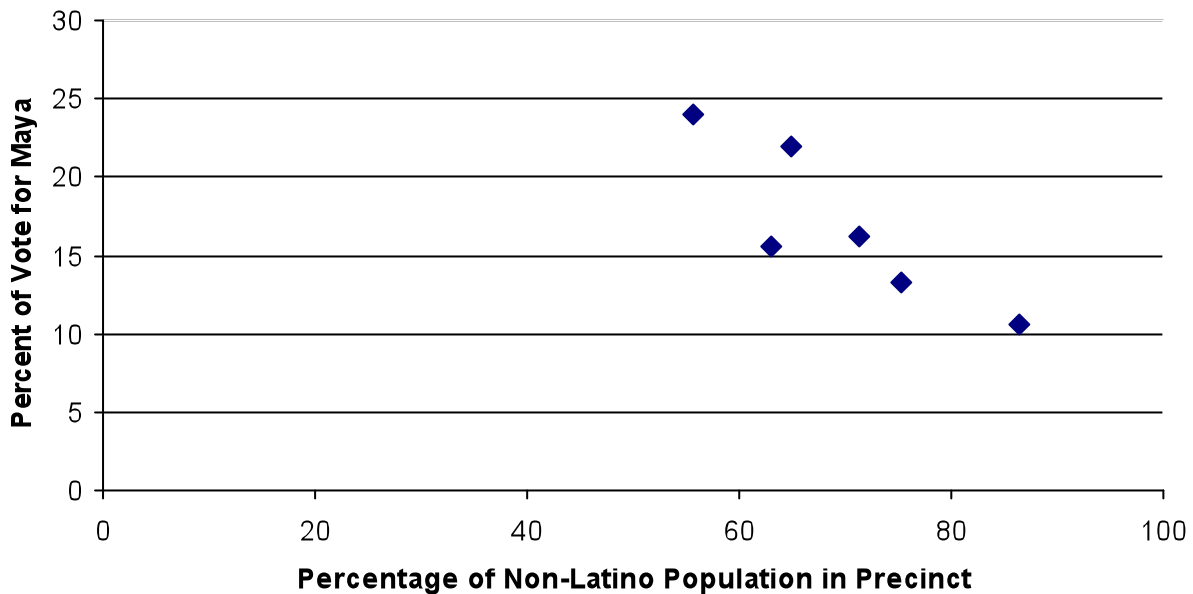
2005 Primary Election, Dist 2, Pos 2
Candidates: Luis (Tony) Maya, Fred Nimmo, Mike Garrison



Because this was a district election, there are few points on the graph, however it is still easy to see that as the level of the Latino population in a precinct goes up, there is a notable increase in the percentage of the vote going to Maya. A scatterplot representing the non-Latino vote in this election visually demonstrates the inverse effect, as seen in Graph V.

Graph V.

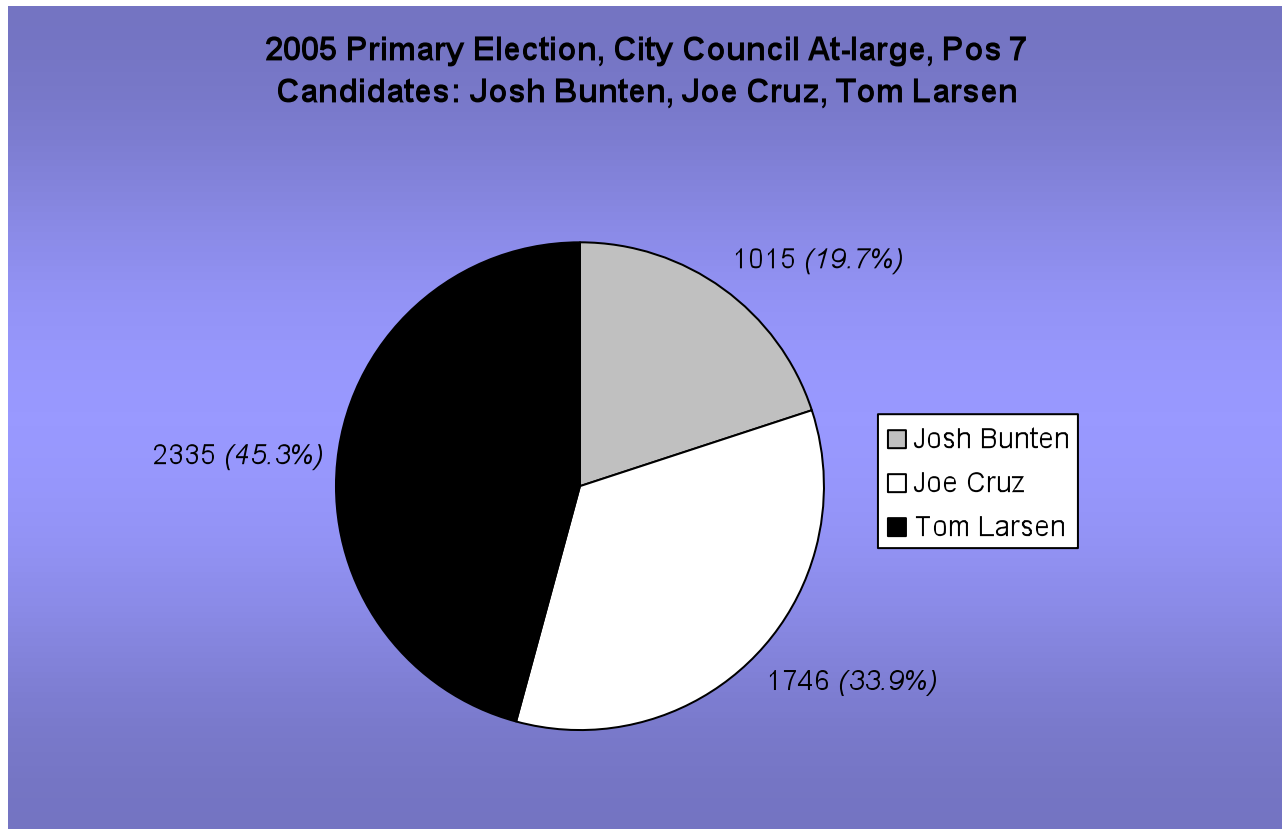
2005 Primary Election, City Council Dist 2 Pos 2
Candidates: Luis (Tony) Maya, Fred Nimmo, Mike Garrison



In this graph it is clear that precincts with larger non-Latino populations voted for Maya at much lower levels. This suggests that some degree of racial bloc voting occurred in this election.

It is notable that of the elections analyzed so far, the only two to demonstrate signs of possible racially polarized voting were both in races where Luis (Tony) Maya was a candidate. In the 2005 primaries, Maya was not the only Latino candidate to run for city council. This presents the interesting opportunity to compare Latino voting behavior for two different Latino candidates in the same election. Also running was Joe Cruz, who competed with Josh Bunten and Tom Larsen for the at-large position 7 on the city council. Larsen won the election with 45.3% of the vote, Cruz came in second with 33.9%, and Bunten finished third with 19.7% (See Chart IV).

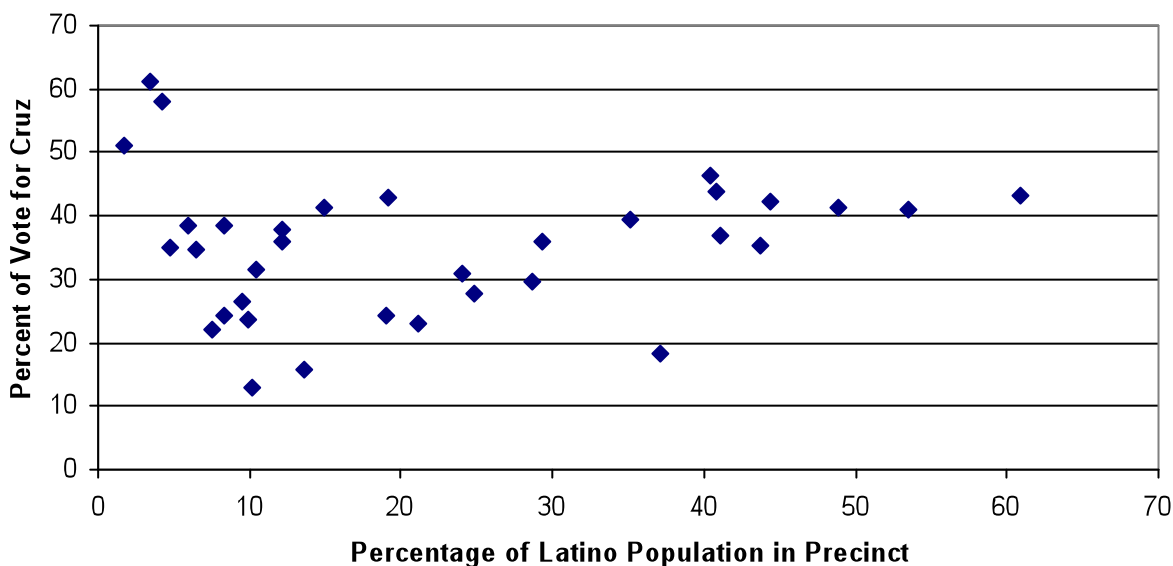
Chart IV.



Unlike in the Maya race, the regression analysis for the race with Cruz did not indicate the likelihood that racially polarized voting occurred in the election. The coefficient of determination from the analysis is 0.013, meaning that there is a 1.3% chance of a causal relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Racially polarized voting does not appear to be a characteristic of this race. A look at the scatterplot of the election data, shown in Graph VI, reveals some interesting voter behavior in this election.

Graph VI.

**2005 Primary Election, City Council, At-large, Pos 7
Candidates: Josh Bunten, Joe Cruz, Tom Larsen**



Although it is notable that the majority of precincts with more than 30% registered Latino voters supported Cruz with around 40% of the vote, what is most striking is that the three precincts in which Cruz won the vote were overwhelmingly non-Latino precincts. This demonstrates quite clearly that there was not a cohesive voting opposition to Cruz among non-Latino voters, and thus racially polarized voting should not be considered a significant factor in the outcome of this election.

Other Elections

In addition to the four elections presented for analysis thus far, I also examined two other elections. One was another race in the 2003 primaries in which Conrado Cavazos ran against Joe Jackson, and June M Smurthwaite. A coefficient of determination of 0.225 indicated that racial bloc voting probably did not occur in this election. The outcome was Jackson winning with 47.2%, Smurthwaite in second with 31.1%, and Cavazos finishing third with 20.9% of the vote. After the 2005 primary eliminated Josh Bunten from the race for Position 7, Joe Cruz and Tom Larsen faced off again two months later in the general election, with Larsen winning by a mere 53 votes. The coefficient of determination from the regression analysis of this race is 0.026, indicating a very low probability that racially polarized voting was a factor in this election.

The four elections analyzed in detail in this section were chosen because they presented the best opportunity to look at elections spanning a period of several years, as well as to the races of different Latino candidates running on the same ballot. They provide a good sample of the range of results produced by my analysis, and I determined that a full write-up of the other two

elections would be redundant and arduous for the reader. However, the complete data sets used for the elections analyses of all six of these races are included in Appendix C of this report.

Summary

The objective of doing the regression analysis of these elections in Pasco was to determine if racially polarized voting appeared to be a factor in the outcome of elections. If this bloc voting was found to work in conjunction with at-large elections to prevent Latino candidates from winning, then this could constitute evidence for a Voting Rights Act case to address the at-large system. Only two of the six elections in total that I analyzed showed any significant evidence of racially polarized voting, and both of those featured the same Latino candidate, Luis (Tony) Maya. This leads me to tentatively suggest that racially polarized voting is not a major factor affecting the low level of Latino electoral success in Pasco. This is a somewhat surprising result, given the research by Barreto (2007) suggesting that Latinos generally vote cohesively for co-ethnic candidates. Given my research findings, it appears that the situation in Pasco does not seem to be a good model for a VRA minority vote dilution case. It is important to remember that this finding is based on election data since 2001, and if more elections were to be analyzed a different picture might emerge.

Nevertheless, there are still other measures of voting behavior I was able to analyze by looking at election records and specifically cataloguing the Latino vote that are important to consider. The large discrepancy between the proportion of the population that is Latino and the proportion of city council seats held by that demographic would seem statistically unlikely in a level playing field. In order to understand and confront what factors may be changing the rules of success for Latino candidates, it is helpful to examine the trends and characteristics of the Latino electorate in Pasco.

The Latino Electorate in Pasco

The 2007 NALEO report discussed in the literature review of this report detailed how Washington's sizable Latino population is whittled down to a very small actual voting population through the filters of age demographics, citizenship status, and registration and turnout numbers. My analyses of election records for Franklin County show a similar process occurring in Pasco.

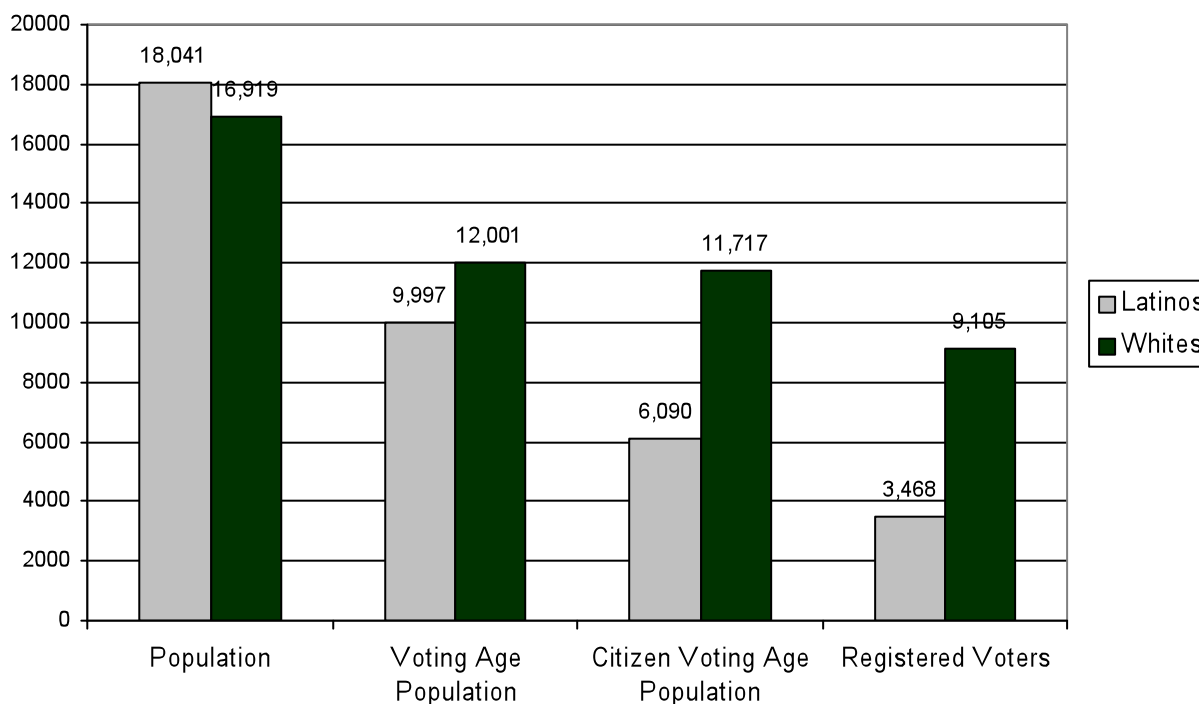
According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the total Latino population in Pasco is 18,041 people, which is 56.3% of the entire population. Within that population, 9,997 are 18 years of age or older. Whites in Pasco, on the other hand, total 12,001 at voting age, even though the group's overall population is lower than the Latinos' at 16,919. Therefore, even before citizenship is taken into account, Latinos make up a minority 48.3% of the voting age population in Pasco. Citizenship then surely plays a huge role, however, it is difficult to determine exactly how much of the Latino voting-age population is ineligible to vote due to citizenship status. There are 7,912 non-citizens in Pasco, comprising 24.7% of the entire city's population. Combine this with the statistic that 89.1% of the foreign-born in Pasco are from Latin America, and it is likely that around 7,050 of the 18,041, or 39%, of Latinos in Pasco are non-citizen. If this percentage is assumed to hold across age ranges, then 39% of the Latino voting age population would

ineligible to vote, leaving a Latino citizen voting age population of 6090. I lay this calculation out in tedious detail because I want the reader to understand how this is a rough estimate based on some large assumptions, not a statistic to be quoted with certainty. But this number nonetheless gives a general idea about the size of the potential Latino electorate.

Through identifying Latino surnames in the list of voters registered in 2005, I calculated that there are 3,468 Latinos registered to vote in Pasco, making them 17.3% of the registered voters in the city. This is very close to the percentage of 17.4% that NALEO found in 2007. Clearly, there is a huge difference between the proportion of the population and the proportion of the electorate that Latinos comprise. Graph VII shows how each of the “filters” of age, citizenship status and registration rates cuts down the Latino share of the electorate in relation to the white share. It is admittedly somewhat reductive to limit this analysis to only Latinos and Whites, but they are by far the two largest ethnic groups in the city (all other groups combine to six percent of the population), so this comparison is fairly representative of the actual demographic dynamics in Pasco.

Graph VII.

Latinos and Whites in Pasco



It is easy to see that there are several processes, some of them institutional such as naturalization requirements, that are significantly and disproportionately affecting the political efficacy of Latinos in Pasco. And the Latino share of the electorate becomes even smaller when looking at actual election turnout numbers. In addition to performing linear regression analyses

to test for racially polarized voting, I also calculated the Latino and non-Latino turnout numbers for each election in the report. The results are presented in Table I.

Table I.

Election	Latinos that Voted	Voter Turnout Percentage	Percentage of Total Voters	Non-Latinos that Voted	Voter Turnout Percentage	Percentage of Total Voters
2001 General	348	10.0%	5.0%	6545	39.5%	95%
2003 Primary	617	17.7%	10.3%	5359	36.0%	89.7%
2005 Primary	667	19.2%	8.1%	7601	45.8%	91.9%

These numbers are striking. The voter turnout rate for non-Latinos is consistently way above Latino rates. Non-Latinos are turning out at rates averaging around 40% while the Latino turnout rate is in the teens for all three elections. Furthermore, due to the small number of Latinos voting, their share of the vote is abysmal. Reaching a maximum of 10.3% in 2003, it is clear from these numbers that even if Latinos voted cohesively as a bloc for a co-ethnic candidate, there would be no chance of success without a considerable amount of supporting votes from non-Latinos.

Also of note in these numbers, and perhaps more encouraging, is the trend of increasing Latino voter turnout. The jump from 10 to 17.7% turnout between the 2001 and 2003 elections is relatively large, and turnout increases again in 2005 to 19.2%. It should be remembered that due to the difficulties detailed in my methods discussion, I am using the 2005 list of registered voters as the master from which turnout percentages are calculated. This means that the numbers presented here do not take account for any possible changes in the number of registered voters between elections.

It appears that low levels of Latino voter registration, and definitely turnout, should be investigated as possible factors in the trend of Latino candidate non-success. While these factors may not tie in specifically with racially polarized voting and at-large elections, they can still be partly addressed through the Voting Rights Act. Section 203 of the VRA deals with issues of providing adequate information and assistance to voters of a linguistic minority. As Tucker (2007) argues, the bilingual election provisions of section 203 have been key in increasing Latino voter participation, both in terms of registration and turnout. Considering this potential impact, I set up an interview with the Franklin County auditor, Zona Lenhart, and the elections administrator, Diana Garza Killian, in order to inquire about the county's compliance with its section 203 coverage.

Interview with Zona Lenhart and Diana Garza Killian

Franklin County auditor and Zona Lenhart and elections administrator Diana Garza Killian were very willing and eager to discuss their bilingual voting programs. I interviewed

them jointly with the goal of learning specifically what Franklin County was doing to meet the provisions of section 203, and more generally, what broader approaches they were taking to reach out to the Latino community. My questions for the interview were based off of provisions of the Yakima Consent Decree, a legal document applying to neighboring Yakima County that lays out very specific provisions for bilingual elections materials and outreach programs. My questions were adapted from a list generated by a classmate, Nick Dollar.

The auditor began by explaining to me her philosophy about how an office such as hers should be run, stressing the need to be a service to the people, rather than a hindrance to them. She pointed out that for many Latinos, places like the elections office seem hostile and unhelpful. The elections office is located in the same building as the courthouse where people have to come pay fines and deal with other tedious business. Zona stressed the importance then of having employees working in the office who understood Spanish and were dedicated to helping, rather than harassing, the public. She and Diana both talked of how even before they were required to comply with section 203, they had been making efforts to provide some bilingual services to voters.

In 2002, the County was ordered by the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) to comply with section 203 provisions, and since that time they have met all the requirements to the satisfaction of the DOJ. All election materials of any kind are provided in both English and Spanish. The translating for these materials is completed by a contracted certified translator, or often by the Bilingual Elections Program Coordinator, Rosa Fernandez. To aid in this process, the office maintains in cooperation with Yakima County a comprehensive glossary of Spanish election terms, and additionally has a board of advisors comprised of prominent Latino community members. As part of the section 203 provisions, the county advertises upcoming elections and events in Spanish media outlets, focusing mostly on radio but also printing in the regional Spanish language newspapers *Viva Voce* and *Tu Decides*.

Rosa Fernandez was hired to the newly created position of the Bilingual Elections Program Coordinator in 2006. Since then, she has been active reaching out the community by going to many meeting with local Latino groups, and is basically always in the office during business hours to provide Spanish-speaking assistance to anyone needing it. Overall, Franklin County seems to be doing a good job of following section 203 provisions and more. It does seem, however, that the programs are not monitored closely enough for success at the moment. One provision of the Yakima Consent Decree that Franklin County has not been doing is providing formal training for employees about bilingual outreach and cultural sensitivity, nor has bilingual election staff been making presentations at meetings with Latino organizations, according to Zona.

It may be important that Franklin County was officially ordered to comply with section 203 provisions in 2002. According to my analysis of election records, the Latino voter turnout increased from 10 to 17.7% between 2001 and 2003. It is possible the efforts by the staff at the Franklin County elections office may have translated into this greater mobilization of the Latino vote.

Candidate Interviews

Up to this point in my report I have been discursively lumping all Latino voters and candidates together as one category. But in reality, every Latino candidate who runs for office is of course unique in many ways from all the rest of them. It is likely that the campaigns of Latino candidates have also had an effect of Latino voter behavior, and I thus deemed the topic worth investigating. I arranged interviews with two of the candidates who ran for the city council in one of the elections I analyzed. I was able to interview Conrado Cavazos in person and Joe Cruz over the telephone. I had hoped to interview Luis (Tony) Maya, as he was the only candidate whose election exhibited racially polarized voting, but he was unavailable for comment. In interviewing Cavazos and Cruz I was seeking to learn about how Latino candidates have been campaigning, and how they feel the Pasco community has received them.

Joe Cruz Interview

Joe Cruz was the most successful of any of the Latino political candidates in the elections I analyzed. In the 2005 general election against the incumbent Tom Larsen, Cruz came within 53 votes of winning the race. A mechanical engineer by training, Cruz focused his campaign on his credentials and a sensible plan to manage Pasco's growth spurt. He did not position himself as seeking to shake things up or take the city in a new direction. When I asked him if he thought the city council in Pasco did a good job of representing the interests of the community, he replied, "more or less. There were a few conspiracy theories out there...I would say that, of the people I encountered campaigning, maybe one in five had an issue-specific beef with the city council." Cruz himself did not really have any complaints with the council, but rather thought he had the capabilities to get things done more effectively. There needed to be a more thoughtful approach to zoning and development, as the current program was very "piecemeal." He did mention, however, that there was a certain amount of polarity on the city council and that council members were trying to "farm" candidates to bolster their position.

Cruz did not specifically target Latino voters in his campaign efforts. He told me he felt that it seemed counterproductive to focus on someone's race rather than their capabilities. His campaign strategy did not involve much media, but was instead mainly based off of door-to-door contact. Unfortunately for Cruz, he had to quit this in person campaigning in the last three weeks of the campaign due to a family loss. Cruz said he was pretty sure that if he had been able to campaign during those three weeks he would have won the elections, given how close it was.

My interview with Cruz was informative because it suggests that perhaps a successful Latino candidate is not viewed as a "Latino candidate." Cruz's campaign strategy fits in with the candidate typologies Geron lays out in his book. This "de-racialization" is a characteristic of the mainstream, non-controversial platforms that crossover candidates often adopt in an environment where the Latino electorate is around 5% or less (Geron, 2005, 117). Perhaps a reason other Latino candidates have been less successful is that they have not realized just how low a percentage of the electorate Latinos comprise, and thus adopt a campaign strategy that is too controversial for the wide constituency they must by necessarily win over.

Conrado Cavazos Interview

My interview with Conrado Cavazos was conducted with classmate Pedro Galvao, in person in Walla Walla. I asked Cavazos very much the same questions I had posed to Joe Cruz, but I received very different answers. Cavazos had run for the city council in Pasco five times from 1993 through 2003, and had more recently been running every election in Walla Walla. In none of his race had he come as close as Joe Cruz to winning. Like Cruz, Cavazos did not deliberately campaign as a Latino candidate. He tried to stay away from the race issue, he said. He wouldn't have been able to win if he was running "on behalf of the Hispanics." However, it does seem that Cavazos spent time actively seeking the support of the Latino community, and in doing so gained some useful insights.

The biggest problem, the big reason why there has not been a lot of Latino electoral participation in Pasco, is the lack of sufficient education. Cavazos identified that as the major problem confronting Latinos. He said there's plenty of attention paid to voter registration, but then there's no follow through. Latinos are handed voter registration forms at supermarkets and they fill them in without really knowing what they're registering for, and then there's no attempt to reach out to that demographic at election time.

More than just educating Latinos about the voting registration and ballot-casting process, Cavazos emphasized the need for better education about the role of local government. He told of how often times when campaigning, he would tell people about his campaign for the city council and they would say, "what's the city council?" Indeed, most of the Latinos, in Cavazos assessment don't really know or understand what a city council is or how it affects their lives. If Latinos don't understand the local government organization, then it is of course very difficult to mobilize these Latinos to vote, considering that they feel little stake in the outcome.

Despite focusing mainly on the issue of education, Cavazos did also bring up some experiences and ideas that indicate some of the polar nature of the community. He recalled how when he was filing his candidacy one year, the person processing his application suggested he file as "Conrad" rather than "Conrado." She kept insisting, saying, "Using 'Conrad' would be better..." The other divisive force that Cavazos addressed was partisanship. In his assessment, if you want to win local elections in the Pasco area, it is pretty much a requirement to be anglicized and a member of the Republican Party. In his words, "if you're Republican, you're gonna kick butt." Cavazos has lifelong ties with the Democratic Party, while Cruz mentioned that most of his constituents are Republican, so it is possible that this partisanship is affecting election outcomes as well.

Discussion:

Although the research for this report did not ultimately find the evidence to warrant a Voting Right Act case, it did perhaps find evidence of the effectiveness of the VRA. Thanks to section 203 regulation, Franklin County has what appears to be an active bilingual elections program that may have possibly been a factor in increasing Latino voter turnout by 269 voters between 2001 and 2003. Whether or not this can be shown to be a correlation, as Tucker (2007) argued, these programs ultimately seem to facilitate the dramatic increase of Latino political participation over the course of a few years. Local, state, and national programs could do well to focus more of their resources on this issue of turnout and education. Conrado Cavazos makes a

compelling case for education over registration, given the lack of political knowledge he has apparently encountered while campaigning in Latino communities. I think the Franklin County elections office could do even more in this area by implementing a formal yearly review system that would measure, for one, Latino voter turnout rates, as well as other benchmarks of increasing Latino political incorporation.

There is a somewhat tenuous assumption underlying a shift towards voter education and turnout efforts. By making the recommendation that more efforts be directed towards this goal, I am assuming that increased Latino voter turnout will mean increased chances of success for Latino candidates. However, in order for this to be true, Latinos would still have to vote cohesively for co-ethnic candidates. Even if Latino voter turnout levels increased significantly, if the group was fragmented, it would do little to improve the environment for Latino candidates. And unfortunately, the absence of racially polarized voting in most of the elections I have analyzed would actually point to a fragmented voting bloc, both for Latinos and non-Latinos. Yet Cruz's relative success running as a de-racialize candidate, as well as such anecdotes as Cavazos being told by a county election worker that a more English name would increase his chances, suggests that there are perhaps dynamics of racial bloc voting or prejudice at play that would be mitigated somewhat by increasing the Latino share of the electorate.

Also, let us not forget that in two of the elections I analyzed there was indeed some evidence of racially polarized voting. It does not seem to be the norm, but it would be reasonable to hypothesize that racial bloc voting and at-large elections were a factor in the defeat of at least one Latino candidate over the past few years. Franklin County purports to have a mixed-system for elections, where some seats for the city council are at-large, and others are district positions. Yet, these elections are only strictly district elections in the primaries. Any candidate making it past the primary in September must then go on to an at-large vote in the general election two months later. The election officials of Franklin County appear committed to taking proactive voluntary steps to go beyond the minimum requirements of section 203 coverage. There is opportunity here for them to critically evaluate the election methods in Franklin County and their effects and consider alternative options. One would be to create a minority-majority district to better increase the chances that a Latino candidate could be elected to the city council. Another option would be a proportionate interest representation, as Guinier (1991) has proposed.

There is the potential for much further research on this topic in Pasco. Voting records exist for elections back into the early 1980s, and they are available to the public through the elections office. Other students, scholars, and Latino advocacy groups should take advantage of these records to analyze them for a more complete picture of the circumstances in Pasco. Much of the scholarly literature on Latino voting behavior focuses on big cities, leaving a relatively unexplored and very important niche of small cities like Pasco to study. My results were quite different from what Barreto (2007) found when analyzing similar races in large cities, demonstrating that places like Pasco represent an opportunity to study circumstances that are in fact different from what has been mostly studied before.

Appendix A: Interview Question Lists

Interview Questions for Political Candidates

- What initially got you involved with Politics?
- Why did you in particular choose to first run when you did?
- Did you feel that the city council was representing the needs of the people at the time?
- What did you hope to add to the council?
- What personal background did you bring to your campaign?
- What issues did you campaign on?
- What endorsements did you receive?
- Where did you advertise?
- What groups would you say were your strongest supporters?
- Why do you think you won/lost?
- What was your overall election strategy?
- Did you reach out to Latino voters?
- What do you think it takes to win an election in Pasco?

Franklin County Elections Office Interview Questions

- What steps has your office taken in the past five years improve access for language minority voters?
- Has your office developed a glossary of Spanish election terms understandable to the local Latino community? Was this glossary developed in consultation with bilingual members of the community? What form did this process of consultation take? How did the county identify community members who might be helpful in providing insight into the needs of the Spanish language population?
- Who translates elections materials? How do they ensure that translations are understandable to the average Spanish language citizen?
- How does your office go about reaching out to the Spanish language community? What are the typical media outlets used to reach Spanish speakers? How is this outreach different from / similar to efforts made to reach the English speaking community?
- Do most voters in Franklin County use mail-in ballots or polling stations? What provisions are there for providing bilingual poll workers? For vote-by-mail elections, what is the primary means for providing ballot information to Spanish speakers?
- How many of the employees in the auditor's office are bilingual in Spanish and English? How does your office ensure that Spanish speaking callers and visitors feel comfortable in soliciting elections information?
- Does the county perform training sessions for elections workers as to bilingual outreach and cultural sensitivity? What is involved in these trainings?
- Has the county reached out to local school districts to involve bilingual students in assisting to make the elections process bilingual? What role do you see bilingual students playing in the elections process?

- How long has the country had a Bilingual Elections Coordinator? What are this person's official duties and responsibilities?
- Do Bilingual Election Staff make presentations and answer questions at meetings sponsored by Latino community organizations? How many of these meetings do staff members typically attend per year? What is involved in their presentation? How well attended are these outreach meetings? How does the county identify and reach out to relevant community organizations? What organizations does it typically work with in Pasco?
- Does the county have an Advisory Group for its bilingual elections program? Who is in this group and how are these persons selected? What has the role of this group been?
- Has the county received any complaints as to bilingual election access? What has it done to assess and address these complaints?
- Does the County reassess its bilingual practices after each election cycle? If so, what successes and problems were identified in the last reassessment? How has your office gone about remedying the problems and duplicating the successes?

Appendix B: Complete Data Sets for Elections

2001 General Election: Ruben Cavazos

Precinct #	Latino Voters	Total Voters	% Latino Voters	% Non-Latino Voters	Votes for Latino Candidate	Total Votes	% Votes for Latino Candidate
1	399	817	48.84	51.16	23	67	34.33
2	197	368	53.53	46.47	9	35	25.71
3	142	233	60.94	39.06	14	41	34.15
4	143	327	43.73	56.27	5	25	20
5	85	210	40.48	59.52	7	16	43.75
6	150	365	41.1	58.9	6	9	66.67
7	113	277	40.79	59.21	4	19	21.05
8	4	228	1.75	98.25	3	21	14.29
9	43	116	37.07	62.93	22	60	36.67
10	135	470	28.72	71.28	31	141	21.99
11	210	598	35.12	64.88	10	42	23.81
12	155	625	24.8	75.2	10	19	52.63
13	74	252	29.37	70.63	7	19	36.84
14	74	390	18.97	81.03	3	12	25
15	28	206	13.59	86.41	5	10	50
16	8	79	10.13	89.87	3	10	30
18	4	115	3.48	96.52	16	50	32
19	20	164	12.2	87.8	14	36	38.89
20	14	134	10.45	89.55	39	78	50
21	25	104	24.04	75.96	1	11	9.09
22	49	232	21.12	78.88	3	18	16.67
23	70	579	12.1	87.9	4	18	22.22
24	45	701	6.42	93.58	23	67	34.33
25	18	189	9.52	90.48	5	17	29.41
26	6	144	4.17	95.83	24	122	19.67
27	107	241	44.4	55.6	11	30	36.67
28	13	273	4.76	95.24	5	14	35.71
29	110	1456	7.55	92.45	7	25	28
30	43	513	8.38	91.62	38	128	29.69
31	88	884	9.95	90.05	11	42	26.19

32	108	722	14.96	85.04	30	89	33.71
33	60	726	8.26	91.74	1	1	100
34	24	125	19.2	80.8	32	79	40.51
35	5	71	7.04	92.06	44	127	34.65
36	3	48	6.25	93.75	31	123	25.2
40	23	300	7.67	92.33	34	93	36.56

2003 Primary Election: Conrado Cavazos

Precinct #	Latino Voters	Total Voters	% Latino Voters	% Non-Latino Voters	Votes for Latino Candidate	Total Votes	% Votes for Latino Candidate
1	399	817	48.84	51.16	42	245	17.14
2	197	368	53.53	46.47	31	108	28.7
5	85	210	40.48	59.52	19	88	21.59

2003 Primary Election: Luis (Tony) Maya

Precinct #	Latino Voters	Total Voters	% Latino Voters	% Non-Latino Voters	Votes for Latino Candidate	Total Votes	% Votes for Latino Candidate
1	399	817	48.84	51.16	41	233	17.6
2	197	368	53.53	46.47	27	108	25
3	142	233	60.94	39.06	39	124	31.45
4	143	327	43.73	56.27	32	131	24.43
5	85	210	40.48	59.52	23	87	26.44
6	150	365	41.1	58.9	21	111	18.92
7	113	277	40.79	59.21	11	94	11.7
8	4	228	1.75	98.25	0	122	0
9	43	116	37.07	62.93	10	59	16.95
10	135	470	28.72	71.28	25	176	14.2
11	210	598	35.12	64.88	35	219	15.98

12	155	625	24.8	75.2	20	205	9.76
13	74	252	29.37	70.63	16	88	18.18
14	74	390	18.97	81.03	24	162	14.81
15	28	206	13.59	86.41	8	88	9.09
16	8	79	10.13	89.87	4	48	8.33
17	12	202	5.94	94.06	6	89	6.74
18	4	115	3.48	96.52	7	50	14
19	20	164	12.2	87.8	6	71	8.45
20	14	134	10.45	89.55	3	51	5.88
21	25	104	24.04	75.96	5	52	9.62
22	49	232	21.12	78.88	8	97	8.25
23	70	579	12.1	87.9	27	229	11.79
24	45	701	6.42	93.58	26	305	8.52
25	18	189	9.52	90.48	5	47	10.64
26	6	144	4.17	95.83	1	85	1.18
27	107	241	44.4	55.6	1	45	2.22
28	13	273	4.76	95.24	3	53	5.66
29	110	1456	7.55	92.45	19	194	9.79
30	43	513	8.38	91.62	2	42	4.76
31	88	884	9.95	90.05	31	189	16.4
32	108	722	14.96	85.04	29	257	11.28
33	60	726	8.26	91.74	17	229	7.42

2005 Primary Election: Luis (Tony) Maya

Precinct #	Latino Voters	Total Voters	% Latino Voters	% Non-Latino Voters	Votes for Latino Candidate	Total Votes	% Votes for Latino Candidate
9	43	116	37.07	62.93	7	45	15.56
10	135	470	28.72	71.28	27	167	16.17
11	210	598	35.12	64.88	55	250	22
12	155	625	24.8	75.2	30	226	13.27
15	28	206	13.59	86.41	9	85	10.59
27	107	241	44.4	55.6	18	75	24

2005 General Election: Joe Cruz

Precinct #	Latino Voters	Total Voters	% Latino Voters	% Non-Latino Voters	Votes for Latino Candidate	Total Votes	% Votes for Latino Candidate
1	399	817	48.84	51.16	105	245	42.86
2	197	368	53.53	46.47	69	125	55.2
3	142	233	60.94	39.06	43	68	63.24
4	143	327	43.73	56.27	74	138	53.62
5	85	210	40.48	59.52	48	83	57.83
6	150	365	41.1	58.9	44	129	34.12
7	113	277	40.79	59.21	35	101	34.65
8	4	228	1.75	98.25	125	170	73.53
9	43	116	37.07	62.93	23	52	44.23
10	135	470	28.72	71.28	99	223	44.39
11	210	598	35.12	64.88	145	280	51.79
12	155	625	24.8	75.2	103	272	37.87
13	74	252	29.37	70.63	47	116	40.52
14	74	390	18.97	81.03	82	198	41.41
15	28	206	13.59	86.41	32	108	29.63
16	8	79	10.13	89.87	17	55	30.91
17	12	202	5.94	94.06	64	122	52.46
18	4	115	3.48	96.52	52	79	65.82
19	20	164	12.2	87.8	46	89	51.69
20	14	134	10.45	89.55	29	75	38.67
21	25	104	24.04	75.96	32	68	47.06
22	49	232	21.12	78.88	57	121	47.12
23	70	579	12.1	87.9	159	316	50.32
24	45	701	6.42	93.58	249	455	54.73
25	18	189	9.52	90.48	50	104	48.08
26	6	144	4.17	95.83	71	113	62.83
27	107	241	44.4	55.6	33	80	41.26
28	13	273	4.76	95.24	96	177	54.24
29	110	1456	7.55	92.45	372	737	50.47
30	43	513	8.38	91.62	119	252	47.22
31	88	884	9.95	90.05	203	446	45.52

32	108	722	14.96	85.04	229	426	53.76
33	60	726	8.26	91.74	250	473	52.85
34	24	125	19.2	80.8	29	61	47.54

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