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Voces del Capitolio: Spanish-Language Media in the Statehouse

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, especially…

to Yolanda who, like our mom, lives for her family and for her students;

to Irving who embraces responsibility and makes us all very proud;

to the memory of my mom, Elvia Vidal de Medina, tíos René and Saúl,

tía Armida, abuelita Delia, and abuelito Eduardo Vidal; and

to my dad, Reynaldo Medina, my best friend and role model.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Voces del Capitolio: Spanish-Language Media in the Statehouse

by

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This dissertation examines the role of the U.S. Spanish-language media environment in connecting state lawmakers to the interests and preferences held by their Hispanic constituents. The presence and absence of Spanish-language media affects levels of political knowledge among U.S. Hispanics, and the degree to which state legislators engage in the media entrepreneurial activities that link them to their constituents and to other policymakers. As a representational link between lawmakers and U.S. Latinos, the Spanish-language media facilitate a "home style" of representation of U.S. Hispanics that contributes to the development of Hispanic policy agendas in the U.S. states.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Spanish-Language Media in the Statehouse

As Hispanics assume an increasingly influential role in U.S. politics, what role do Spanish-language media play in shaping Latino interests, attitudes, and behavior? As messengers of news and information and a voice for many U.S. Latinos' what role do the Spanish-language media play a role in orienting policymakers to the demands of this growing constituency? While scholars and practitioners alike acknowledge a potentially important role for the Spanish language in Hispanic American politics (García and Sánchez 2008), for many, experiences with and understanding of the Spanish-langrage media are often limited to appeals made to Latino voters in Spanish during an election cycle. Likewise, the news media's roles in building political knowledge and sophistication among the public (Luskin 1987, 1990), acting as the platform for elite strategies of plugging into public opinion (Herbst 1998), targeting and reaching out to voters (Graber 2000), and in serving the less self-promoting but most essential functions of any democratic society (Schudson 2008) are also well-documented, yet our understanding or how the Spanish-language news media fulfill these important roles is still limited.

My goal in this dissertation is to build on our understanding of the Spanish-language media in the U.S. and their role in the political lives of Latino elites and Latino mass publics. My approach begins from the view that the news media are essential to a representative democracy and to the relationships elected representatives have with the public. At the core of the arguments and discussions I advance here is my contention that

the Spanish-language media are an important representational link between Hispanic constituencies and their political representatives. I will develop this theory through a discussion of the Spanish-language media's place in politics and policymaking in the U.S. states that examines the relationships between access to Spanish-language media and Latino orientations and behavior, state legislators' day-to-day interactions with the Spanish-language news media, the degree to which the Spanish media keep Latino mass publics informed about politics and the type of work in which their representatives engage, and the Spanish media's function as an agenda setter for both Hispanic public officials and the co-ethnic constituents they represent.

First, in this introductory chapter I discuss our current understanding of the media's importance to important themes in the study of U.S. politics, and the Spanish-language media's role in U.S. politics from the perspective of Latino politics and political communications scholars. I then situate my study of the Spanish-language media and its role as a critical link between Hispanics and their political representatives in the broader context of issue U.S. Hispanic politics. Finally, I introduce the arguments I advance and test empirically in this dissertation.

The Media in U.S. Politics

In this study of the Spanish-language media's effects on state legislator behavior, Latino political knowledge, and policy priorities I draw extensively from theories developed for and tested empirically on the effects of the English-language or "mainstream" media in the U.S. and from the nascent literature on the Latino/Hispanic media's functions in U.S. politics. My contention of the Spanish-language media's

function as a representational link between Hispanic constituents and their state legislators begins with and understanding of the functions of the news media in U.S. politics, the news media as a catalyst for representation, the power of the news media to set policy agendas, and the status of news media's presence in state-level policymaking. In this section I briefly discuss these themes in the study of the media's effects and the support they provide to my study of the Spanish-language media in the U.S. states.

Functions of the Media in U.S. Politics

The news media serve many important functions that, together with the functions of other forms of political communication, provide individuals in democratic societies with a link to their governments designed to serve their interests. As informers, investigators, analysts, dialogue facilitators, and political mobilizers the news media provide democratic societies with many of its most essential functions (Schudson 2008). As informers, the news media provide individuals in well-functioning democratic societies with information about the political world they can use to choose between politicians wanting to represent their interests and policies that govern their lives (Prior 2005). As investigators and analysts, the news media serve important oversight functions (Hess 1991) that are of critical importance to the public's trust in their governments. The news media's dialogue-facilitating function, together with its function as an interest mobilizer, can be a catalyst for bringing together groups in pluralist societies to work out their differences and translating various perspectives and interests into political action. To be sure, in order that they serve these essential functions, the news media must be present and active in the lives of members of the public and they must be accessible and useful to

political elites and the public (Mondak 1995). The presence of Spanish-language media in the lives of state legislator and the U.S. Latino public is a phenomenon I explore in great detail throughout my analyses and discussions. At the core of the functions of the news media I address here is the notion that each of these functions serves the very basic purpose of linking individuals—all political actors—to one another.

To engage in how the Spanish-language media perform these functions and how they take on the role of a representational link between the Latino public and their representatives it is important to discuss how the media have been studied by analysts of representation and of the environment informing individuals about the political world. In my empirical study of elite interactions with and evaluations of the Spanish-language media I draw from studies of the media's oversight of the U.S. Congress (Hess 1991), media entrepreneurship among Members of Congress (Kedrowski 1996) and the news media's interactions with state legislators and their influence on shaping state policy agendas (Cooper 2002a, 2002b).

The News Media's Impact on Representation

The news media are one of a variety of tools legislators have at their disposal for representing concerns and policy preferences in the statehouse. As a primary link connecting public officials to ethnically diverse constituencies, the ethnic media are key sources of, and tools for understanding the needs and demands of these communities. For Latinos communities and their state legislators, the Spanish-language media provide the access and understanding of Latino issues that are essential for legislators. An understanding of how legislators interact with the Spanish-language media and use them

in their roles as representatives begins from drawing wisdom from debates among analysts concerned with the role of media in shaping the political discourse of elected officials. These debates have centered about the media's impact on representation. At one extreme, some analysts contend that when legislators employ media tactics, the end result is the decline of representative democracy (Rosenthal 1998), while at the other extreme, scholars argue that news media enhance the quality of representation and that their influence yields positive policy results (Cook 1989; Kedrowski 1996).

Much of what we know about the media's effects on the quality of representation and the relationships representatives have with their constituents comes from studies of congressional representation. One general theme in these studies is that good representational connections between representatives and constituents depends much on the quality of their communication. Coverage of representatives' activities in the U.S. Congress by local newspapers in particular can simultaneously achieve the goals of independent monitoring of legislative decision making, efficient information gathering from various sources, and local arbiter for local opinion leaders to share their views about representatives (Arnold 2004). A shared awareness and appreciation for these goals is essential to the relationships members of the U.S. Congress have with the news media. The news Legislators use the media to contact or communicate with their constituents, colleagues, and members of the policy community (Kedrowski 1996). Communication among elites and constituents is a primary means of achieving good public policy (Fenno 1996) and gaining media coverage and passing good public policy often go hand-in-hand (Kedrowski 1996). Further, representatives who enjoy the visibility and credit-claiming

opportunities news media provide produce better legislation as a result of greater media exposure (Cook 1989). To be sure, I situate my study among the theory and empirics supporting the notion that media enhance the quality of representation legislators provide their constituents and posit further that for legislators who represent largely Hispanic constituencies, the ability to make sophisticated use of Spanish-language media is an indispensable tool for providing Hispanic constituents with the substantive representation of issues important to their community.

The News Media as an Agenda Setter

In articulating the Spanish-language media's role in shaping what policy issues are important to both legislators and constituents I draw from scholarship examining the news media's potential agenda setting power. In performing their functions as analysts of government and politics and as facilitators of political dialogue (Schudson 2008), the local and national mass media have played a role in shaping the policy elites' agendas. In attempting to identify the news media's agenda-setting effects on individuals' rankings of issue importance the tendency has been to restrict investigations to effects on issues of general concern to wide audiences rather than issues specific to particular constituency (McCombs and Shaw 1972). These effects are as evident and important in the context of campaign cycle agenda setting (McCombs and Shaw 1972) as they are to the representational functions (Arnold 2004) and others outlined above.

Much of what we know from communications scholars about the news media's effects on policy agendas is based on empirical studies of national-level policy elites—the president, the national party leadership, and national parliaments and the U.S.

Congress. Members of the Washington, DC press corps, who cover the White House, executive branch officials, and Congress with such regularity, wield extraordinary power in pushing officials in the executive and legislative branches to addressing particular policy issues (Douglass 1959), which in addition to its agenda-setting effects, impact the quality of legislative accountability (Arnold 2004). The news media's effects on the agenda setting and the policymaking processes involving the U.S. president, Congress and the federal bureaucracy are largely a function of the ties news organizations have with politicians, with both reporters and policymakers well aware of their shared roles in making news (Sigal 1973; Cook 1989). Content analyses of news coverage of the U.S. Congress and its members by local news organizations suggest members of Congress have significantly less control over this co-production of news when interacting with the local (state) media organizations as opposed to the large media organizations in the national capital (Vinson 2003). In time series, cross-sectional, and experimental studies, presidential scholars have found the news media to have a strong impact on the substance and tone of the executive's political agenda (Gilberg et al. 1980; Wanta and Foote 1994; Wood and Peake 1998). In studies of the media's agenda setting power in legislative bodies we also find strong support of the media's ability to push Congress of focus on a variety of issues including public spending (Cook and Skogan 1991), global warming (Trumbo 1995), Medicare and NAFTA (Bartels 1996), drug abuse, nuclear power, urban affairs, and smoking (Baumgartner et al. 1997). The study and evaluation of "political leaders' media usage is important because the public has a right to know and understand by what means and with what content their elected officials draw information to make

decisions" (Mayo and Perlmutter 1998; 73), as an indicator of the quality of interest and constituent representation. Furthermore, journalists ought to "know the sources [themselves included] of political decision making so that they may cover not just the outcomes but the origins of, and steps toward, decision making" (1998: 73). Such an understanding of legislators' interactions with the media and other policy elites from this perspective is critical to our understanding of the media's agenda setting power.

With 85 percent of Latinos favoring more liberal federal immigration laws than those that are in place (Latino National Survey 2006), the media's influence on setting the immigration policy agenda is of particular interest to students of Latino politics and media studies. Indeed, the mainstream media's role as a policy agenda setter on immigration policy has begun to be explored. Arguing that the salience of immigration in border states is due at least in part to the steady stream of coverage given to the issue by local media outlets, Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano (2010) find that heightened media coverage towards immigration policy lead to a heightened perception amongst the public that immigration is an important policy concern facing the nation. Consistent with the general argument that the news media—as informers, investigators, and analysts—can show the public what is important by giving more exposure to certain issues over others (Iyengar 1991; Baumgartner and Jones 1995), Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano's (2010) findings suggest a space for researchers to explore the agenda setting powers of the Latino/Hispanic and Spanish-language media. This is an area I begin to explore in Chapter 6 of this study.

Media Effects in the U.S. States

Since nearly every step in the legislative process in legislative bodies like the state legislatures and the U.S. Congress is open to press scrutiny, purely "inside strategies" of achieving legislative goals have given way to the need to bring the media into the lawmaking process (Cook 1989). Thus, for representatives of largely Hispanic state legislative districts, Spanish-language media presence in state legislatures is important to connecting legislators to the Spanish-speaking public and to providing legislators a venue in which they can simultaneously build support from the public and public opinion leaders, and demonstrate to constituents that they are the standard bearers for their political interests.

Analyses of the media's role in influencing state legislative politics, which I engage most directly in this investigation, are often informed by research on the U.S. Congress but they also make a strong case for the states as a more appropriate and informative level of analysis of the media-legislator interactions that yield "good" public policy. In a state-level analysis of the interactions among legislators and their staff, interest groups and the media and their interpretation of public opinion, Herbst (1998) finds that lawmakers often learn about public opinion from the media, making the media a critical representational link between legislators and their constituents. The state-level analyses I present exploits what Herbst (1998) points to as the analytical advantages the state legislative environment has over studies of the U.S. Congress.

Students of state politics have long cited citing the states as "incubators" of key policies in U.S. politics (Hedge 1998) and the comparative study of the "50 laboratories

of democracy" as important to central question in U.S. politics. Other rationale for observing behavior at the subnational level comes from media and public opinion scholars who argue that stronger networks linking legislators to their staffs, activists, the media, and public opinion. They note that as venues for the study of legislative behavior, state legislatures enable more focused and efficient scrutiny of legislation and legislative debates than Congress (Herbst 1998), and that state legislators find the media and media tactics to be useful in fulfilling their representational roles (Cooper 2002b). Dunn (1969) examines the "reportorial" dynamics of press-public official relations in the state capital city of Madison, Wisconsin and reveals that members of the statehouse press corps see themselves as passive participants in the policymaking process while state officials make extensive use of the news media to meet many of their informational needs. Such a reading of the press corps-public official relationship suggests a strong agenda-setting role for the news media at the subnational level. Still, when state policy agendas are found to correlate highly with the news agendas of state and local newspapers covering state politics and policy, one important institutional quality moderating these agenda-setting effects is the political culture of the state (Tan and Weaver 2009).

A critical characteristic of the Spanish-language media's that makes its analysis at the level of state legislatures and state legislator behavior is that they tend to be local and service-oriented, which is important for new immigrants who tend to have less access to Internet news sources (Nealy 2008). In my analysis of the effect of a Spanish-language media presence on state legislators' behavior, I build on our understanding of the importance of media to state legislators' legislative and representational functions.

The news media's functions as investigator, analyst, dialogue facilitator and political mobilizer (Schudson 2008) all inform our understanding of the media's agenda-setting power, their impact on state legislators and as catalysts of representation. With these media functions—or roles—as a foundation for my theory of the Spanish-language media as a critical representational link between Latino constituents and their state legislators, I will argue below that the presence of and access to the news media (Mondak 1995) are essential to this linkage. Following a discussion of existing frameworks for unpacking the Latino/Hispanic and Spanish-language media's effects on Hispanic communities and representatives I articulate the importance of the presence of the Spanish-language news media in a synthesis of the general theory I advance throughout this study.

Frameworks for Understanding Spanish-Language Media

While the Spanish-language media keep pace with Hispanic population growth and growth in the level of influence Hispanics have in the U.S. politics, they also appear to be out-pacing the growth of the English-language or "mainstream" media in the U.S. Given the influence that ethnic (out-of-the-mainstream) media can have on the on U.S. politics, it is important to keep in mind that these media share characteristics with the mainstream but also have additional characteristics that differentiate them—and their effects on political phenomena—from the mainstream media. The Spanish-language media share many of the characteristics—or functions—that the English-language media employ in their interactions with government and politics. However, the framework of the news media's informing, analyzing, investigating, facilitating and mobilizing

functions (Schudson 2008) does not capture much of what the Spanish-language media have to offer their audiences nor our understanding U.S. Latino politics. What are needed then are complementary and alternative frameworks to aid us in situating the Spanish-language media into what I argue is a role as a representational link between Latinos and their political representatives. For such an aid I turn to communications studies of the Hispanic/Latino media that draw from theories of the pluralist and assimilative roles of the ethnic media in the U.S. and to political science research on the role of the Spanish language as a marker for identifying Hispanics and exploring this group's heterogeneity. I examine these two bodies of literature in turn.

Pluralism and Assimilation

Analysts of Latino politics and political communication with the most sophisticated approaches to understanding the role of the Spanish-language media in U.S. politics have primarily analyzed the Latino media—and to a lesser extent the Spanish-language media—with focused theoretical interests in the communication strategies of U.S. political parties and their efforts at gaining Latino votes, and on the impact the media have on the political orientations of U.S. Latinos (Subervi-Velez 1986; 2008). These two dominant strategies for studying the Hispanic/Latino media—and for my purposes the Spanish-language media in particular—as instruments of political socialization reserved for non-Latino political elites and the Latino mass public. This approach to understanding the role of Spanish-language media in the lives of U.S. Hispanics and in shaping U.S. politics has been limited, then, to a view of the relationship between the media and Latinos that largely excludes Latino public officials. Thus, in

studies of this important relationship that shapes so much of what we know about U.S. Latinos, the role of the media as a representational link between political representatives and their constituents has been limited. In my study I situate the Spanish-language media differently, assigning it the theoretical role of an informational bridge that links Hispanic constituents to Latino political representatives in a way that is not explicitly concerned with the effects these media may have on the selection of the next non-Latino or Latino politician.

Communications scholars have documented our understanding of the role of the ethnic media, and by extension the Spanish-language media, in U.S. politics via two principal frameworks—pluralism and assimilation.[1] The proposition that the Spanish-language media promote political assimilation or acculturation suggests that these media, through their reporting about national issues, leaders, and events that affect the American polity at large, push their audiences toward active engagement and participation in U.S. political life in the "mainstream" (Subervi-Vélez 1986, 2008). This acculturation role of foreign-language political communication has roots in political science research in one of the earliest empirical studies of voter mobilization, in which Gosnell (1927) found get-out-the-vote materials in languages other than English to most effectively mobilize immigrants to register and vote. The particular role of the Spanish-language media in mobilizing Latinos to participate in U.S. politics is considerably less developed and explicitly excludes the potential assimilation/acculturation effects the Spanish press may have on Latino elites. The Spanish-language media's assimilation functions identified as

[1] Riggins (1992) and Subervi-Vélez (1986) provide thoughtful summaries of communications research on Spanish-language media using these two frameworks.

having effects on Latino masses have been the promotion of consumption, focuses on individual change and the future, and a general socialization to "the Modern" (Johnson 2000).

Research in communications and media studies has more thoroughly documented the theoretical framework situating the Spanish-language media's role as a principal contributor to political pluralism. Studies of the effects of Spanish media from the pluralist perspective generally dominate communications studies of ethnic media (Johnson 2000). According to this body of work, the principal pluralistic functions of the Spanish media are to: preserve and transmit native culture and identity by maintaining the language and promoting ethnic pride; to establish a minority news agenda, to announce community events and cover minority social activities; to promote the group's political and social interests and motivate them to be socially and politically active; to serve as collective expressions of anger at injustices; and to provide comfort and respite from negative images in general market media (Johnson 2000; Constantakis-Valdés 1992; Downing 1992; Fox 1996; Gutiérrez 1977; Riggins 1992; Subervi-Vélez 1986, 2008).

The pluralistic function of reporting on issues and events that are of particular interest to Latinos is critical to the theoretical foundations and findings of my present study. Yet, much of the research on the effects of these various pluralistic functions is limited, again, to analyses of these effects on Latino mass publics. Foreseeing the critical pluralistic role of the ethnic media in the early twentieth century, sociologist Robert Ezra Park (1922) heralded as a critical function of the ethnic media the transmission of immigrant culture to the majority. In my study I situate this important role, which

constitutes the Latino agenda-setting function of the Spanish-language media, in the framework of the representational link between Hispanic constituents and their state legislators. I propose that for non-Latino state legislators (and public officials more generally) the Spanish-language media serve this role and the perhaps more critical role of transmitting important information about the Latino community's interests and Latino constituents' public policy preferences.

The pluralist functions of the Spanish-language media are very much at play in their media functions for elites and masses alike. Thus, I focus on their effects on both political representatives—the elite political actors whose interactions with the Spanish-language media have been largely ignored by earlier studies—and on Latino mass publics, for whom studies of the effects of the Spanish-language media on their behavior and orientations are limited.

Political Science Perspectives on Latinos and the Spanish-Language Media

Analysts of U.S. Hispanic politics have made use of the Spanish language as a marker for identifying Hispanics (Medina Vidal 2009), and much of our understanding about Latino preferences and behaviors stems from the role the Spanish language plays in the lives of Latinos. In 2009 there were approximately 32.5 million Spanish-speaking Latinos in the U.S. (excluding Puerto Rico), a figure that grew at a rate of 26.6 percent between 2005 and 2009, and that approaches the percentage increase in the total Hispanic population growth—30.5 percent—in the same period (U.S. Census 2009). The impact of the Spanish-language in politics has been emphasized in studies identifying Spanish-language communication as means for elites to send political messages targeted at Latino

audiences (Subervi-Vélez et al. 2008; Medina Vidal et al. 2010) and in analyses of the effects of the Spanish-language and Spanish-language policies on Hispanic mass opinion and behavior (Schmid 2001; Schmidt 2000). Narrowing our survey of Spanish-language political communication to the functions of the Spanish-language media in U.S. politics, however, reveals a significant gap in the literature. While there is a general awareness among students of U.S. Hispanic politics that the Spanish-language media are important to Latinos, there are few analyses of its impact that go beyond general claims of their role as a signal of Latino/Hispanic heterogeneity (García 2005), or one of many factors activating Latino identity (García Bedolla 2005) or unique pathways to Hispanic political incorporation (Abrajano and Álvarez 2010). From such broad theoretical claims about the significance of Spanish-language media in the lives of U.S. Latinos we get little more than a sense that the Spanish media, like the Spanish language more generally, tap into the sense that the Spanish-language media are a significant component of the U.S. Latino experience.

The literature on legislative behavior and organization offers compelling alternatives to my theory of Spanish-language media effects on legislators' decisions to take action in chambers. Yet research on Hispanic representation, which is aimed at explaining the congruence of Hispanic mass preferences with Hispanic elite preferences (Hero and Tolbert 1995) neglects to raise questions or theories concerning the role of Hispanic/Latino media or the Spanish-language media in facilitating Hispanic elected officials' relationships with Hispanic constituents. In this study I engage in questions

about providing Latinos with substantive representation of the issues important to them via legislators' use of an interactions with the of Spanish-language media.

The influence of Spanish-language media on legislative decision-making cannot possibly be easily extricated from the growing influence of Spanish-language media on the culture and politics of the United States, broadly speaking. As of 2008, the Spanish-language media market was in a growth phase while the English-language media market was already slowing (Nealy 2008). The growth of Spanish-language media presence, fueled by a market demand from recent immigrants from Latin America, is taking place in regions traditionally inhabited by Hispanics and in areas, such as the South, where experience with Hispanic immigration less developed. To gauge the impact of Spanish-language media on legislative decision-making and the development of strong and substantive relationships with Latino constituents, one must also consider the circumstances creating a market for Spanish-language media. Traditional thinking about the importance of Spanish-language media to recent immigrants is that it serves as lifeline, a medium by which to begin to adapt to life in the U.S. while maintaining an important sense of familiarity.

Just as with immigration patterns, the potential impact of the overall Hispanic population in a legislative district may also be what motivates a legislator to take action to represent Hispanic interests or to advance a Hispanic/Latino policy agenda. Debate surrounding the potential of racial gerrymandering to have detrimental effects on the substantive representation of minority issues (Gay 2002; Hero and Tolbert 1995; Lublin 1997) begins to point to the difficulty in ascribing Hispanic population as a key indicator

of the substantive representation Latino issues. Again, given my focus on the media as a representational linkage between the Hispanic public and legislators I argue the interaction between legislators and the media provides a more robust explanation for legislative behavior than Hispanic demographics alone.

The small but growing body of empirical work on the Spanish media's place in U.S. politics is beginning to play a larger role in developing our understanding of U.S. Latinos, research in this area sill tends to focus almost exclusively on the role of Spanish-language media in mobilizing mass publics (Félix et al. 2008) and on mass public opinion and group consciousness (Kerevel 2011). Though in most cases Spanish media effects are not treated as primary independent variables of interest in studies of Latino attitudes about representation (Pantoja and Segura 2003), and the mass-level mobilization of Latinos (Barreto et al 2009; Félix et al 2008), analysts have depended on self-reporting measures of the media's effects and have not sufficiently accounted for the role its presence—the Spanish-Language Media Environment—has as a key contextual measure affecting Latino orientations and behavior.

To my knowledge, no study of U.S. Latino politics of the Hispanic/Latino media has been concerned with the effects of the Spanish-language media on elite behavior outside an electoral context. This gap between political science analyses of Hispanic elite behavior and the pluralist and assimilationist perspectives of the Hispanic/Latino and Spanish-language media suggests that there are unexplored opportunities to reveal how the Spanish-language media's functions serve the relationships elites have with Latino constituencies.

Voces del Capitolio: Spanish-Language Media as a Representational Link

Empirical studies aimed at understanding of how public officials at every level interact with and become informed by the Spanish-language media are simply absent from the communications and political science literatures. In my study I address this wide gap in our understanding of how elites use the Spanish-language media and in the contributions the Spanish-language media make to political knowledge among Latinos, and to the development of Hispanic/Latino issue agendas in the U.S. states.

While the growing influence of Hispanics in U.S. politics at the mass level has been well documented from a number of different perspectives in political science, it is critical to note that there is still a significant lag in elite-level political strength and influence among U.S. Hispanics. Latinos are still proportionately underrepresented in U.S. legislative bodies (Preuhs and Jeunke 2006), and what we can learn from analyses of the preferences and behavior of Hispanic elites—like those I present in this study—will hopefully inform our understanding of how the potential of Hispanic political power (García 1997) is being realized in the U.S. states.

My central concern with the effects of the Spanish media on the relationships between Latinos and their state legislators is grounded in the dual notion that the news media play an important role in shaping individuals' information environment (Prior 2005) and that the *presence of* and *access to* news media are essential to the interpretation of their effects on political phenomena (Mondak 1995). A richer informational environment provides the public with the information necessary to hold representatives accountable, and representatives who undergo media scrutiny with compelling reasons to

be accountable to the public (Arnold 2004). For U.S. Latinos, the Spanish-language media enhance the information environment and its capacity to encourage accountability significantly by providing perspectives often missed by the mainstream news media. Building on this framework I situate the Spanish-language media environment in the research question I engage in this study:

> Does the Spanish-language media environment provide Hispanic constituents and state legislators with tools important to the representative-constituent relationship?

In response to this question I argue the Spanish-language media environment to which public officials and the U.S. Hispanic community have access is important to linking Latino constituents to their state legislators. From this argument I develop and test three sets of research hypothesis aimed at informing our understanding of the importance of the Spanish-language media to state legislators, Hispanic constituencies, and public policy issues in the states.

Through the argument I advance in this study I make a critical assumption that a legislator's interactions with the media are linked more explicitly to her representational role than to concerns reelection or purely an "electoral connection" (Mayhew 1974). My interpretation of the Spanish media's function as a representational link is grounded in view that the type of connection legislators develop with their constituents through their interactions with Spanish-language media instead resembles a "home style" (Fenno 1978) of representation due to the closeness and familiarity public officials may develop by appealing to Spanish-speaking Hispanic constituents in Spanish.

Plan of the Study

By incorporating the significance of Spanish-language political communication with the functions of the mainstream (Schudson 2008) and Latino/Hispanic media (Johnson 2000; Subervi-Vélez 2008), and the role of the news media in the lives of political elites (Kedrowski 1996; Cooper 2002a 2002b) and in the policymaking process (Cook 1998; Herbst 1998) I begin to elucidate the significance of the Spanish-language media to U.S. politics. In the following chapters I draw extensively from the theoretical foundations of the communications and the political science literature addressing the Spanish-language media, much of which has been born/developed through thoughtful empirical analyses, but none of which has been integrated neither theoretically nor empirically until now.

In Chapter 2 I introduce my analytical approach to exploring the role the Spanish-language media play in linking Hispanic constituents to state lawmakers. Here I operationalize the Spanish-language media—the presence Spanish-language media have in the lives of Latinos and state lawmakers—as the Spanish-language media environment. I discuss the process by which I develop this media environment, which encompasses the number of Spanish-language print, radio, and television outlets, as a set of independent variables I use to explore the Spanish-language media's relationship to the preferences and orientations of state lawmakers and the Hispanic public. In this chapter I also introduce the Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey (MPPS), an elite survey of my own design aimed at exploring when and how state legislators—Hispanic and non-Hispanic—who represent largely Hispanic constituencies interact with and make use of

what the Spanish-language news media have to offer in their representative roles as advocates for their largely Hispanic constituencies. As a tool for understanding how state lawmakers communicate with constituents and the news media, the results of my elite survey reveal useful insights into, and ground-level support for my contention that the Spanish-language media are an important representation link between Latino constituents and their public officials.

The rigorous empirical analyses I present in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 flow from the general theory of the Spanish media as a representational link between Latinos and state legislators. In these chapters I provide evidence challenging the views that Hispanics and their use of the Spanish language as a language of news and information about politics threaten to divide the U.S. into two peoples and cultures (Huntington 2004), and that using Spanish-language media places Latinos at an informational disadvantage (Schwarzenegger 2007). Together, this set of empirical studies situates the Spanish media environment as an important resource through which lawmakers can engage their constituents in the "home style" of representation (Fenno 1978) that potentially provides the meaningful substantive representation of issues important to Latinos in the states.

In Chapter 3 I investigate the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on media entrepreneurship among state legislators who represent largely Hispanic constituencies. Specifically, I use data from the MPPS to reveal an understanding of the channels of information that influence Latino state legislators as they engage in the lawmaking process. By employing a virtual Spanish-language media environment for each state legislator in the study as a key independent variable, I capture elite media

entrepreneurship as conditioned by the Spanish media environment. Using various regression specifications modeling the relationships between descriptive Hispanic representation, the Spanish-language media environment, and media entrepreneurship among state legislators I find significant independent and conditional effects of Spanish-language media presence on media entrepreneurship. Building from the framework that situates the Spanish-language media as providing an important representational link between Hispanic constituents and their political representatives, I find state legislators bring a level of "media entrepreneurship" to their representative roles that indeed complement this representational link.

In Chapter 4 I explore the importance of the Spanish-language media to the other side of their function as representational link—Latino constituents. In this chapter in investigate the relationship between Latinos' use of Spanish-language media and political knowledge. Not relying only on self-reported Spanish-language media use, I specifically test the impact of the Spanish-language media environment on shaping general and state-level political knowledge among Hispanics. I merge data from the New America Media database of ethnic media with the Latino National Survey (2006) to analyze the effects of Spanish-language print, television and radio—the Spanish-language media environment—on shaping the opportunity, means, and motivations that comprise political knowledge and sophistication for U.S. Hispanics. I identify a meaningful relationship between Spanish-language print media and levels of Latino political knowledge. By augmenting self-reported use of Spanish-language media by Latinos with a representation of respondents' actual Spanish-language media environment, this investigation refines

our understanding of the existing and potential role of Spanish-language media in shaping Hispanic political knowledge and sophistication.

In Chapter 5 I consider the Spanish-language media environment's effects as a common source of news and information that can explain explore how the Spanish-language media environment informs the public policy preferences of both Latino constituents and their political representatives. By analyzing data from the MPPS that I interpret as the beginnings of a Hispanic/Latino policy agenda for the states, I provide evidence suggesting the Spanish-language media, and the degree to which state lawmakers make use of Spanish media tools play a significant role in predicting agreement among legislators and largely Hispanic constituencies as to what policy issues are most salient. Finally, in Chapter 6 I synthesize the findings from the empirical work in this investigation and discuss areas for future research that can further strengthen our understanding of the Spanish-language media's ability to inform our understanding of U.S. Latino politics.

Chapter 2

Measurement: State Legislators and the News Media &
Identifying the Spanish-Language Media Environment in the U.S.

For my study of the Spanish-language media and their role as a representational link between state legislators and the U.S. Hispanic community I employ a variety of research and data collection strategies, and develop novel measures to test the relationships between state legislators and the Spanish media in the U.S. In this chapter I introduce the data I use in my empirical analyses. I begin with a discussion of the inputs of the Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey (MPPS) an elite survey of my own design, that includes details of my in-depth interviews with media and state legislative expert informants, and the design and administration of the survey. Next, I introduce the U.S. Spanish-language media environment in the U.S. and my approach to measuring its presence and availability to state legislators and the U.S. Hispanic community. These descriptive discussions serve to provide the reader with an understanding of the key dependent and independent variables I employ in the empirical chapters of my study. I conclude this chapter with a brief introduction of how the measures developed here are employed in the empirical analyses.

Expert Voices: Interviews with Legislative and Media Informants

During the fall of 2010 I learned a great deal about the relationships between the news media and state legislatures by conducting in-depth interviews with legislative and news media experts and practitioners in New Mexico and California. From personal contacts in the New Mexico Legislature in Santa Fe, New Mexico and staff contacts at

the University of California Center Sacramento I employed the "snowball method" to secure in-person interviews with experts in the news media and state legislative politics. With information about my research interests in the Spanish-language media and in state legislators' interactions with the news media, my original contacts provided me with a few good interview leads. Unfortunately, these leads did not yield any interviews with experts outside of California or New Mexico.

I conducted a total of 14 face-to-face in-depth interviews between October and December 2010 in Los Angeles, California, and in and around the capital cities of Sacramento, California, and Santa Fe, New Mexico using the interview protocols originally approved by the University of California, Riverside's Human Research Review Board (HRRB) Office of Research Integrity on September 24, 2010. I designed the interview protocols for state legislators/legislative staff and state capitol bureau reporters (Appendices 2.1 and 2.2) to learn about the relationships between state legislators and members of the news media. The interviews were audio recorded with the participants' informed consent and guaranteed confidentiality, and later transcribed by an undergraduate research assistant.

From an original list of 22 potential media experts I secured in-depth interviews with seven media informants. Among my seven media informants were current and former members of the state capitol press corps in Sacramento, California, a former capitol bureau reporter for a major English-language newspaper, a capitol bureau reporter from a major Spanish-language daily newspaper, and news editors of two Spanish-language newspapers. As of the fall of 2010, these seven media informants had, on

average, 24 years of experience in their craft. Combined, they had a total of 170 years of experience and expertise in reporting, writing, and shaping content for various news media outlets.

After attempts to make contact with 28 state legislators and legislative staffers I secured seven interviews with individuals able to give me the legislator/legislative staffer perspective on media-state legislator relations. I interviewed one former state legislator who at the time of our meeting was an elected official in the state executive branch, and six legislative staffers. The legislative staff members included a legislator's chief of staff, three legislative analysts assigned to individual legislators and committees, and two press/media relations staff members. At the time of our interviews, my state legislative informants had, on average, 16 years, and 110 combined years of experience and expertise in state politics and government to share.

The qualitative data I gathered during my in-depth interviews with legislative and media personnel gave me a sense of the types of relationships the state capitol press corps, representative of English- and Spanish-language news media organizations, had with state legislators and legislative staffers. These data aided me in developing the MPPS, a survey instrument I designed to gather data on state legislators' attitudes toward the news media and the role the news media play in developing legislative agendas.

Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

Drawing from the wisdom of state legislative and media experts I designed an elite survey aimed at learning about how state lawmakers communicate with constituents and the news media who cover state politics and policymaking. In the survey I ask

legislators a battery of structured and semi-structured questions that targeting their understanding, use, and evaluations of the news media in relation to other various forms of communication and information gathering. In an open-ended setting, I also ask legislators about the issues and legislation most important to them and their constituents. I examine empirically legislators' use of media tools—Spanish-language media in particular—in chapter 3 of this study and state legislators' policy preferences in chapter 5. The full survey is reproduced in Appendix 2.5. In the following section I discuss the sampling procedures I employed to identify potential survey participants, the process of administering the survey, and characteristics of the survey responses.

Due to the high costs of survey research, analysts' approaches to surveying the behaviour and preferences of state legislators have historically focused on a small number of states, which limits our ability to test theories broadly while engaging in questions related to institutional variation (Maestas, Neely, and Richardson 2003). Cooper's studies of state legislator media tactics (2002a, 2002b) and Cooper and Johnson's account of the influence of news media in state policymaking (2007) advance our understanding of the media's role in state legislatures by employing novel theoretical models and mixed-method approaches in efforts to overcome the limitations of survey research in the state legislatures. My interest in the effects of individual (legislator) and institutional (between states) variation on the attitudes, behaviour, and policy preferences of state legislators also addresses the limitations of conducting survey research in the state legislatures. Recognizing the costs and difficulties of conducting state legislator survey research by focusing my study on the sampling frame comprised of the population of 242 active

Hispanic state legislators according to NALEO (2009) and a sample of non-Hispanic legislators in six states who represent largely Hispanic districts. In 2009, the 242 Hispanics in the U.S. state legislative bodies represented 3 percent of all U.S. state legislators.

Sampling—Identifying State Legislator Participants

I acquired demographic and contact information for the population of Hispanic U.S. state legislators recruited to participate in this study from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) 2009 directory. NALEO staff made the directory available to me electronically through a formal request. NALEO is a nonprofit organization and association of Hispanic elected and appointed officials that provides its members with professional development training, and engages in issue advocacy on issues important to the U.S. Hispanic community from its offices Los Angeles, CA, Houston, TX, New York, NY, Washington, DC, and Orlando, FL (NALEO 2010). The 2009 edition of the NALEO directory includes contact information for the 5,670 Latino elected and appointed officials holding positions at the local, state and federal levels of government in 2009. I identify Hispanic state legislators by their self-identification as NALEO members. This self-section into NALEO may result in potential over/under sampling of Hispanic state legislators due to the unknown quantity of 1) descriptively Latino legislators who do not opt in to membership in NALEO and 2) legislators for whom "Hispanicness" cannot be "verified" but membership in NALEO cannot be denied. Nonetheless, I do not expect the imperfect nature of this measure to affect neither the quality of the data I collect nor the inferences drawn from them.

I drew the sample non-Hispanic state legislators from the population of state legislators in the six states with the largest Hispanic populations and legislative constituencies (Arizona, California, Florida, New Mexico, New York, and Texas). For information for the sample of non-Hispanic state legislators I consulted the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) and the state legislature websites in these six states[2]. Using U.S. Census 2009 population estimates of the Hispanic population at the state legislative district level, I sampled the top 143 state legislative districts (in six states) with majority-minority populations that, in 2009, were not represented descriptively by a Latino state legislator.

Administering the Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

Having identified the population of Latino state legislators and a comparison group of non-Hispanic state legislators I recruited the population of 242 Latino state legislators and 143 non-Latino state legislators representing largely Latino state legislative districts to participate in the MPPS in March 2011. With approval from the University of California, Riverside Human Subjects Review Board Office of Research Integrity I administered the survey in three waves via the U.S. Postal Service between March and June 2011. Following Dillman's (1978) guidelines for administering a mail survey of elites, I first mailed a recruitment letter (Appendix 2.3) to legislators requesting their participation in the survey and signaling them to expect the survey within a few days. I mailed an initial wave of 385 surveys (Latino legislator population: 242 non-Latino sample: 143) to legislators in 32 states at their addresses provided by NALEO,

[2] Arizona: www.azleg.gov, California: www.legilasture.ca.gov, Florida: www.leg.state.fl.us, New Mexico: www.nmlegis.gov, New York: assembly.state.ny.us, www.nysenate.gov, Texas: www.capitol.state.tx.us

NCSL, and legislative websites. A week later I sent potential participants a cover letter (Appendix 2.4), in which I explained the scope and purpose of my study, assured them of the confidentiality of the survey, and requested their participation, along with the survey instrument (Appendix 2.5), and a UCR-addressed, postage-paid envelope in which participants were instructed to return the survey. Forty-six completed surveys were returned after this initial mail-out wave. Ten days following the mail-out of surveys I mailed a reminder postcard (Appendix 2.6) to further encourage participation. After another week of waiting for responses I mailed a second wave of surveys, with a postcard reminder following within a few days. From this second wave of surveys, I received an additional 29 positive responses. When responses from the second wave of mailings tapered off I instructed undergraduate assistants to stimulate participation by making telephone calls to state legislators using a telephone reminder script (Appendix 2.7). This telephone reminder step allowed me to (1) identify legislators who were either uninterested in or unwilling to participate so I could eliminate them from future recruitment/reminder efforts, and (2) ensure that mailing address information was up-to-date. With these updated data I mailed a third and final wave of survey instruments and postcard reminders to potential survey participants. The third and final wave of surveys and reminder postcards mailed to legislators, sent in June 2011, yielded the remaining 25 responses in the sample. One of the third wave responses was conducted as a phone interview as requested by the state legislator respondent. One undergraduate assistant was also authorized to handle survey responses, records, data, and identifying information acquired from the survey. Our record keeping and handling of the survey

data were in accordance with the standards set by the University of California, Riverside Office of Research Integrity.

Survey Response Characteristics

The overall response of 100 returned surveys is 26 percent of the total recruitment effort. The 29 responses from non-Hispanic legislators were 20 percent of the 143 non-Hispanic state legislators recruited as a comparison group. The response rate of 72 surveys from Hispanic state legislators is 30 percent of the population of 242 Hispanic state legislators in the U.S. in 2009. These 100 responses comprise the elite survey data used in the empirical analyses in this dissertation.

Seventy-two (72 percent) of the surveys are from Hispanic state legislator respondents and 29 (29 percent) from non-Hispanic legislator respondents. Over two-thirds (68 percent) of survey respondents were legislators, not legislative staff[3]. By completing 32 percent of the surveys returned, constituting one-third of the sample, legislative staff made a significant contribution to this study. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that "almost without exception, staff mirror the member's philosophy, approach, and values" (Kedrowski 1996:18).

In Table 2.1 I report party and Hispanic demographic characteristics of the MPPS survey respondents as they compare to those of their respective state legislatures. The average size of the 19 state legislatures (both upper and lower chambers combined) from which the survey respondents hail is 143 members. On average, Hispanic state legislators

[3] I provide a more robust discussion of the survey data —complete with reports of descriptive statistics— relevant to my analyses in Chapter 3, an empirical study of the effects of Spanish media on legislative media entrepreneurship, and in Chapter 5, an examination of the Spanish media's effects on legislator and district policy preferences.

Table 2.1

State Legislature Demographics:
Population and MPPS Survey Sample Compared

State	Number of State Legislators	*Pop. Hispanic (%)*	***Sample*** *Hispanic (%)*	*Pop. Non-Hisp. (%)*	***Sample*** *Non-Hispanic (%)*	*Pop. Democrat (%)*	***Sample*** *Democrat (%)*
Arizona	90	14	67	86	34	32	78
California	120	19	64	81	36	64	65
Colorado	100	7	100			47	100
Connecticut	187	4	100			65	100
Delaware	62	2	100			63	0
Florida	160	9	57	91	43	38	71
Mass.	200	3	100			81	100
Michigan	148	1	100			40	100
N. Hampshire	424	1	100			26	50
New Jersey	120	4	100			60	100
New Mexico	112	34	63	66	37	56	67
Nevada	63	10	100			59	100
New York	212	8	29	92	71	61	100
Oregon	90	1	100			51	0
Rhode Island	113	3	100			83	100
Texas	181	20	79	80	21	33	79
Utah	104	4	100			23	100
Washington	147	2	100			56	100
Wyoming	90	2	100			16	100
Avg.	**143**	**7.7%**	**59.7% [87.3%]**	**83%**	**40.3%**	**50%**	**76%**

Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey,
National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) www.ncsl.org

account for 7.7 percent of the total state legislator population in those 19 states. Hispanic MPPS respondents represent, on average, 87.3 percent of the sample in the 19 states. In the 6 states in which both Hispanic and non-Hispanic legislators were recruited, Hispanic legislators are, on average, 59.7 percent of the sample. Non-Hispanic legislators account

for 83 percent of state legislators in the six states from which they were sampled. In those same six states, non-Hispanic legislators in the MPPS sample—representatives of large Hispanic constituencies—account for 40.3 percent of respondents. The percentage of Democrats in the full state legislatures from the 19 states represented, 50 percent, is a lower proportion than that of the 76 percent of MPPS respondents who are Democrats. Though these differences in Hispanic/non-Hispanic and party affiliation potentially introduce bias to the sample, given the small, and relatively homogeneous nature of the population of Hispanic state legislators, I engage in the analyses of this sample of state legislators with an understanding of this potential for biases but contend that the results I present are generalizeable to my population of interest. These analyses are presented in Chapters 3 and 5. In both of these chapters and in Chapter 4, an empirical study of the Spanish-language media's effects on Latino political knowledge, I employ the Spanish-language media environment as the key independent variable of interest. I now turn to a discussion of the identification and operationalization of the Spanish-language media environment.

The Spanish-Language Media Environment

In my observational studies of Latino political knowledge, media entrepreneurship among state legislators, and legislator and district policy preferences, I employ the Spanish-language media environment as a representational linkage between state legislators and the Hispanic community. In this section I describe the Spanish-language media according to how media and legislative informants perceive them, their

presence throughout the U.S., and the process by which I operationalize the Spanish media environment in my empirical studies.

Perceptions of Spanish-Language Media Presence

Legislative staffers, reporters, media and communications experts, and legislators who are actively engaged in communicating news and events from the state capitols to readers, listeners, and viewers of Spanish media all stress the significant challenges faced by Spanish-language media with respect to competing with the "mainstream" English-language press. Competition for the attention of Hispanic readers, listeners, and watchers of news media that keep them informed of the news and information of the day keeps ethnic and mainstream media outlets alike necessarily in search of ways to satisfy their audiences. Keeping audiences interested in state politics and policymaking in an environment in which people know little about their state legislators and subnational politics more generally (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996) presents a set of challenges that mainstream and ethnic media outlets are unequally equipped to address. Building on evidence of the effects of news media coverage on the development of positive policy results (Cook 1989), I argue the Spanish media play an important role in linking Hispanic politicians to Hispanic constituents and their interests, yet without exposure to and an understanding of Spanish-language media, this linkage—and every potential effect of the Spanish media on politics—cannot materialize.

One media informant, a former state capitol reporter and anchor for a Univision affiliate, expressed a great deal of frustration with the characterization of the Spanish-language as "ethnic media" recalling: "I represented Univision, the number four network

in the nation, number one in the 18-34 [demographic] in many markets" (Former Reporter/Anchor interview, December 7, 2010). This particular media principal is not alone in feeling frustration, even agitation, with the perceptions of the Spanish-language media as being so far out of the "mainstream" that they lack legitimacy as transmitters of political news and information. Interviews with current capitol bureau reporters for Spanish-language media outlets reveal variation in perceptions of the Spanish media. As one Spanish newspaper reporter expresses these varied views of the Spanish press:

> "If the governor's office wants to leak [a story] they will leak it to the [English-language newspapers]…they don't read Spanish, so for them the most important is the newspaper in English. But, you can also be surprised because sometimes you find legislators from other parts of the state, other Latinos that are very respectful of [our Spanish-language newspaper]" (Newspaper Reporter interview, December 5, 2010).

The varied perceptions of the Spanish-language media that and the accompanying frustrations political and media insiders experience with regards to Spanish media are symptoms of the growing influence the Hispanic community has on political life in the U.S. As a necessary step in understanding the questions and empirical studies I develop in later chapters, the scant understanding of the significant presence of the Spanish-language media and the role they already play in U.S. politics is an issue I address in this chapter. In what follows I present my approach to identifying and describing the Spanish-language media environment in the U.S. with the goal of developing an understanding of the set of key independent variables used throughout this analysis. I begin with a brief

discussion of the growth of the Spanish-language media in the U.S. before introducing my approach to activating the New America Media database of ethnic media outlets as a useful tool for beginning to analyze Spanish media presence. I conclude this chapter with a discussion situating the Spanish-language media environment indicators I develop into the theoretical framework motivating this dissertation project.

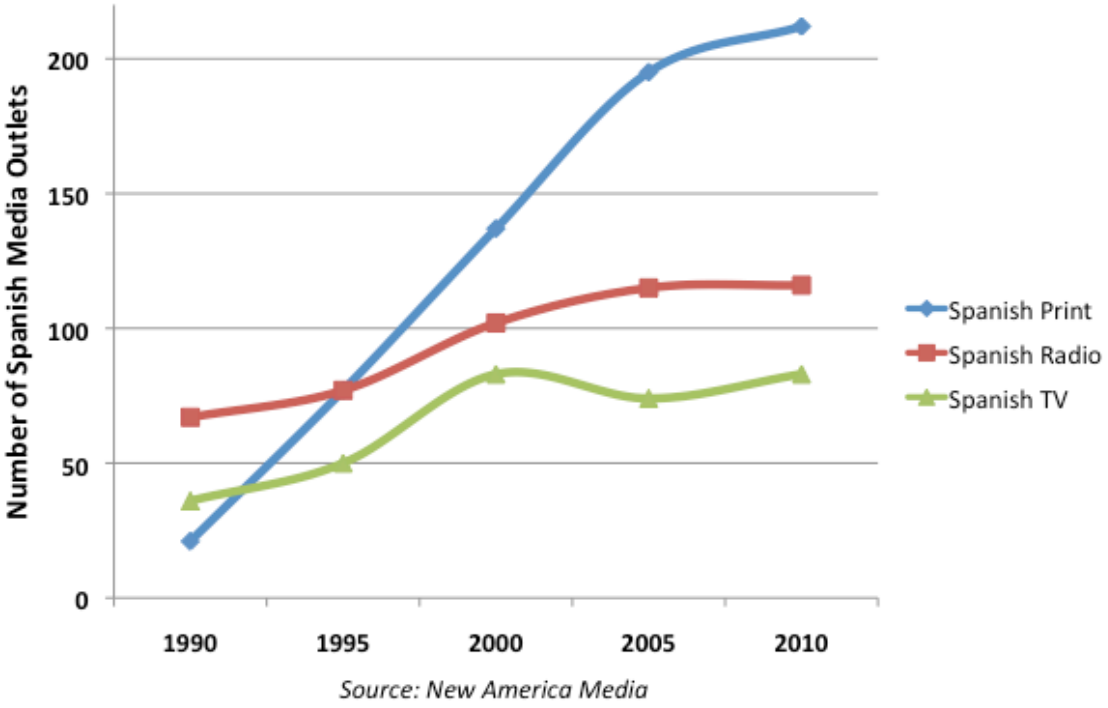
Spanish Media: A Growing Presence in U.S. Political Life

Over the past several decades the U.S. Hispanic population has increased significantly. While sizeable Hispanic populations existed in the present-day U.S. Southwest long before the U.S. political boundaries included them, the rate of Hispanic population growth, which between 2000 and 2010 was 43 percent (four times the national growth rate), and the growing presence of Hispanics in the U.S. is a general In 2010 the Hispanic population in the U.S. was about 47 million (15 percent of the total), and is projected to surpass 100 million (or 24 percent of the U.S. total population) by 2050 (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, and Albert 2011). This growth, this significant demographic change that is taking place throughout the U.S., is reflected in the increased presence of Spanish media.

Since 1990, the number of Spanish-language radio, television, and print media outlets has grown significantly. Figure 2.1 illustrates the growth in Spanish media outlets that are news-based and explicitly concerned with informing the Spanish-speaking community. The most dramatic increase in the presence of Spanish media has been among Spanish newspapers in the U.S. From 1990 to 2010 there was a nearly ten-fold increase in the number of these publications (New America Media 2010) (See Figure

2.1). The fact that Spanish print media presence has grown is quite impressive given that it took place in spite of the economic crisis that began in 2008 and led to a significant number of newspaper organizations closing or consolidating their operations.

Figure 2.1 Growth Of Spanish-Language Media Outlets in the U.S.



Source: New America Media

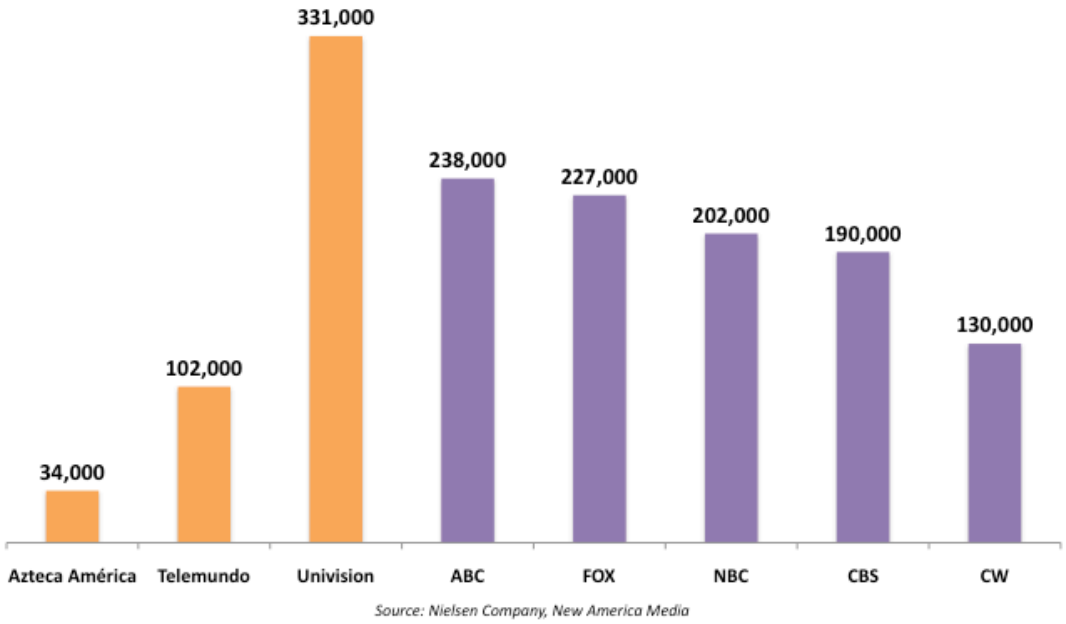
As the anecdotes from my interviews with legislative staffers and state capitol bureau reporters reveal, there is a considerable amount of variation in individuals' understanding of the Spanish media environment. Yet, whatever our individual experiences are with Spanish the Spanish media, it is important to appreciate that they play a significant role keeping large Spanish-speaking audiences informed of the news and events in their communities and around the world. In parts of the U.S. with very large concentrations of Hispanics, Spanish media are essential—and popular—sources of information. In fact, local affiliates of the Univision Television Network routinely beat

out the local news offerings from the ABC, NBC, CBS, and FOX networks. In Figure 2.2 we observe that average nightly viewing of local news broadcasts in the Los Angeles, California market. What this reveals is that on average, every night over 90,000 more people are watching the evening news on Univision—the Spanish television outlet with the largest market share—than on ABC, the highest-rated English-language news broadcast in the market. Including the nightly viewers of the local Azteca América and Telemundo news broadcasts, the Spanish-language television news audience accounts for 32 percent of all local news broadcast viewers in Los Angeles. With this level of appreciation of the preferences for Spanish-language media, in the next section I move on to describe the Spanish-language media environment in the U.S. in more detail. In subsequent chapters, I examine this media environment impact on the levels of political knowledge among Latino consumers of Spanish media and the importance of these media to the policymakers and the policymaking process in the U.S. states.

New America Media: Identifying Spanish-Language Media Environments

In light of evidence of the Spanish media's growth and a growing appreciation for the fact that Spanish media are increasingly competing for the Latino community's attention, it is important to understand that the Spanish media environment varies from place to place. A legislative staff informant, a veteran of state politics with over thirty years of experience in state politics and government who, being of Hispanic decent, is often directed to represent the views of state legislators on "Hispanic matters" to reporters could only recall a significant Spanish-language (Spanish radio) presence in the state capitol in the 1980's and 1990's and virtually none since then. This staffer notes:

Figure 2.2
Spanish-Language Media Competitiveness (2011):
Average Nightly Viewers of Local News Broadcasts (Los Angeles)



> "I've not heard much of [Spanish-language media] unless it's a paid political ad in Spanish, but if they are doing it more over stations that broadcast in the northern parts of the sate, I'm not aware of it" (Legislative Staffer interview, October 10, 2010).

Of course, whether or not a seasoned legislative staffer in a state with a large Hispanic Spanish-speaking population can accurately describe or report on the level at which the Spanish-language media are in the mix of the political and policymaking scene in the state capital does not mean that they are necessarily missing from the scene entirely. Though it may speak to a variety of characteristics of the Spanish media, this anecdote

reminds us that even the most professional observer's assessment of the Spanish media's presence and their potential impact on state politics and policymaking can be potentially misleading, and that if we hope to make sense of the potential effects of the Spanish-language media then the measurement of the Spanish-language media's presence in the U.S. is indeed an analytical enterprise worth pursuing.

My approach to identifying the Spanish media environment in the U.S. is motivated by my interest in understanding these media and their potential to affect the perceptions and orientations of the U.S. Latino community at large and the community of state-level policymakers. Using the New America Media Database of Ethnic Media (2010), I indentify the geographic locations of Spanish-language print, television, and radio outlets in the U.S. and their reach to the Hispanic community. New America Media is the first and largest national collaboration, trade association, and advocate of the over 2,000 ethnic news organizations and over 3,000 individual media outlets in the U.S. As the authority on ethnic media in the U.S., New America Media is a forum in which over 50 million ethnic adults connect—via news and information—to one another, their local communities, issues in U.S. politics, and to many home countries. In addition to developing original content through is news service New America Media aggregates news stories from community news organizations throughout the U.S. As a service to the multiethnic and multilingual communities throughout the U.S., New America Media also translates news content in many languages and offers professional development seminars to journalists working in mainstream and ethnic news media organizations.

Given the significant demographic changes taking place in the U.S. in recent decades, it should not be terribly surprising that the ethnic media are the fastest-growing sector of U.S. journalism, nor that growth in the Hispanic/Latino media contribute significantly to this growth. New America Media's expertise in covering the news and events that affect ethnic minority communities is a valuable asset to news organizations, journalists, community organizations, and political elites as they all seek to learn about the Spanish-speaking and bilingual Latino communities in the U.S.

Table 2.2

New America Media: Hispanic Media Outlets (2010)

Language	*Print News Media* (%)	*Television* (%)	*Radio* (%)	*Total* (%)
Spanish	**250 (62.2)**	**100 (90.9)**	**331 (88.0)**	**681 (76.7)**
Bilingual	**102 (25.4)**	**6 (5.5)**	**19 (5.1)**	**127 (14.3)**
English	**50 (12.4)**	**4 (3.6)**	**26 (6.9)**	**80 (9.0)**
Total:	**402**	**110**	**376**	**888**

Source: New America Media (NAM) National Ethnic Media Directory

This aspect U.S. Hispanic population growth—the growth in Spanish media presence—is a basis from which to build my argument that the Spanish-language media play an increasingly important role in U.S. politics. In Table 2.2 I report on the number of Hispanic media outlets throughout the U.S. in 2010 according to the New America Media Database. A total of 888 Hispanic media outlets throughout the U.S. do the work of keeping Latinos entertained and informed via television, radio and newsprint in English,

Spanish, and bilingual formats. Embedded in my interest in and my analytical approach to the effects of the media on shaping U.S. politics and policymaking is the importance of communications in Spanish.

Table 2.3

Spanish-Language Newspapers by Frequency of Publication (2010)

Frequency of Publication	
Daily	(5.8%)
Biweekly	(2.6)
Weekly	(53.2)
Bimonthly	(11.3)
Monthly	(27.2)

Source: New America Media (NAM) Directory of Ethnic Media

While English-language and bilingual Latino media play significant, particularly assimilating, roles in the political lives of U.S. Latinos (Subervi-Vélez 1986; 2008), in this study I focus on the importance of Spanish-language communication to linking Latino constituencies and their representatives. Of the 888 Hispanic media outlets in the U.S., 681 (77 percent) are published or broadcast in Spanish. These include 331 radio stations, 100 broadcast television stations, and 250 Spanish-language newspapers. The differences between the effects of Spanish radio, television, and print media are explored throughout this study. However, one additional characteristic of the Spanish print media environment is worth noting here. Recalling the significant increase in the number of Spanish newspapers (Figure 2.1), I also note that a majority of Spanish-language newspapers in the U.S. (53 percent) are published on a weekly basis and daily

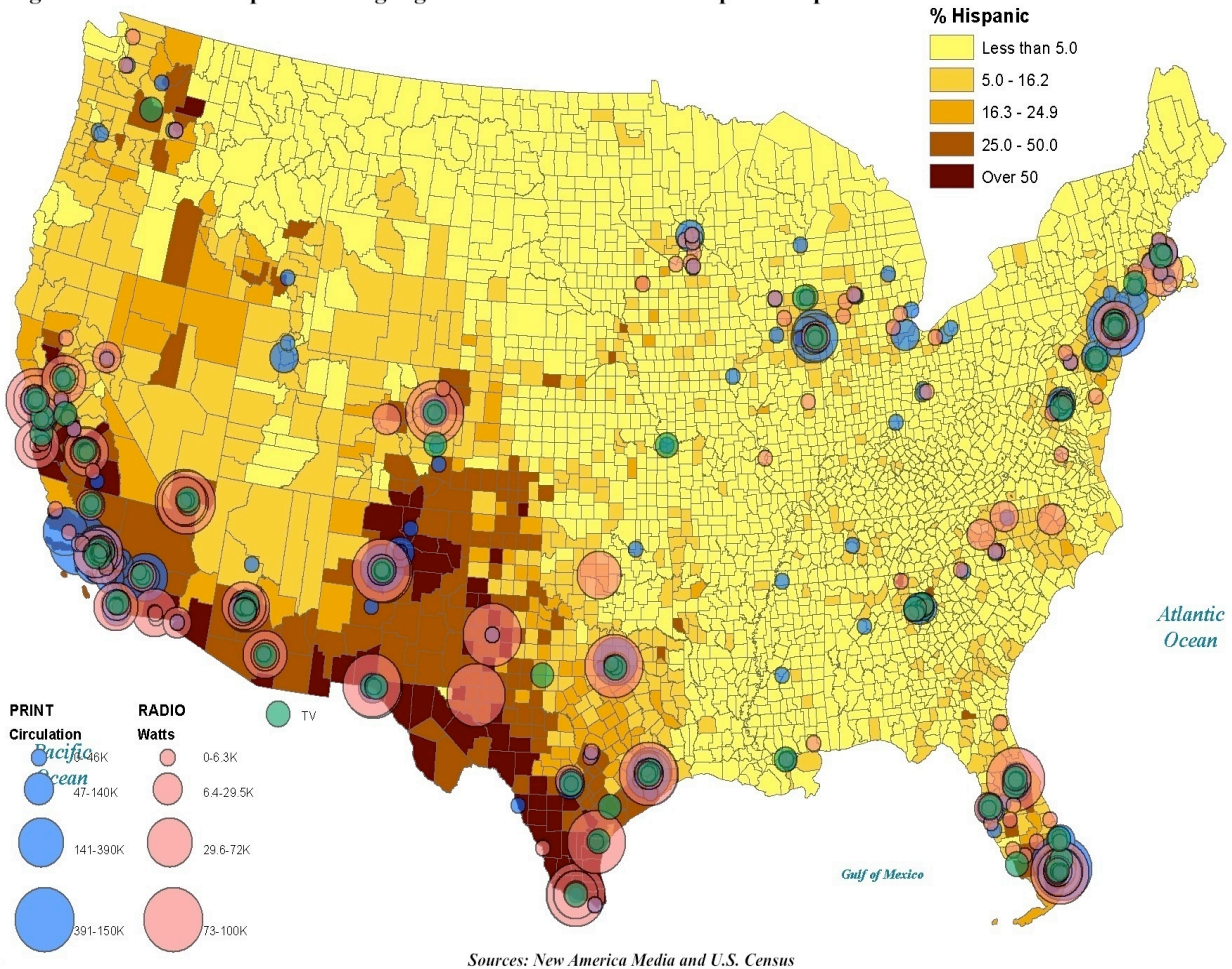
publications account for about 6 percent of all Spanish newspapers in the U.S (See Table 2.3).

Operationalizing the Spanish-Language Media Environment

The characteristic of the Spanish media in the U.S. that is the focus of my study is the proximity of Spanish media outlets to Latinos generally, and to state legislators representing largely Hispanic constituencies. In this section I describe what I refer to as the Spanish-language media environment and the steps I take to operationalize this concept for the purpose of empirical analysis.

Situating the Spanish-language media environment into the theory advanced in this dissertation—that the Spanish media act as a representational link between Hispanic public officials and largely Latino constituencies—entails the description of the Spanish-language media environments that exist for these representatives and constituents. At the core of my theoretical model are the relationships between Hispanic constituencies and their political representatives, and the Spanish media. In Figure 2.3, a map of the locations of Spanish-language media outlets and the county-level U.S. Hispanic population, I illustrate the national Spanish media environment as a first step to understanding the relationships between the Spanish media and Latino elites and masses. I created this map using ArcGIS, a geographic information systems software package which allowed me to merge data on the geographic locations of all the Spanish media outlets in the U.S.—data acquired from the New America Media database—with a county-level map of the U.S. acquired from the U.S. Census Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing (TIGER) system. Using ArcGIS tools I plotted

Figure 2.3 **Spanish-Language Media Outlets & U.S. Hispanic Population**



Sources: New America Media and U.S. Census

the locations of the Spanish broadcast television outlets with green circles, Spanish radio outlets with pink circles sized according to their signal strength (in watts), and print outlets with blue circles sized according to size of their circulation. The plotted locations of the media outlets overlay a county-level demographic picture of the U.S. Hispanic population taken from 2009 Census estimates, which I mapped using ArcGIS tools. The shaded areas show U.S. counties with less than a 5 percent Hispanic population in yellow, and counties in which Hispanics make up over 50 percent of the population (U.S. Census) in dark brown.

This national snapshot of the Spanish-language media environment in relation to the U.S. Hispanic population reveals important characteristics of the Spanish media environment that inform the validity of the Spanish media environment as an independent variable in the statistical analyses in this dissertation. First, we observe a high number of Spanish media outlets in parts of the country where we expect to see them such as California's central valley and southern coast, and south Florida where we also see high concentrations of Hispanics. Second, we observe parts of the country with high concentrations of Latinos—like counties in Kansas, Nebraska, Washington, Nevada and South Texas—with limited or no Spanish media availability. Finally, we observe a number of Spanish media outlets emerging in parts of the U.S. that we, perhaps, do not traditionally associate with having Hispanic populations—nor a subsequent demand for Spanish media—such as Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. It is no coincidence that these states are among those with the fastest rates of Hispanic population growth. In fact, from 2000 to 2010, the rate of Hispanic population

growth was around 60 percent in these states (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, and Albert 2011), a rate that far outpaces the national Hispanic growth rate.

The map of the national Spanish media environment reveals a considerable amount of information about the number and distribution of Spanish print, radio, and television outlets in relation to the distribution of the of the U.S. Hispanic population. Through it we can observe, at the macro level, that the Spanish media environment in the U.S. varies from region-to-region and that the Spanish media are more available to some U.S. Latinos than to others.

Variation in the Spanish-language media environment at the national level is an important characteristic that reflects the variation of the individual-level Spanish-language media environments I operationalize in the empirical analyses of this dissertation as key indicators of Latino elite Latino opinion and behavior and political knowledge among Latinos at the individual level. To identify the individual-level Spanish-language media environments of state legislators and Latino constituencies I again employ ArcGIS tools.

In Chapters 3 and 5 I use the geographic identifiers (physical addresses) of Spanish media outlets from the New America Media database, and the addresses of state legislators' district offices acquired from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), the National Council of State Legislatures (NCSL), and state legislator websites to identify the spatial proximity of Spanish media outlets to the district offices—the bases of representative activities—of state legislators who represent large Latino constituencies. I determine the number of Spanish-language print, radio, and

television outlets in each state legislator's district using ArcGIS to match the FIPS codes associated with state legislators' district office addresses to the FIPS codes of every Spanish-language media outlet. The result of this process is the creation of a virtual Spanish-language media environment for every state legislator respondent to my MPPS survey introduced above. In Chapters 3 and 5 I employ these Spanish-language media environments as independent variables used to predict media entrepreneurship and policy preferences among state legislators.

In Chapter 4 I use ArcGIS tools to merge the data on the locations of Spanish-language media outlets in the U.S. to the Latino public opinion data in the Latino National Survey (2006). The Latino National Survey's (2006) principal investigators granted my special permission to access the geographic identifiers, county FIPS codes, of the survey's respondents. This made it possible for me to determine the number of Spanish print, radio, and television outlets available and accessible to its respondents. Using the same ArcGIS tools and methods used to determine state legislators' access to Spanish-language media I create a virtual Spanish-language media environment for each of its 8,634 Latino survey respondents. The Latino National Survey (LNS) (2006) is the largest and most comprehensive survey of U.S. Hispanic attitudes conducted to date. To my knowledge, no social science study has bridged this authority on ethnic media with the opinions and orientations of Latino audiences such as those in the LNS or to those of U.S. Latino state legislators. Matching the Latino National Survey (2006) data to the Spanish-language media environment data reveals a pattern of variation in the number of Spanish print, radio, and television outlets available to Hispanic respondents similar to

the macro-level depiction of variation in Figure 2.3. This variation in the Spanish-language media environment allows for the test of the independent and conditional effects of the Spanish media on Latino political knowledge.

Conclusion

My interviews with legislative staffers, former and current capitol reporters, news editors, and legislative press agents all informed the development of the MPPS, and they were critical to guiding me, as an analyst, to a richer understanding of state legislator-media interactions. As the reward for developing, administering, and reporting on the results of my elite survey I learned much about state legislators' policy preferences and their views of the Spanish-language media. In developing the virtual Spanish-language media environments for the subjects of my research design I applied technical spatial analysis skills to inform our understanding of the key independent variables in my study. Each of these exercises contributed to the development of the comprehensive datasets I use in my empirical analyses. Having identified variation the independent variable of interest—the Spanish-language media environment—and acquired data on Latino mass opinion and state legislator attitudes toward the media I now turn to testing the theoretical claim I advance in my study. In the chapters that follow I test my argument that the Spanish-language media provide an important representational link between Hispanic communities and their state legislators.

Chapter 3

Media Entrepreneurship among State Legislators in a Spanish-Language Media Environment

The news media play an important role in facilitating political communication among the actors in a representative democracy. For U.S. Latinos, the substantive representation of interests important to their community is facilitated by the representational link the Spanish-language media provide between Latino constituencies and their political representatives. In this chapter I examine state legislators' openness to this representational link through an analysis of data from a national survey of state legislators that begins to identify "media entrepreneurs" (Kedrowski 1996) in the U.S. statehouses. Using two independent though related aspects of media entrepreneurship—evaluations of the media's effectiveness and the frequency with which legislators use media tools—in linear regression models, I test the independent and conditional effects of the Spanish-language media environment and descriptive Hispanic representation on media entrepreneurship. These analyses contribute to the development of comparative analyses of media entrepreneurship between Hispanic and non-Hispanic state legislators along various demographic, environmental, and institutional characteristics, and to our understanding of how Latino elected officials contribute to policy development in the states.

In this analysis I adapt the view that the mass media serve a role similar to that of interest groups, whereby in addition to identifying issue debates and communicating the public mood (Herbst 1998) the Spanish-language mass media play a type of interest

group role for U.S. Latinos, consistent with the "pluralist functions" of the ethnic media in the U.S. (Subervi-Vélez 1986). With the majority (61.9 percent) of U.S. Latinos reporting Spanish as their primary language (Latino National Survey 2006) and Spanish-language news media sources as the primary sources of news and information, the role of the Spanish-language media in identifying Hispanic opinion and the issue debates of particular importance to the U.S. Latino community is critical. Generally, the Spanish-language media, like most ethnic media in the U.S. serve important assimilation and pluralism functions for Hispanics (Subervi-Vélez 1986, Johnson 2000), and are an important source of information about Hispanics for those outside the culture (Park 1922/1970, Constantakis-Valdés 1992). For representatives of largely Latino constituencies—Hispanic and non-Hispanic state legislators alike—their use of the Spanish-language media makes these important media functions a critical part of the representational linkage that the media provide between legislators and their constituents.

Engagement with the news media and the active use of media tools are the essence of media entrepreneurship, and the phenomena I examine in this chapter. Students of media entrepreneurship in legislative institutions define media entrepreneurial lawmakers in the U.S. Congress (Kedrowski 1996) and in U.S. statehouses (Cooper 2002a; 2002b) are those lawmakers with a high sense of efficacy toward the news media and their usefulness to the many roles lawmakers assume when elected to office. Media entrepreneurship serves a variety of important functions for lawmakers in U.S. legislatures. The limited study of media entrepreneurship and media effects on state lawmakers' behavior suggests that state legislators use employ media

tactics to enhance their prospects of election (Hogan 1997) and to engage the general public and the interest groups in their communities (Cooper 2002b). More importantly (and more often) however, state legislators engage the news media to advance their policy goals by using media tools to communicate with their own constituents, policy elites, and other state lawmakers (2002b). In short, state legislators' media entrepreneurship motives and activities mirror those of members of Congress. Experienced and astute legislators in the U.S. Congress engage in media entrepreneurship first by cultivating close and positive relationships with the news media (Matthews 1960). At the state level, legislative professionalism has a significant effect in shaping state-level policy (Cooper and Johnson 2007), and the relationships the members of state capitol press corps are able to build with state lawmakers are a potentially important part of this effect. Lawmakers in the U.S. statehouses, like their counterparts in the U.S. Congress use the media to contact or communicate with their constituents, colleagues, and members of the policy community (Kedrowski 1996; Cooper 2002b), and they agree with Fenno's (1996) contention that communication with elites and constituents is how to achieve good public policy.

There is, however, disagreement about the nature of the interactions between lawmakers and the press who cover them. The argument and empirical study of lawmaker-media interactions structured on a "show horses" versus "work horses" dichotomy (Payne 1980; Langbein and Sigelman 1989) suggests that legislators who are "show horses" seek the attention of the media for purposes of self promotion but have little real impact on lawmaking. In this framework, it is the "work horses," who

consciously stay out of the media spotlight, that really get things done. Working from the view that lawmakers have little say in the amount of media attention they receive, Hess (1986) suggests that lawmaker media entrepreneurship is a fiction because the media ultimately focus only on the lawmakers with real decision making power.

Legislators' media entrepreneurship, viewed as just one side of an arrangement lawmakers engage in with the press in the interest of making headlines and producing good public policy, entails the negotiation of what is important to lawmakers' policy goals and what is interesting enough to sell newspapers and make the nightly news (Cook 1989). This view, the view that I adapt in the present study, requires an understanding of lawmakers' media entrepreneurial activities that leaves room for the possibility that not all legislators are not shallow attention seekers or "show horses", nor are "work horses" shy in front of a television camera. Even media entrepreneurial lawmakers who engage the news media initially for the purpose of claiming credit for producing good public policies achieve the goal of producing better legislation as a result of their media exposure (Cook 1989).

Synthesizing the importance of media entrepreneurship to the theory grounding this dissertation and the arguments I advance in this chapter, lawmakers' media entrepreneurship has meaningful implications for the quality of representation they provide their constituents and for the policy outputs they are responsible for producing. As Cook contends, engaging the news media is an important component of "outside strategies for clarifying positions" (1989: 166). Hispanic state legislators, who account about 8 percent of state lawmakers in the U.S., are in many cases marginalized voices in

their chambers for whom success in getting the issues important to their Hispanic constituents on legislative agendas is dependent on an aggressive media entrepreneurial strategy. I argue Spanish-language media are an important part of legislators' "outside strategies" to seek influence in the statehouses.

In this chapter I draw from studies of media entrepreneurship in the U.S. Congress (Kedrowski 1996) and in the state legislatures (Cooper 2002a; 2002b), our understanding of media presence and context as critical driver of media effects (Mondak 1995), and from the literature situating the U.S. Hispanic media as lending to pluralism and assimilation (Subervi-Vélez 1986; 2008) to advance the claim that in a Spanish-language media environment, Hispanic state legislators are more media entrepreneurial than their non-Hispanic counterparts. My operationalizations of media entrepreneurship—legislator evaluations of the media's effectiveness and the degree to which legislators use media tools—examine key elements of the relationships lawmakers have with the news media. If state lawmakers engage with the Spanish media as Vinson (2003) suggests members of Congress engage with the local news media outlets who cover Washington, D.C. politics, then levels of interaction between lawmakers and the news media are determined, to a significant degree, by the media environment. The empirical analysis of this chapter provides evidence suggesting that statehouse representatives of Hispanic constituencies engage in media entrepreneurial activities when Spanish-language media are a part of their information environments.

Building on the thesis that the Spanish-language media are an important representational link between political representatives and Latino constituents I identify

and elaborate on the importance state legislators place on the Spanish media a resource serving their representational functions. Though members of the U.S. Congress and their staffs have been not been found to place any extraordinary importance on Latino outreach, many members and staff do in fact make special efforts to communicate with Hispanic constituencies in face-to-face meetings and through the Spanish media (Wilson 2009). In this empirical study of media entrepreneurship among state lawmakers I explore media entrepreneurship—via legislator evaluations of the media's effectiveness and the degree to which legislators use media tools—from the view that the Spanish media are indeed well-suited to meeting the needs state lawmakers have to reach out to Hispanic constituents. In what follows I discuss a variety of important characteristics of state lawmakers' media entrepreneurship and I begin to develop the role of Spanish media in bringing state representatives closer to the Hispanic constituencies they represent.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four main sections. First, I set the stage for identifying the media entrepreneurs in the survey by presenting several factors predicting legislator evaluations of the news media gleaned from original data I collected via the Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey (MPPS). Second, I advance a set of hypotheses to test the relationships between the Spanish-language media environment and elite assessments of the media. I then present results of regression analyses. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the broader implications of media entrepreneurship among state legislators for the representation of Hispanic interests in state legislatures.

Factors Predicting Legislator Evaluations of the News Media and Frequency of Media Activities

Identifying media entrepreneurs in the state legislatures begins with a battery of attitudinal measures in the MPPS, which draw from previous studies of media entrepreneurship in the U.S. Congress (Kedrowski 1996) and in the California, Georgia and Iowa state legislatures (Cooper 2002a; Cooper 2002b). The MPPS, an elite survey of state legislators conducted via U.S. mail in spring 2011 had sampling frame consisting of the population of Latino state legislators in the U.S. and a sample of non-Hispanic state legislators from seven U.S. states with large Hispanic populations. The overall response rate of 26 percent yielded a total of 100 observations.

The dependent variables in these analyses are the mean responses to legislators' evaluations of media effectiveness (*Average Media Effectiveness*) and the mean legislators' frequency of Spanish- and English-language media tools [*Average Frequency (all media)*, *Average Frequency (Spanish)*, and *Average Frequency (English)*].

The dependent variable *Average Media Effectiveness* is a composite of the mean responses to the four media effectiveness questions in the MPPS where legislators were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with statements about the effectiveness of media exposure for various statehouse policymaking activities. Legislator responses this battery of survey questions on media effectiveness are reported in Table 3.1, which summarizes agreement/disagreement with the four media exposure

questions I employ to estimate average state legislator evaluations of media effectiveness[4].

Table 3.1 **State Legislator Evaluations of Media Effectiveness**

	Non-Hispanic Legislators	*Hispanic Legislators*	*All Legislators*
Members of the state legislature often solicit media exposure as a way to stimulate discussion about policy proposals.			
Strongly Disagree (1)	6.9 %	2.8 %	4.0 %
Disagree (2)	10.3	9.9	10.0
Agree (3)	44.8	63.4	58.0
Strongly Agree (4)	37.9	23.9	28.0
N	*29*	*71*	*100*
Soliciting media exposure is an effective way to put an issue on the legislative agenda.			
Strongly Disagree	3.5 %	0 %	1.0 %
Disagree	13.8	7.1	9.0
Agree	44.8	75.7	66.7
Strongly Agree	37.9	17.1	23.2
N	*29*	*70*	*99*
Media exposure is an effective way to convince other legislators in both chambers to support policy proposals.			
Strongly Disagree	6.9 %	5.7 %	6.1 %
Disagree	31.0	28.6	29.3
Agree	41.4	44.3	43.4
Strongly Agree	20.7	21.4	21.2
N	*29*	*70*	*99*
Media exposure is an effective way to stimulate discussion on policy alternatives and issues among executive branch officials.			
Strongly Disagree	10.3 %	2.8 %	5.0 %
Disagree	20.7	22.5	22.0
Agree	51.7	53.5	53.0
Strongly Agree	17.2	21.1	20.0
N	*29*	*71*	*100*

Source: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

Respondents were first asked whether state legislators solicit media exposure as a way to stimulate discussion about policy proposals, a statement to which a substantial

[4] The attitude scale values of mean media effectiveness used to create the mean effectiveness dependent variable are reported in Appendix 3.1.

majority (86 percent) either "agreed" or "strongly agreed" compared to the 14 percent of all legislators who "strongly disagreed" or "disagreed" (See Table 3.1). When asked whether the soliciting media exposure is an effective way to get an issue on the legislative agenda, 90 percent of state legislators surveyed either "strongly agreed" or "agreed." The third question in the attitudinal battery asks whether media exposure is an effective way to convince peers in the legislature to support policy proposals. State legislators' were less enthusiastic in their agreement with this statement but still either a majority (64.7 percent) "agreed" or "strongly agreed." Finally, when asked whether media exposure is an effective way to stimulate discussion on policy alternatives and issues among their colleagues in the executive branch, 73 percent of state legislators either "agreed" or "strongly agreed," indicating strong support for the notion that the media facilitate communication between branches of government, which can be very important in the legislative process. Taken in aggregate, responses to these four questions aimed squarely at estimating the value legislators' place on the news media as an effective tool for legislating reveal a generally favorable view of the media among state legislators in the nineteen different states represented in the survey.

In the second set of models I present, which examine how often state legislators engage in using different media tools, I measure *Average Frequency (all media)* as the mean responses to the set of media activity questions in the MPPS. The question—"When communicating with individuals and groups, how frequently do you use the following tools?"—centers on legislators' level of engagement in various media activities, allowing for the structured responses of "almost never (1)", "a little (2)",

"some (3)", "often (4)", or "very often (5)". The average frequencies of engaging in various English- and Spanish-language media activities are reported in Table 3.3. The dependent variable *Average Frequency (all media)* is the composite mean of media activities in both languages, while *Average Frequency (Spanish)* and *Average Frequency (English)* are composite means of media activity engagement in those languages. Table 3.4 also reports the mean frequencies of media activity for the non-Hispanic and Hispanic subgroups in the sample.

Spanish-Language Media Environment

The number of Spanish-language media in a legislator's district is included as the indicator of the Spanish-language media environment in which individual state legislators perform their representative roles. The numbers of *Spanish Print Media*, *Spanish TV*, and *Spanish Radio* outlets in a legislator's district is acquired by using geographic identifiers to match Spanish-language media outlets in the U.S. to state legislative districts, creating a virtual Spanish-language media environment for each state legislator in the sample. Data from the New America Media Database of Ethnic Media (2010), U.S. Census (2000), and NALEO (2009) comprise the Spanish-language media environment variables of interest. According to New America Media there are 250 Spanish print, 100 Spanish television, and 331 Spanish radio outlets in the U.S. (2010). The average Spanish-language media environment in the sample has 5 Spanish print, 1.6 Spanish TV, and 4.9 Spanish radio outlets. With largely Hispanic constituencies in mind, I posit the Spanish-language media environment has a positive and significant effect on legislator evaluations of media effectiveness.

Hispanic Legislator

The central thesis of this chapter—that the Spanish-language media provide an important representational link between Hispanic constituencies and their representatives—is grounded in important assumptions about the significance of descriptive Hispanic representation of Hispanic, Spanish-speaking or Spanish-dominant constituencies. I argue *Hispanic Legislator* is an important independent measure of both mean assessments of the media's effectiveness and mean frequency of media activities, consistent with the argument that the presence of Latinos in state legislatures leads to greater welfare benefits at the state level (Preuhs 2007), and more broadly whether descriptive representation produces better substantive representation for minorities (Mansbridge 2000; Preuhs 2006; Gay 2007). The proportions of Hispanic (and non-Hispanic) legislators in each of the 19 states represented in the sample are reported in Table 3.2.

Percent Hispanic

I argue Hispanic constituents are served by the representational link that Spanish-language media provide between their interests and their political representatives, *Percent Hispanic* is included as legislative-district-level measure as a control variable of sensitivity to the legislative district's Hispanic demographic.

Professionalism

The 2003 Squire Index of State Legislative Professionalism scores for the 19 state legislatures represented in the sample. The components of the Squire index—salary and benefits, time demands of service, and staff and resources—are indicators of the level of

professionalism in the state legislatures and are included as a control measure. The Squire scores and rankings of each state legislature represented in the sample are listed in Table 3.2. The predicted positive effect of legislative professionalism on legislator evaluations of media effectiveness and frequency of media use is consistent with the resources or "means" response argument which states that legislators with more resources are more sophisticated and responsive to constituent demands. While media entrepreneurs privilege the media as an important resource to use in efforts to affect the policy agenda, as Kedrowski (1996) notes, these members will use whatever tools at their disposal to influence the agenda.

Other Controls

Legislator membership in the *Upper House* of the state legislature, percent *Democrat,* and percent *Male* state legislators in each of the 19 states represented in the sample are reported in Table 3.2. These variables, along with controls for whether a legislator is from a southwest *Border State*, legislator *Education, Age,* and legislative *Tenure* are also included as statistical controls[5].

Elite Assessments of the Media in a Spanish-language Media Environment

Situating the Spanish-language media as essential to the representative-constituent relationship for Hispanic state legislators and largely Hispanic constituencies requires that we establish the importance of Spanish-language media to the political lives of both Latino mass publics (See Chapter 4) and Hispanic elites. To begin to unpack how Spanish-language media serve the representational functions of Latino public officials, I

[5] Descriptive statistics for all dependent, independent, and control variables are reported in Appendix 3.2.

Table 3.2

Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey of State Legislators

State	Hispanic	Non-Hisp.	State Total/%	Prof. Rank^	Prof. Score^	Upper House	Lower House	% Dem	% Male
AZ	6	3	9	10	.232	3	6	78	56
CA	9	5	14	1	.626	1	13	65	86
CO	2		2	14	.202	0	2	100	50
CT	3		3	19	.190	0	3	100	67
DE	1		1	26	.148	0	1	0	100
FL	4	3	7	13	.223	2	5	71	71
MA	3		3	4	.385	1	2	100	67
MI	1		1	5	.342	0	1	100	100
NH	2		2	50	.027	0	2	50	50
NJ	2		2	9	.244	0	2	100	100
NM	17	10	27	39	.109	10	17	67	70
NV	1		1	30	.138	0	1	100	0
NY	2	5	7	2	.480	0	7	100	100
OR	1		1	25	.159	0	1	0	100
RI	1		1	31	.133	0	1	100	100
TX	11	3	14	15	.199	4	10	79	79
UT	3		3	46	.065	1	2	100	33
WA	1		1	17	.197	0	1	100	0
WY	1		1	48	.054	0	1	100	100
Total	**71**	**29**	**100**	**21**	**.219**	**22**	**78**	**76**	**73**

^Squire (2003) Professionalism

Table 3.3

Frequency of Legislator Engagement in Media Activities: How frequently do you use the following media tools? 1=almost never, 2=a little, 3=some, 4=often, 5=very often

	Non-Hispanic Legislators	***Hispanic Legislators***	***All Legislators***
English-Language Media	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Appear on TV	2.5 (1.3)	2.8 (1.1)	2.7 (1.2)
Appear on Radio	2.7 (1.2)	2.8 (1.1)	2.8 (1.1)
Write Op-Ed	2.7 (1.2)	2.9 (1.1)	2.9 (1.1)
Issue a Newsletter	-3.6 (1.3)	3.6 (1.4)	3.6 (1.4)
Issue a Press Release	3.7 (1.5)	4.1 (1.3)	4.0 (1.4)
Spanish-Language Media			
Appear on TV	1.4 (.74)	2.4 (1.2)	2.1 (1.5)
Appear on Radio	1.4 (.69)	2.4 (1.2)	2.1 (1.2)
Write Op-Ed	1.4 (.96)	1.7 (.92)	1.6 (.94)
Issue a Newsletter	1.5 (1.1)	2.1 (1.4)	1.9 (1.4)
Issue a Press Release	1.9 (1.4)	2.5 (1.5)	2.3 (1.5)
Social Networking	2.7 (1.7)	3.3 (1.6)	3.2 (1.6)
Observations	**29**	**71**	**100**

examine the levels of media entrepreneurship among Hispanic state legislators. I operationalize media entrepreneurship as legislators' evaluations of the media's effectiveness (See Table 3.1) and the frequency of legislators' use of various media tools (See Table 3.3) and predict that a robust Spanish-media environment—a strong presence of Spanish-language media in a legislator's district—contributes to higher levels of media entrepreneurship among state legislators. To test the independent effects of the Spanish-language media environment on media entrepreneurship I advance two general hypotheses:

> *H_{1a}: The presence of Spanish-language media (the number of Spanish print, television, and radio outlets) in a state legislator's district has a positive effect on the legislator's favorable evaluation of the media's effectiveness.*
>
> *H_{1b}: The presence of Spanish-language media (the number of Spanish print, television, and radio outlets) in a state legislator's district has a positive effect on how frequently a legislator makes use of media tools.*

I also argue that Hispanic legislators, due to a general sense of belonging or attachment to the Hispanic community, a sense of linked fate or group consciousness, will be more in-tune with and more sensitive to the effects of the Spanish-language media environment. I explore this argument through the following conditional hypothesis:

> *H_2: In a Spanish-language media environment (with Spanish print, television, and radio outlets), Hispanic state legislators are more "media entrepreneurial" than non-Hispanic state legislators.*

I test these posited relationships between the Spanish media environment and media entrepreneurship in a series of regression analyses, the results of which I report below.

Results:

Legislator Evaluations of Media Effectiveness

The results of the ordinary least squares regression of the state legislator evaluations of the media's effectiveness are reported in Table 3.4. In Model 1, mean media effectiveness is modeled in an OLS model with state fixed effects, clustered by legislator respondent's state. Clustering by state in a state fixed effects model allows for variance among individual legislator evaluations of media while recognizing that there are characteristics unique to each state legislature that influence legislator opinion and behaviour in identical, or fixed ways.

Controlling for individual-level factors (*Democrat* party membership*, Upper Chamber* membership, *Education, Gender, Age,* and *Tenure*), the district-level constituency factor (*Percent District Hispanic* population), and whether the legislator is from a *Border State*, we observe a negative and statistically significant independent effect of the number of *Spanish TV* outlets in a legislator's district ($p<.01$) on mean evaluations of media effectiveness.

A GLS model with random effects for legislator respondent's state and clustering by state (Model 2) allows us to treat the effects of state characteristics as held in common for all legislators from that state while treating each intercept as the result of a random deviation from the mean intercept among legislator respondents from the same state. Here we observe a similar negative and statistically significant ($p<.01$) relationship

Table 3.4
Predictors of Legislator Evaluations of Media Effectiveness: Mean Effectiveness

	(1) OLS/FE^	(2) GLS/RE	(3) GLS/RE
Hispanic Legislator	-0.0114	0.154	0.461**
	(0.193)	(0.142)	(0.168)
Spanish Print Media	0.0112	0.00641	0.0489**
	(0.0203)	(0.0118)	(0.0106)
Spanish TV	-0.132**	-0.102**	-0.166*
	(0.0218)	(0.0250)	(0.0816)
Spanish Radio	0.0287	0.0233	0.0311
	(0.0293)	(0.0179)	(0.0332)
Hispanic X Spanish Print			-0.0508**
			(0.0141)
Hispanic X Spanish TV			0.0625
			(0.0784)
Hispanic X Spanish Radio			-0.0192
			(0.0374)
Professionalism (Squire Score)		1.127**	1.207**
		(0.272)	(0.321)
Democrat	0.102	-0.00413	-0.103
	(0.213)	(0.165)	(0.108)
Male	0.0213	-0.0104	-0.00616
	(0.103)	(0.0710)	(0.0796)
Education	0.0616	0.0739+	0.0598
	(0.0609)	(0.0402)	(0.0370)
Age	-0.000156	0.00119	-0.000791
	(0.00465)	(0.00405)	(0.00433)
Tenure	0.00812	0.00974*	0.0134**
	(0.00491)	(0.00392)	(0.00227)
Upper Chamber	-0.107	-0.122	-0.0958
	(0.138)	(0.0980)	(0.122)
Percent District Hispanic	0.0000352	-0.00294	-0.000371
	(0.00541)	(0.00277)	(0.00218)
Border State	-0.377*	0.0541	0.0531
	(0.162)	(0.123)	(0.108)
Constant	2.724**	2.332**	2.186**
	(0.451)	(0.218)	(0.286)
Observations	92	92	92
Overall R^2	0.261	0.166	0.269
df	9	13	16

+p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, Standard errors in parentheses, ^ thresholds omitted
Source: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

between the number of *Spanish TV* outlets and average evaluations of media effectiveness.

In a second GLS model with random effects (Model 3) I include the interaction terms *Hispanic X Number of Spanish Print Outlets*, *Hispanic X Number of Spanish Television Outlets*, and *Hispanic X Number of Spanish Radio Outlets*. Again, the independent effect of *Spanish TV* is negative and statistically significant ($p<.05$), and the positive independent effects of *Hispanic Legislator* and *Spanish Print Media* are now statistically significant at the $p<.01$ level.

The negative and statistically significant ($p<.01$) coefficient of the interacted term *Hispanic X Spanish Print* on average media effectiveness evaluations indicates that there is a significant difference in mean evaluations of media effectiveness among Hispanic and non-Hispanic legislators in a Spanish-language print media environment. Substantively, this reveals that non-Hispanic state legislators in a Spanish-language media environment are more likely to have higher mean assessments of the media effectiveness than their Hispanic counterparts. An important note on the random effects models is that *professionalism* in the state legislature appears to play a positive and statistically significant ($p<.01$) role in average evaluations of media effectiveness among legislators.

Results:

Frequency of Media Activities with State Fixed Effects

The results of linear regressions of the effects of Hispanic ethnicity and the Spanish-language media environment on legislators' frequency of various media activities are in Tables 3.5 and 3.6.

In Table 3.5 I present results of linear regression models of the effects of the Spanish-language media environment, district characteristics and Hispanic ethnicity of state legislators on the frequency with which legislators engage in various media activities. I estimate the models presented in Table 3.5 using fixed effects for legislator respondents' state. Model 1 is a linear regression model with the average frequency for *All* media activities in both English and in Spanish as the continuous dependent variable. Controlling for individual-level factors (*Democrat* party*, Upper Chamber* membership, *Education, Gender, Age,* and *Tenure*), the district-level constituency factor (*Percent District Hispanic* population), and whether the legislator is from a *Border State*, we observe positive and statistically significant independent effects of being a *Hispanic Legislator* ($p<.05$), and the Spanish-language media environment indicator, number of *Spanish Print Media* outlets in a legislator's district ($p<.01$). There is also a negative and statistically significant effect of the Spanish-language media environment indicator, number of *Spanish TV* outlets in a legislator's district ($p<.01$).

In Model 2, where the dependent variable is restricted to the average frequency of legislators' Spanish-language media activity, the directions of the relationships between *Hispanic Legislator*, number of *Spanish Print Media* outlets, and number of *Spanish TV*

Table 3.5

Legislators' Frequency of Media Activities: OLS with State Fixed Effects

	(1) All Media	(2) Spanish Media	(3) English Media
Hispanic Legislator	0.495*	0.529+	0.437
	(0.229)	(0.273)	(0.321)
Spanish Print Media	0.0629**	0.123**	-0.0282
	(0.0208)	(0.0248)	(0.0292)
Spanish TV	-0.233**	-0.271**	-0.150+
	(0.0596)	(0.0710)	(0.0835)
Spanish Radio	0.00680	-0.0300	0.0555
	(0.0258)	(0.0307)	(0.0361)
Democrat	-0.279	-0.200	-0.398
	(0.185)	(0.220)	(0.259)
Male	-0.155	-0.152	-0.00182
	(0.158)	(0.188)	(0.221)
Education	-0.0181	-0.0257	0.0528
	(0.0600)	(0.0714)	(0.0840)
Age	-0.00648	-0.0114	-0.00207
	(0.00655)	(0.00781)	(0.00918)
Tenure	0.00672	0.0156	-0.00287
	(0.00988)	(0.0118)	(0.0138)
Upper Chamber	0.104	0.00992	0.359
	(0.162)	(0.193)	(0.227)
Percent District Hispanic	0.00794	0.0195**	-0.0000442
	(0.00509)	(0.00607)	(0.00714)
Border State	0.446	0.454	0.863
	(0.634)	(0.756)	(0.889)
Constant	2.015*	1.150	1.946+
	(0.808)	(0.963)	(1.133)
Observations	92	92	92
R^2	0.601	0.656	0.398
df	28	28	28

+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, standard errors in parentheses, thresholds omitted.
Source: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey,

outlets are the same as in the Model 1 specification though the strength of the statistical significance of the effect of *Hispanic Legislator* falls to p<.10. In the Spanish-language media activities model (Model 2) the district-level characteristic, *Percent District*

Hispanic, also has a positive and statistically significant ($p<.01$) effect on average frequency of Spanish-language media activities.

Model 3, where the dependent variable, mean frequency of English-language media activities, is modeled as a function of the same media environment characteristics, *Hispanic Legislator*, and control variables sees *Hispanic Legislator* and *Spanish Print Media* fall from having a statistically significant effect on mean English-language media activity. Yet, the negative effect of the media environment indicator, *Spanish TV*, remains statistically significant at the $p<.10$ level.

Results:

Frequency of Media Activities with Random Effects

In Table 3.6, the independent effects of *Hispanic Legislator* and the Spanish-language media environment indicators *Spanish Print Media*, *Spanish TV*, and *Spanish Radio* in a linear regressions with random effects and clustering for legislator respondent's state are presented along with the effects of the interacted terms *Hispanic X Number of Spanish Print Outlets*, *Hispanic X Number of Spanish Television Outlets*, and *Hispanic X Number of Spanish Radio Outlets*. The interaction terms serve as a test of the effects of the Spanish-language media environment variables on the frequency of media use conditioned on whether a legislator is Hispanic. Again, treating state effects as random and clustering by state allow us to treat the effects of state characteristics as held in common for all legislators from that state while treating each intercept as the result of a random deviation from the mean intercept of media use among legislator respondents from the same state.

Table 3.6

Legislators' Frequency of Media Activities: OLS with Random Effects

	(1) All Media	(2) Spanish Media	(3) English Media
Hispanic Legislator	0.626**	0.793**	0.507*
	(0.132)	(0.287)	(0.254)
Spanish Print Media	0.0311	0.0334	-0.0187
	(0.0351)	(0.0328)	(0.0351)
Spanish TV	-0.194+	-0.416**	0.0721
	(0.104)	(0.0785)	(0.170)
Spanish Radio	0.0328	0.124**	-0.0202
	(0.0536)	(0.0385)	(0.0963)
Hispanic X Spanish Print	0.0209	0.0615+	-0.0101
	(0.0342)	(0.0332)	(0.0327)
Hispanic X Spanish TV	-0.0301	0.209*	-0.265+
	(0.108)	(0.0955)	(0.149)
Hispanic X Spanish Radio	-0.0420	-0.176**	0.0702
	(0.0547)	(0.0501)	(0.0812)
Professionalism (Squire Score)	2.017**	1.399**	2.313**
	(0.654)	(0.389)	(0.767)
Democrat	-0.238**	-0.115	-0.426**
	(0.0855)	(0.118)	(0.161)
Male	-0.0819	-0.169	0.158
	(0.135)	(0.189)	(0.177)
Education	-0.0522	-0.0832	0.0447
	(0.0841)	(0.0937)	(0.116)
Age	-0.00898*	-0.0180**	-0.00239
	(0.00455)	(0.00693)	(0.00797)
Tenure	0.0106	0.0162+	0.00320
	(0.00798)	(0.00860)	(0.00801)
Upper Chamber	0.122	0.139	0.326**
	(0.0748)	(0.114)	(0.0939)
Percent District Hispanic	0.0110*	0.0208**	0.00416
	(0.00488)	(0.00607)	(0.00512)
Border State	-0.326	-0.355	-0.401
	(0.238)	(0.225)	(0.307)
Constant	2.279**	1.676**	2.500**
	(0.516)	(0.535)	(0.901)
Observations	92	92	92
Overall R^2	.424	.566	.272
Wald Chi^2 (16)	15883.51**	18041.62**	7633.39**

+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, Standard errors in parentheses are adjusted for 18 clusters by respondent state

Source: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

Keeping in mind that *Hispanic Legislator* is coded as a dichotomous variable where 0=non-Hispanic and 1=Hispanic, whether Hispanic legislators are more sensitive to the Spanish-language media environment is mixed. Model 2 shows that the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on frequency of Spanish-language media activity conditioned on Hispanic ethnicity are positive and statistically significant for *Hispanic X Spanish Print* ($p<.10$) and *Hispanic X Spanish TV* ($p<.05$), and negative and statistically significant for *Hispanic X Spanish Radio* ($p<.01$). These findings provide evidence in favor of my expectation that Hispanic legislators' engagement in Spanish-language media activities is more sensitive to the effects of the Spanish-language media environment than are non-Hispanic legislators. The direction of the effects of *Hispanic X Spanish Radio* may be puzzling at first glance but when considering the relative utility of broadcast radio outlets to the average legislator compared to print and television media outlets, it is not surprising that Hispanic legislators may possesses more familiarity with the nuances of Spanish Radio and thus may be more sensitive to the utility of this medium.

Both *Age* and *Tenure* have statistically significant effects on legislator frequency of engaging in Spanish-language media activities (Model 2) in theoretically expected directions. Younger legislators and those with more legislative experience (*Tenure* in years) engage in Spanish-language media activities more frequently than older and less experienced legislators.

The effects of the *Spanish TV* and *Spanish Radio* environment are mixed in the models presented here, which is consistent with previous findings that television and

radio journalism are generally considered less important to state politics and less attentive to policymaking in the statehouses (Lynch 2003; West 1994) and—for the representational link story motivating this chapter—that print media, and not television nor radio, best facilitate the acquisition of factual information about politics (Graber 1993, Davis 1992, Owen 1991).

Discussion

In this chapter I have tested my thesis of a relationship between the Spanish media environment and media entrepreneurship among state legislators using a variety of model specifications. The GLS random effects model of legislator evaluations of media effectiveness revealed an unexpected, but interesting and novel finding. In this model I identified a significant characteristic of the Spanish-language media's effects on perceptions of media effectiveness where I found—via a conditional effect—non-Hispanic state legislators hold a more positive view of the media than Hispanic legislators as the Spanish-language print media environment is more robust. That is, as more Spanish print outlets occupied legislators' districts, non-Hispanic legislators had a higher assessment of the media. To be sure, the independent effect of being a Hispanic legislator was good news for evaluations of media effectiveness. Thus, "Hispanicness" and the Spanish-language print media environment appear to have meaningful effects on evaluations of media effectiveness—an important aspect of media entrepreneurship—among Latino and non-Latino representatives of Hispanic constituencies.

For state legislators who represent large Hispanic constituencies to value the Spanish-language print media by recognizing their effectiveness suggests a level of

political sophistication and media sophistication that is required for the Spanish media to play a prominent role—a representational link—for Latino representatives and Latino constituents. I have shown via Latino representatives' evaluations of the media's effectiveness that, like Hispanic constituents (See Chapter 4 of this volume), Latino state legislators recognize that print media is better than both radio and television at facilitating information about politics (Graber 1993; Davis 1992; Owen 1991).

In modeling how much legislators engage in various media activities, I estimated the frequency of English-language, Spanish-language, and all media activities using OLS regression. These models produced mixed results, which make it more difficult to interpret the substantive effects of the Spanish media on environment on this aspect of media entrepreneurship. Yet, I identify a few interesting findings here as well. Generally, I find that in the "high-choice" media environment (Prior 2007), which the Spanish-language media contribute occupy, legislators make significant use of media tools. Looking at the frequency of Spanish-language media use, and again at the effects of the different media (Television, Radio and Print) conditioned on being a Hispanic legislator, we see positive and statistically significant effects of this interaction for Spanish print and television as evidence that the presence of Spanish print and television in a legislator's district prompts Hispanic legislators to engage in Spanish-language media activities more frequently. I find that the presence of Spanish-language radio has a negative mobilizing effect on legislator media engagement but Spanish radio presence is more likely to prompt non-Hispanic legislators to engage with the Spanish media. This particular finding suggests, perhaps, that Hispanic state legislators—and Hispanic elites more

generally—may be more sophisticated consumers of Spanish media and are more aware than their non-Hispanic counterparts of the lower relative utility of Spanish broadcast radio as a source of political information when compared to print and television. This argument of a higher sensitivity among Hispanic legislators to the nuances of the Spanish media environment and what it means for and provides to Latinos suggests a higher level of sophistication with the media, which contributes to our understanding of Latino legislators as media entrepreneurs. This refined understanding among Latino representatives of the effectiveness of different media tools reflects a high sense of media efficacy and sophistication—media entrepreneurship—among this group of elites. This differential in media sophistication is potentially related to the differences between Democrat and Republican state legislators in their efforts to engage in Spanish-language communication with Latino constituencies (Medina Vidal et al. 2009). Research on the effectiveness of Spanish-language outreach via congressional websites (Wilson 2009) also supports the findings presented here situating Latino representatives of largely Latino districts as being more "media entrepreneurial" than their non-Latino counterparts.

Media entrepreneurship among state legislators—Hispanic and non-Hispanic alike—appear to be influenced either directly or indirectly by the Spanish-language media environment. While other analysts of media effects have relied on self-reported use of the Spanish-language media as an indicator of its impact on the behaviour and opinions of masses an elites. In this study I use an alternative measure of the Spanish-language media environment in estimates of the media effectiveness and use and find

As I note above, the theoretical motivation driving this chapter is to establish the importance of the Spanish-language media environment to state legislators and their perceived utility of the Spanish media as a valuable representational tool. In the following chapter I pursue the effects of the Spanish-language media environment to Latino mass publics—potential key constituents for Latino and non-Latino state legislators. This chapter contributes to the larger goal of building on the theoretical framework that situates the Spanish-language media environment as a critical representational tool that links representatives to the interests of Hispanic constituencies. In Chapter 4 I provide evidence establishing that the Spanish news media are a meaningful and sensible tool with which to reach out to Latino constituents. With the understanding that "the key to being a successful media entrepreneur is establishing oneself as a credible spokesperson in a policy arena" (Kedrowski 1996: 194), in Chapter 5 I apply the intuition behind the identification media entrepreneurs in the states to the policy agenda setting process. The current chapter, together with the following chapters establishing the importance of the Spanish media environment to Hispanic constituencies and to the policy agenda, provide evidence that the Spanish media environment has the potential to improve the representation of Latinos at the state level via a "home style" of representation (Fenno 1978) that keeps state lawmakers attuned to the needs of their Hispanic constituencies and promotes positive policy outcomes for Latinos.

Chapter 4

Hispanic Political Knowledge in a Spanish-language Media Environment

As the politically-engaged U.S. Latino community continues to grow in numbers and level of political influence, what Latinos know about politics and how they learn it becomes ever more important to political elites and to analysts of Latino opinion and behavior. The prevalence and growth of Spanish-language news media in the U.S. contributes to an already complex and diverse information environment in which members of the Hispanic community—constituents and representatives alike—become informed about politics. Just as public officials are right to be concerned about how to communicate messages of political representation to Hispanic constituencies, students of political knowledge, communication, behavior, and public opinion should be concerned with how Spanish-language media are shaping Latino perspectives on the phenomena shaping the politics and policies around them.

Many of the inferences made about the effects of the Spanish-language media on Hispanic knowledge, opinion and behavior have been limited by a reliance on self-reported preferences for language of media. The problem with these measures is that we know survey respondents generally over report their media exposure, given the social desirability of appearing knowledgeable about public affairs (Prior 2009). Furthermore, Latinos are likely to face additional social pressures, especially when interviewed by in-group members, to evince "Hispanicness" in order to demonstrate a connection to other group members. Consequently, they are even more likely to over report their preferences for and use of Spanish-language media sources. In this chapter, I build upon recent work

that relies on self-reported media preference and use to estimate media effects on Latino opinion and group consciousness (Kerevel 2011), by using observable contextual measures—a snapshot of Latino respondents' Spanish-language media environment—to predict the effects of Spanish-language media on Hispanic political knowledge. My approach allows me to engage in a more refined question than those asked before: Given access to Spanish-language media, what do Latinos know about politics?

This chapter fits into a framework—linking Hispanic constituencies to Hispanic public officials—upon which I build from the theory that the Spanish-language media are an important representational link between Hispanics and their political representatives. I argue that because the Spanish-language media play a significant role in shaping the information environment for Latinos, these media contribute to our broader understanding of Latinos' political knowledge.

I begin with a discussion of frameworks developed to broaden our understanding of how individuals acquire and accumulate knowledge about the political world, which I link to our understanding of the media's effects on mass mobilization. Following a discussion of the public opinion and ethnic media data I use in this study I present results from statistical tests of the effects of Spanish-language media presence on political knowledge among Hispanics.

Knowledge, Sophistication, and the Media Environment

The origins and development of political knowledge, a central theme in political psychology research, also engages analysts of political behavior and representation in discussions about how best to explain variation in individuals' political sophistication

(Luskin 1987, 1990), and what political knowledge contributes to our understanding of the consequences of this variance for substantive representation (Mondak 1999).

The development of political knowledge and sophistication, which is a function of the ***opportunity*** to be exposed to available political information and some baseline measures of ***means*** and ***motivation*** to assimilate such information (Luskin 1990; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Esterling, Neblo, and Lazer 2011) creates a special role for the news media. More politically sophisticated individuals, it has been argued, are apt to be less susceptible to agenda setting and priming by the media (Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder 1982; Iyengar and Kinder 1987); more interested in politics (Luskin 1990); more easily persuaded by reasoned argument and less easily by mere symbolic display (Chaiken 1980, Petty and Cacioppo 1987 and 1984); and more attentive to policy issues and less to the candidates' personas in deciding how to vote (Miller and Miller 1976; Wyckoff 1980; Knight 1985). The consequences of these characteristics of the politically sophisticated highlight the significance of news media—and its many potential varied effects—to the information environment.

The opportunity/exposure piece of the political knowledge and sophistication function points to the important role news media play in shaping the information environment in which political knowledge manifests (Prior 2005). While my argument and approach follows most closely the inferences we can make about the presence and absence of media in individuals' information environments articulated in Mondak's (1995) study of the effects of newspaper availability on knowledge and participation, several methodological approaches to testing for the effects of media exposure to political

knowledge have yielded results that complement the thesis of positive media effects on political knowledge and sophistication. Cross-sectional, multivariate statistical studies of media exposure's effects on political knowledge

Television, having often been cited as detrimental to levels of political knowledge and sophistication (Mondak 1995) competes with print media in the information environment for the observant public's attention. In statistical analyses, more exposure to print media has been found to be generally associated with higher levels of information comprehension, with print media use even acting as a proxy variable for education in some models of political knowledge (Robinson and Levy 1986), while in other studies prior political knowledge absorbs the explanatory power of print media exposure (Price and Zaller 1993), leaving the relationship between knowledge somewhat in the realm of pure correlation in the context of multivariate analysis (Mondak 1995).

In the experimental setting Graber (1990) finds television news images promote informational gains on par with print media, but above all concludes that the two mediums should not be compared wholesale due to the many differences in how their information is processed. Prior political knowledge and cognitive skill (two very different variables) absorb a lot of the explanatory power of information acquisition—these two variables act the same because they both are indicators of individuals' motivation and means to assimilate new information. Taking these into account, it appears that learning from the news occurs just as easily from television as from local newspapers. Thus, in the experimental setting, broadcast television can match or surpass

print media in its ability to foster information acquisition (Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992).

For students of the media's effects on political knowledge and sophistication, an experiment of a world with and without print media, where media effects are completely isolated is ideal. The natural experimental setting in Mondak (1995) addresses many of the above shortcomings in the multivariate research design studies focusing on the media's role in shaping the information environment of political knowledge acquisition and political sophistication. While Mondak's (1995) natural experiment study of the consequences for political knowledge from the presence/absence of a local daily newspaper in Pittsburgh, PA during a congressional election also best approximates a preferred methodological approach to studying the effects of a Spanish-language media presence on Latino political knowledge, my research design, which approaches the presence [absence] of Spanish media sources through proximity to these sources, also allows for a valuable analysis of the Spanish-language media's effects on Latino political knowledge.

Situating Spanish Media in the Hispanic Information Environment

Given what we have learned from extant well-developed explanations of the effects of news media presence on political knowledge, we can begin to consider the effects of news media presence on political knowledge that goes beyond mainstream media. A discussion of how the news media—as such important elements of the environment of political information—link ethnic minority constituencies to their political representatives is one in need of further development.

The relatively recent and still growing presence of Spanish-language media outlets in the U.S., especially in areas just beginning to see sizeable and potentially influential Latino immigrant groups provides another good setting for an analysis of the effects of the availability or presence of media on political knowledge and sophistication. Given our understanding of the types of information that print, television, and radio media outlets best convey to the public, as well as individuals' ability (means) to retain such information depending on the medium, an analysis of the availability of Spanish-language media on political knowledge among Latinos can help build on our knowledge of both media effects and Latino political sophistication.

For Hispanic constituencies, linguistic diversity and the growing number of identity-based media suggest that the information environment for Latinos is quite diverse and complex. Becoming an informed Hispanic public entails navigating through mainstream media sources both in English and in Spanish, along with community-oriented or identity-based media, also in both languages. While there is evidence of rapid linguistic assimilation among immigrant Hispanics (Pew Hispanic Center 2006; Rumbaut et al 2006), the steady growth in the Hispanic immigrant and non-immigrant population galvanizes the significant role the Spanish-language news media play in keeping U.S. Latinos informed on public affairs and public policy matters.

Our general understanding of media effects on political behavior illustrates the media's power to mobilize participation or discourage engagement in politics (Prior 2007). However, research documenting media effects has largely ignored the possible effects of Spanish-language media have on mobilizing Hispanic participation (Ramírez

2007), and has paid even less attention to the potential effects that Spanish-language news media have on political knowledge and sophistication among Hispanics.

To the extent that the effects of Spanish-language media on Hispanic political behavior has been analyzed, much of the focus has been on their influence on mass-level mobilization efforts and limited to case-studies of events including the 2006 immigration reform rallies that took place throughout the U.S. (Félix et al. 2008; Barreto et al. 2009), and such analyses use the ethnic media primarily to partially explain variance in voting and other participation variables among Hispanic immigrants.

Important research on Hispanic representation, trust in political institutions, and political alienation among Hispanics also recognizes the significant role that Spanish-language media play in linking Latinos to public policy information and to their elected representatives (Pantoja and Segura 2003a). Yet, due to limiting the conceptualization of Spanish-language media to survey respondents' *use* of media, and not also considering possible effects that *presence* or level of access to such media may also have, these studies tend to be limited in their interpretation of Spanish-language media effects. To wit, the effects of Spanish-language media on attitudes about representation (Pantoja and Segura 2003a), and the mass-level mobilization of Latinos (Barreto et al 2009; Félix et al 2008) have not sufficiently accounted for the role the *presence* of Spanish-language media—a key characteristic of Hispanics' information environment—plays in shaping Latino attitudes and behavior.

My approach to unpacking the Spanish media's effects on knowledge among Latinos recognizes the limitations of relying exclusively on self-reported use of the

Spanish-language media—the potential social desirability bias linked to Latino respondent over reporting—and relies instead on indicators of the availability of Spanish-language media to explain variation in Latino political knowledge. Building from evidence that the variability in news coverage of immigration issues is related to news outlets' proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border (Branton and Dunaway 2009), I contend that Latinos' proximity to Spanish-language media, which has different levels of correspondence with the size of the Hispanic population, is a better metric of the Spanish media's effects on Latino orientations and behaviors. As a measure, proximity to Spanish-language media allows us to estimate Latinos' level of access to Spanish media and the degree to which these media shape their information environments.

Central to my approach to addressing gaps in our understanding of Spanish media's effects is the argument that the Spanish-language news media provide an important representational link between Hispanic political representatives and their Hispanic constituencies. Following Luskin's (1990) framework differentiating the highly politically sophisticated from the unsophisticated—means/education, motivation, and information opportunities—I link Spanish-language media, important sources of information for Hispanics, with Latinos' means and motivation to assimilate and organize political information in Spanish. In what follows I establish the importance of the Spanish-language media to the Hispanic public by advancing the argument that the Spanish-language news media are significant and influential informers of the general political knowledge for Latinos. Embedded in the research design's hypotheses are questions aimed at addressing the relative strength of print, radio, and television media in

shaping political knowledge. One such question is whether print media are the principal sources of remembered information (Graber 1984) and thus more influential in developing political knowledge due to the fact that people do not remember information broadcast in television newscasts and may not contribute significantly to political knowledge and sophistication (Mondak 1995).

To test the independent effect of the Spanish-language media environment on political knowledge among Hispanics, I advance the following hypotheses:

H_{1a}: The number of Spanish-language print news outlets available to the Hispanic respondent will positively contribute to the respondent's level of political knowledge.

H_{1b}: The number of Spanish-language television outlets available to the Hispanic respondent will positively contribute to the respondent's level of political knowledge.

H_{1c}: The number of Spanish-language radio outlets available to the Hispanic respondent will positively contribute to the respondent's level of political knowledge.

Following a discussion of the data I use to test this set of research hypotheses, I report the results of statistical and substantive findings of relationships between the Spanish media environment and Latino political knowledge.

Factors Predicting Political Knowledge among Hispanics

The data analyzed in this chapter allow for an examination of Hispanic political knowledge and an information environment replete with Spanish-language media with

environments absent such sources. To identify the presence and use of Spanish-language media and test for their effects on political knowledge for Latinos I use the 2006 Latino National Survey (2006), a survey of 8,634 self-identified Latino/Hispanic residents of the U.S. conducted between November 17, 2005 and August 4, 2006. Sixty-four percent (5,343) of the survey interviews were conducted in Spanish. A helpful quality of the LNS (2006) interview method is that all interviewers were Spanish-English bilingual. While this quality is important to increasing Latino participation, it does not necessarily allow for a test of race of interviewer effects, along the lines of those explored by Davis (1997) in his study of "donning the black mask."

In this chapter, I contribute to the discussion on the effects of Spanish-language media on Latino political knowledge hinges on the ability to identify the unique Spanish-language media environment that exists for each LNS respondent. I accomplish this by using county Federal Information Processing Standard (FIPS) codes, geographic identifiers available only in a restricted version of the LNS, to merge Spanish-language media presence in the US according to the New America Media Directory of ethnic newspapers, television, and radio stations (2010) onto the LNS dataset. The New America Media (NAM) Directory includes addresses with zip codes, which I screened by FIPS code.

According to the NAM directory, there are 681 Spanish-language media outlets (250 newsprint outlets, 100 television outlets, and 331 radio outlets) in the U.S. (See Table 4.1). The 127 bilingual and 80 English-language "Hispanic" media outlets also listed with the New America Media Directory are not included in the present analysis.

The result of matching these data with LNS opinion data is a representation of the Spanish-language media environment for each LNS respondent.

Table 4.1 Hispanic Media Outlets (2010)

Language	*Print News Media* (%)	*Television* (%)	*Radio* (%)	*Total* (%)
Spanish	**250 (62.2)**	**100 (90.9)**	**331 (88.0)**	**681 (76.7)**
Bilingual	**102 (25.4)**	**6 (5.5)**	**19 (5.1)**	**127 (14.3)**
English	**50 (12.4)**	**4 (3.6)**	**26 (6.9)**	**80 (9.0)**
Total:	**402**	**110**	**376**	**888**

Source: New America Media

Dependent Variables

To measure *Political Knowledge*, the key dependent variable of interest here, I construct an additive, ordinal variable using responses to three political knowledge questions where 0 = "no correct responses", 1 = "one correct response", 2 = "two correct responses", and 3 = "three correct responses" to the following questions in the LNS:

(1) "Which political party, Democrat or Republican, has a majority in the United States House of Representatives?"

(2) "In the United States, presidential elections are decided state-by-state. Can you tell me, in the election of 2004, which candidate, Bush or Kerry, won the most votes in (respondent's current state of residence)?" and

(3) "Which one of the political parties is more conservative than the other at the national level, the Democrats or the Republicans?"

The measurement of political knowledge and sophistication using survey-based observational data is an important issue researchers grapple with (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1993). In this chapter I follow Luskin and Bullock (2005) and combine incorrect and "don't know" responses to the battery of political knowledge questions and code them as "0."[6] These three questions represent political knowledge of the "general" or "chronic" variety, as opposed to the domain-specific knowledge (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). There are limitations to measures of general/chronic political knowledge for an analysis of the effects of an information environment on knowledge and that domain-specific measures of political knowledge may be preferable in many cases (Price and Zaller 1993; Jerit et al 2006). Specific and valid concerns about storing and not updating (Graber 2004) general civics-style political knowledge facts (Graber 2004) are sufficiently accounted for with an understanding of the LNS sample, in which foreign-born Latinos account for 72 percent of the survey respondents. That is, the effects that length of time taken to store learned information about general knowledge of U.S. politics is tempered somewhat by foreign nativity. Though the 2006 LNS' battery of questions limits the inferences we can draw about Latino political knowledge, the general/chronic-type knowledge questions used in the survey serve the view that the ethnic media in the U.S. serve an important "assimilationist" function (Subervi-Vélez

[6] An alternative approach is the random reassignment of "don't know" responses, and other estimation procedures address systematic personality effects in political knowledge responses (Mondak (1999; 2001).

1986) by engaging Latinos' awareness of important characteristics of essential facts about U.S. politics.

Working from the view that a high level of political knowledge among constituents is essential to the theoretical framework driving this dissertation project—the Spanish-language media environment function as a representational link between state legislators and Hispanic constituencies—dependent variables capturing political knowledge for Hispanics at the state level would be ideal. Given the limitations of available data on which I can test my set of media context hypotheses, the closest approximation of Latino political knowledge at the state level is reflected in the LNS question:

> "In the United States, presidential elections are decided state-by-state. Can you tell me, in the election of 2004, which candidate, Bush or Kerry, won the most votes in (respondent's current state of residence)?"

Though the question asks respondents to recall the outcome of the 2004 presidential election, it requires that respondent's attach state-specific awareness of the outcome. Thus, I employ *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share in State* as a dependent variable in a set of logit regression estimates of political knowledge. This dependent variable, coded 0 = "incorrect recollection" and 1 = "correct recollection", allows for the estimation of correct recollection of 2004 presidential vote share in the 18 states in which all LNS reside.

In the two sets of models I present, *Interest in Politics* (Motivation) is coded as the response to the LNS 2006 question: "How interested are you in politics and public affairs?" where 0 = "not interested in politics", 1 = "somewhat interested", and 2 = "very interested."[7] *Attention to Politics in Home Country* is measured by response to the question: " How much attention would you say you pay to politics in [respondent's home country]?" where 0 = "none", 1 = "a little", 2 = "some", and 3 = "a lot". Attention to politics in the home country—not limited to first generation immigrants—is an indictor of sophistication of the Latino information (See Appendix 4.1 for descriptive statistics).

Independent Variables

The key independent variables of interest, *Spanish Print*, *Spanish TV*, and *Spanish Radio*, which comprise the Spanish-language media environment (**Opportunity**), are the numbers of Spanish-language newspapers, television stations, and radio stations available to an LNS respondent. They represent the level of exposure respondents have to Spanish-language media—a key part of their information environment. A respondent's Spanish-language media environment is specified by the number of Spanish-language media outlets in the respondent's county of residence.[8] The number of Spanish-language print publications in *Spanish Print* explicitly excludes publications such as industry/trade, entertainment, and sports magazines and journals printed in Spanish, which are not explicitly news-oriented publications. The variable *Spanish Print* varies from 0 to 33

[7] I collapse political interest responses of "not sure/don't know" as "not interested." Both of these equal "0" on the political interest scale.

[8] For example, what is identified geographically by the LNS as "Houston Metro", is identified in my dataset as "Harris County" using the county FIPS code. Residents of Harris County live in a Spanish-language media environment consisting of eight newsprint publications, three television stations and fifteen radio stations.

print publications in Spanish per county, *Spanish TV* from 0 to 10, and *Spanish Radio* from 0 to 22. *Education* is included in the models as the "**Means**" component of the Opportunity/Information-Means-Motivation structure (Luskin 1990) of developing political knowledge and sophistication.

The LNS questionnaire does not include measures of Spanish-language media consumption, only general measures of television news viewing (*Watches TV News*) and daily newspaper reading (*Read Daily Newspaper*), which are coded here as dichotomous (0,1) variables. *Spanish Media Preference* is a dichotomous (0,1) preference for Spanish-language media.

The assumptions going into establishing "Spanish media" variables by indexing self-reported media use (Pantoja and Segura 2003a) generally include the fact that such media are available in survey respondents' information environments. Yet, there is a potential for social desirability bias associated with identity-oriented media consumption built into Latinos' self-reporting of Spanish-language media use. That is, Latino survey respondents may over-report their use of Spanish-language media in an effort to appear "more Hispanic/Latino" and more knowledgeable about any "Latino/Hispanic issues" that may come up in a survey interview setting. Innovative experimental approaches to the measurement of news exposure and testing of social desirability bias (cf. Prior 2009) also reveal negative consequences of this phenomenon for the reliability of our inferences about political behavior. A first glance at evidence of the over-reporting of Spanish-language print use among LNS respondents reveals that significant proportions of Latinos report reading Spanish newspapers (Table 4.2a) and watching Spanish television (Table

4.2b) when no such media are available to them. Thus, I anticipate Hispanics to over-report their use of Spanish-language media in an effort to appear more in touch with Hispanic issues or their individual "Hispanicness."[9]

Table 4.2a

	Reads Newspaper Daily (With a Spanish Media Preference)		
Spanish-language Print Available	No	Yes	Total
No	**896 (38.5%)**	**548 (35.1)**	1,444
Yes	**1,432 (61.5)**	**1,013 (64.9)**	2,445
Total	2,328	1,561	3,889

Table 4.2b

	Watches TV News (With a Spanish Media Preference)		
Spanish-language TV Available	No	Yes	Total
No	**176 (61.8%)**	**2,071 (57.5)**	2,247
Yes	**109 (38.2)**	**1,533 (42.5)**	1,642
Total	285	3,604	3,889

Sources: Latino National Survey (LNS) 2006; New America Media

Variables included in the analysis as statistical controls include *U.S. Born* (0 = not born in the U.S., 1 = born in the U.S.), a measure of particular relevance to the

[9] This suspicion of over-reporting prompted the development of two interaction terms—*Spanish Print X Spanish Media Preference* and *Spanish TV X Spanish Media Preference*— for inclusion in the models. They were constructed using self-reported *Preference for Spanish-Language Media* and the actual availability of Spanish-language media, *Spanish Print* and *Spanish TV*. These allowed for a test of the potential effects of this expectation as it relates to the actual use of Spanish-language media. However, in early tests run, they did not yield statistically significant effects on *Political Knowledge*. This null finding is, I contend, an unfortunate artifact of the limitations on our ability to collect data on Latinos' media use and it should signal improvements to future survey and experimental research designs.

information environment and the learning and storage of information associated with general/chronic political knowledge (Graber 2004). The expectation here is that U.S.-Born Hispanics will be more politically knowledgeable, but less interested in the politics of a "home country", with no expectation for interest in politics.

Important research has demonstrated that the "usual suspects" of individual level factors (Bennett 1988; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996) affecting levels of political knowledge—gender, age, income, education, and race—along with the information environment, predict political knowledge and subsequent patterns of political behavior (Jerit et al 2006). I thus follow this established convention and include *Gender*, *Age*, and *Household Income* in the present analysis and expect positive relationships between this group of variables and political knowledge and interest in politics. Given the lack of variation on race in the LNS (a survey of Hispanics) I do not include it as a control.

Finally, we expect partisans to be more knowledgeable about and interested in politics than non-partisans. To see if this expectation plays out in the present analysis of the media environment, I include *Democrat*, *Republican*, as well as a category of non-partisans, *Party Apathetic*, generated by combining the "Don't know" and "Don't care" responses to the LNS party identification question. I expect partisans to be less interested in home country politics than those who are apathetic about partisanship.

Results: Political Knowledge in a Spanish Media Environment

Testing the general hypothesis of a positive effect of the Spanish-language media environment on Latino political knowledge I first run a set of ordered logistic regressions

with the ordinal variable *Political Knowledge* as the dependent variable[10] and a set of logistic regressions with the dichotomous variable *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share in State* as the dependent variable. In this first set of models (Table 4.3 and Table 4.5) I estimate the independent effects of the different Spanish media environment indicators—*Spanish Print, Spanish TV,* and *Spanish Radio*—on political knowledge. In a second set of models (Table 4.7 and Table 4.8) I account for the moderating effects of *Interest in Politics* on the effects of the Spanish media environment on political knowledge among Hispanics[11].

Independent Effects: Additive Measure Political Knowledge

Effects of the Spanish-language media environment are tested first on *Political Knowledge*, the key dependent variable of interest to this chapter. Results of this regression are presented in Table 4.3, where I report the effects of means, motives, and the Spanish media opportunity environment on levels of political knowledge among all LNS respondents (Model 1), Spanish-speaking LNS respondents (Model 2), and English-speaking LNS respondents (Model 3). The number of Latino respondents to the LNS who completed the survey in Spanish was 3,627 (59 percent) and the 2,586 English-speaking Latinos accounted for 41 percent of the full sample of 6,213 LNS respondents. Controlling for the "usual suspects" of predictors of *Political Knowledge—Gender*, *Age*, and *Household Income*—along with the partisan controls *Democrat, Republican,* and *Party Apathetic*, the effects of the Spanish-language media environment, represented by

[10] Separate tests using an Ordinal Generalized Linear Model (OGLM), and a Negative Binomial Regression Model (NBREG), in which the dependent variable *Political Knowledge* was coded as a count of correct responses to political knowledge questions, yielded results similar to those presented here.
[11] I run all regressions in this analysis with fixed effects for LNS respondent state.

Table 4.3 **Ordered Logit Estimates for Predictors of Political Knowledge Among Hispanics**

	Model 1: All	Model 2: Spanish	Model 3: English
Opportunity (Media Environment)			
Spanish Print	0.0169**	0.0190**	0.0129
	(0.00566)	(0.00716)	(0.00950)
Spanish TV	-0.0236	-0.0354	-0.0111
	(0.0216)	(0.0276)	(0.0352)
Spanish Radio	0.0100	0.0141	0.00711
	(0.00943)	(0.0122)	(0.0150)
Watches TV News	0.0415	0.0946	-0.0286
	(0.0978)	(0.127)	(0.157)
Reads Daily Newspaper	0.242**	0.331**	0.127
	(0.0520)	(0.0656)	(0.0870)
Preference for Spanish Media	-0.376**	-0.305**	-0.342*
	(0.0589)	(0.0701)	(0.135)
Means			
Education	0.160**	0.110**	0.258**
	(0.0151)	(0.0183)	(0.0278)
Motives			
Interest in Politics	0.468**	0.330**	0.674**
	(0.0370)	(0.0479)	(0.0592)
Attention to politics in home country	0.0925**	0.0750*	0.138**
	(0.0231)	(0.0292)	(0.0386)
U.S. Born	0.268**	0.308*	0.0667
	(0.0606)	(0.124)	(0.0831)
Gender (Male = 1)	0.349**	0.335**	0.369**
	(0.0484)	(0.0630)	(0.0764)
Age	0.00736**	0.00938**	0.00367
	(0.00165)	(0.00226)	(0.00250)
Household Income	0.148**	0.143**	0.108**
	(0.0139)	(0.0196)	(0.0210)
Democrat	0.231**	0.291**	0.167
	(0.0683)	(0.0896)	(0.108)
Republican	0.748**	0.666**	0.767**
	(0.0902)	(0.130)	(0.132)
Party Apathetic	-0.747**	-0.681**	-0.844**
	(0.0723)	(0.0875)	(0.131)
Cut 1 Constant	0.537**	0.567**	0.448+
	(0.147)	(0.189)	(0.246)
Cut 2 Constant	2.268**	2.288**	2.206**
	(0.149)	(0.192)	(0.247)
Cut 3 Constant	3.820**	3.817**	3.833**
	(0.155)	(0.199)	(0.255)
Observations	6,213	3,627	2,586
Pseudo R^2	0.140	0.098	0.127

Table 4.3 (Continued) Ordered Logit Estimates for Predictors of Political Knowledge Among Hispanics			
	Model 1: All	**Model 2: Spanish**	**Model 3: English**
Chi^2	2402.6**	954.2**	848.8**
Log Likelihood	-7366.7	-4396.1	-2928.5
SE in parentheses + p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01 Fixed effects for respondent's state, thresholds omitted *Sources: Latino National Survey 2006 & New America Media*			

the key independent variables *Spanish Print, Spanish TV,* and *Spanish Radio* (Opportunity), *Education* (Means), and *Interest in Politics* (Motives) are mixed.

At first glance we can note that the statistical and substantive significance of the effects of mean, motives, and the Spanish media environment on *Political Knowledge* are very closely aligned for the full sample (Model 1) and the sample of Hispanic Spanish-speakers (Model 2) while the Spanish-language media opportunity environment lacks statistically significant effects on *Political Knowledge* among English speakers (Model 3). The availability of *Spanish Print* news media in the respondent's information environment has a positive and statistically significant effect on Hispanics' *Political Knowledge* at the p<.01 level, a relationship that is clearly driven by the Spanish-speaking Hispanics in the sample. This is in line with my expectations and the intuition behind hypothesis H1a. While in the same direction as *Spanish Print* and consistent with the expectation in H1c, the effect of *Spanish Radio* on *Political Knowledge* does not reach statistical significance. This lack of a statistically significant positive relationship between *Spanish Radio* and *Political Knowledge* signals that Spanish-language radio does not contribute independently to building a long-lasting bank of political knowledge. Still, as Ramírez (2007), Félix et al. (2008) and Barreto et al. (2009) find, the "real-time" information that radio provides is invaluable to mass mobilization campaigns.

The effect of *Spanish TV* on *Political Knowledge*, which is negative and thus contrary to my prediction in H1b, is likewise not statistically significant.[12] The negative association between *Spanish TV* and *Political Knowledge* particularly disconcerting, given the presence and growth of television as a vitally important information source (Bimber 2001). Still, this set of findings is generally consistent with those in other work specifying that print media, and neither television nor radio, best facilitates the acquisition of factual information about politics (Graber 1993, Davis 1992, Owen 1991).

Table 4.4

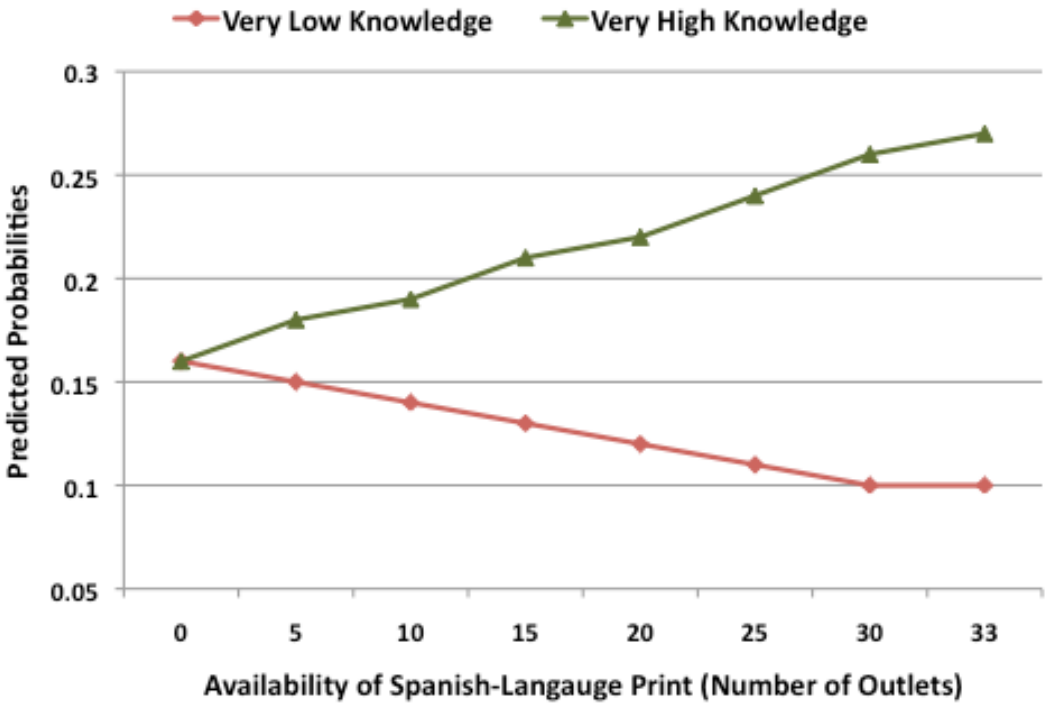
Variable (Min → Max)	Political Knowledge First Difference in Predicted Probabilities			
	Very low political knowledge Pol. Know=0	**Low political knowledge Pol. Know=1**	**High political knowledge Pol. Know=2**	**Very high political knowledge Pol. Know=3**
Spanish Print	**-.066**	**-.084**	**.046**	**.103**
Reads Daily Newspaper	**-.033**	**-.031**	**.027**	**.037**
Preference for Spanish Media	**.049**	**.045**	**-.040**	**-.054**

Sources: Latino National Survey 2006, New America Media Directory of Ethnic Media, CLARIFY

Another useful interpretation of the effect of the Spanish print media environment, reading the newspaper daily, and preference for Spanish-language media on *Political Knowledge* among all LNS respondents in Model 1 can be found in the predicted probabilities (obtained using *CLARIFY*) reported in Table 4.4 and illustrated in

[12] In separate models run, neither of the interaction terms, *Spanish Print X Spanish Media Preference* and *Spanish TV X Spanish Media Preference*, which are constructed to test the effects of a stated preference for Spanish Media given the actual presence of that media type, produce statistically significant results although it is worth noting the positive direction of the coefficients.

Figure 4.1
Predicted Effects of Spanish-Language Print Media Availability on Political Knowledge

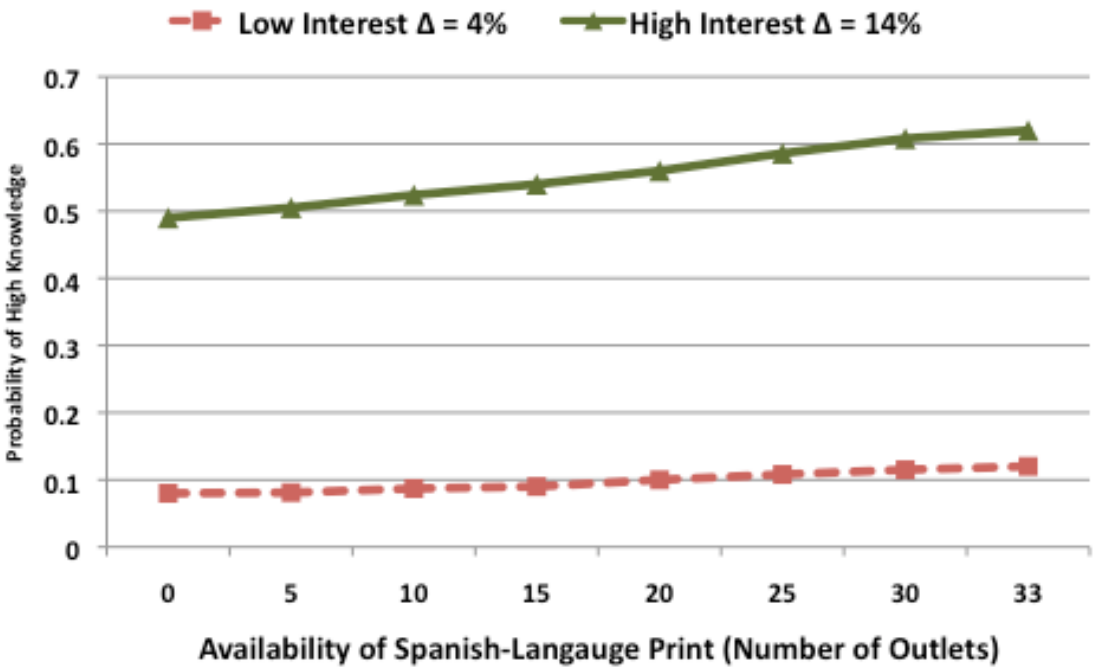


Sources: Latino National Survey 2006, New America Media Directory of Ethnic Media, CLARIFY.

Figure 4.1. In Table 4.4 we observe that moving from the minimum to the maximum value of *Spanish Print* (from 0 to 33 Spanish-language print media outlets), the predicted effect on political knowledge is, for example, a positive 4.6 percent at the informed category of high *Political Knowledge* (*Political Knowledge* = 2), and a positive 10.3 percent at the informed category of very high *Political Knowledge* (*Political Knowledge* = 3). This indicates a positive effect of Spanish-language print media on political knowledge. Figure 4.1 depicts for all LNS respondents the predicted probabilities of being very knowledgeable (Very High Knowledge), and not very knowledgeable (Very

Low Knowledge) about politics—the two extreme categories of knowledge—at different levels of *Spanish Print* media availability. Note that moving from 0 (the minimum) to 33 (the maximum) *Spanish Print* outlets—from a low-to-high Spanish media environment, the probability of being in a knowledge category of ignorance (Very Low Knowledge) *decreases* while the probability of being in an informed (Very High Knowledge) category of knowledge *increases* as the Spanish print media environment gets richer.

Figure 4.2
Predicted Effects of Spanish-Language Print Media on High Political Knowledge



Sources: Latino National Survey 2006, New America Media Directory of Ethnic Media, CLARIFY.

Keeping in mind the important role *Interest in Politics* plays on mediating the media's effects on the acquisition of knowledge about the political world, it is important to note that the news media affect those who are very interested in politics differently

than those who are not as interested. In Figure 4.2 we see that for all "Low Interest" respondents, the probability of being well-informed (High Knowledge) about politics and in a rich *Spanish Print* media environment (with 33 print outlets) is slightly higher (about 4%) than the probability of being well-informed in a poor *Spanish Print* media (0 outlets) environment. However, for all LNS respondents who are very interested in politics, the predicted effects of the *Spanish Print* media environment on being well-informed are more pronounced—a 14 percent probability high knowledge probability difference from the poor *Spanish Print* media (0 outlets) environment to the rich *Spanish Print* media (33 outlets) environment. We observe that at varying levels of *Interest in Politics* we observe convincing evidence of an independent effect of Latinos' Spanish-language media environment playing a significant role in their knowledge about the political world. In short, Latinos with different levels of *Interest in Politics* learn more about politics conditioned by their *Spanish Print* media environment.

The effects of the *Spanish Print* media environment on *Political Knowledge* are somewhat more pronounced than the effects of *Reads Daily Newspaper* on *Political Knowledge*. Also, note in Table 4.4 the negative effect of a *Preference for Spanish Media* on *Political Knowledge* moving up the scale of *Political Knowledge*. It appears then that the availability of *Spanish Print* news media in the information environment has the strongest positive effects on political knowledge among Latinos.

Independent Effects: State-Level Knowledge: Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share

Grounded in the theory of the Spanish media's function as a representational link

Table 4.5 **Logit Estimates for Predictors of Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share in Hispanic Respondent's State**

	Model 4: All	Model 5: Spanish	Model 6: English
Opportunity (Media Environment)			
Spanish Print	0.0229**	0.0198*	0.0296*
	(0.00729)	(0.00870)	(0.0133)
Spanish TV	-0.0262	-0.0343	-0.0120
	(0.0273)	(0.0329)	(0.0491)
Spanish Radio	0.0110	0.0235+	-0.0142
	(0.0114)	(0.0140)	(0.0196)
Watches TV News	0.0705	0.242+	-0.305
	(0.113)	(0.140)	(0.212)
Reads Daily Newspaper	0.250**	0.255**	0.243*
	(0.0618)	(0.0747)	(0.113)
Preference for Spanish Media	-0.272**	-0.214**	-0.105
	(0.0695)	(0.0811)	(0.171)
Means			
Education	0.0826**	0.0639**	0.119**
	(0.0180)	(0.0210)	(0.0363)
Motives			
Interest in Politics	0.290**	0.170**	0.527**
	(0.0451)	(0.0554)	(0.0794)
Attention to politics in home country	0.0586*	0.0656+	0.0721
	(0.0283)	(0.0339)	(0.0532)
U.S. Born	0.355**	0.270+	0.148
	(0.0781)	(0.149)	(0.112)
Gender (Male = 1)	0.241**	0.180*	0.382**
	(0.0591)	(0.0724)	(0.105)
Age	0.00600**	0.00809**	0.00247
	(0.00207)	(0.00265)	(0.00344)
Household Income	0.111**	0.0934**	0.0803**
	(0.0175)	(0.0233)	(0.0283)
Democrat	0.383**	0.365**	0.448**
	(0.0831)	(0.103)	(0.143)
Republican	0.475**	0.358*	0.592**
	(0.115)	(0.153)	(0.181)
Party Apathetic	-0.361**	-0.386**	-0.246
	(0.0821)	(0.0966)	(0.159)
Constant	-1.172**	-1.400**	-0.612
	(0.213)	(0.261)	(0.395)
Observations	6,213	3,627	2,586
Pseudo R^2	0.127	0.090	0.102
Chi^2	1018.7	449.3	269.4
Log Likelihood	-3490.0	-2263.7	-1191.7

SE in parentheses + p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01 Fixed effects for respondent's state, thresholds omitted
Sources: Latino National Survey 2006 & New America Media

between state legislators and Latino constituents, a measure of state-level political knowledge is and ideal indicator of knowledge on which to measure the Spanish-language media environment's effects on Latino political knowledge. In Table 4.5 I present results of a logistic regression using the Spanish-language media environment (Opportunity) predicting *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share in State*. Recalling this dependent variable is dichotomous, where 0 = "incorrect recollection" and 1 = "correct recollection" of which presidential candidate won the most votes in the respondent's state, we observe mixed effects for the three Spanish media environment (Opportunity) indicators and other indicators—*Reads Daily Newspaper* and *Preference for Spanish Media*—which relate to media exposure and use. In this set of models we observe, again, a varied set of effects of the different Spanish media environment's effects on knowledge. In Model 4, the set of estimates of the Spanish media's effects on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* among all LNS respondents, we again observe *Spanish Print* media having a positive and statistically significant effect ($p<.01$) on the state-level knowledge dependent variable, while the effects of *Spanish TV* and *Spanish Radio* fail to reach statistical significance. Daily newspaper readership has a positive and respondents' *Preference for Spanish Media* a negative and statistically significant effect ($p<.01$) on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* in state. Just as in the set of specifications measuring effects of means and motives on the composite political knowledge measure reported in Table 4.3, means (*Education*) and motives (*Interest in Politics* and *Attention to Home Country Politics*) have positive and statistically significant effects on the

dichotomous measure of state-level political knowledge among the full sample of LNS respondents.

In Model 5, the reported set of effects on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* among the Spanish-speaking LNS subsample, we observe a negative, though not statistically significant, effect of *Spanish TV* presence in Latinos' information environment, and positive ($p<.10$) effects of *Spanish Radio* presence and *Watches TV News*. The effect of *Spanish Print* media presence in Spanish-speaking Latinos' information environments continues is positive here at $p<.05$. Recall that in the reported estimates of the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on the composite *Political Knowledge* dependent variable (Table 4.3) we did not observe an effect of any Spanish media environment indicator on *Political Knowledge* in the model of the English-speaking respondent subsample (Model 3). However, in Model 6 (Table 4.5) we can see that the presence of *Spanish Print* in English-speaking LNS respondents' information environments also has a positive and statistically significant ($p<.05$) effect on state level political knowledge.

For a closer look at the significance of these findings I report in Table 4.6 the first difference in predicted probabilities of *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* in respondent's state moving from the minimum to maximum levels of the media environment (opportunity) indicators obtained using *CLARIFY* and holding all other variables at their mean values. In Table 4.6 we observe an important characteristic of the substantive effects of the Spanish media environment on Spanish speakers versus English speakers in the LNS sample. Note that when moving from the minimum to the maximum

Table 4.6

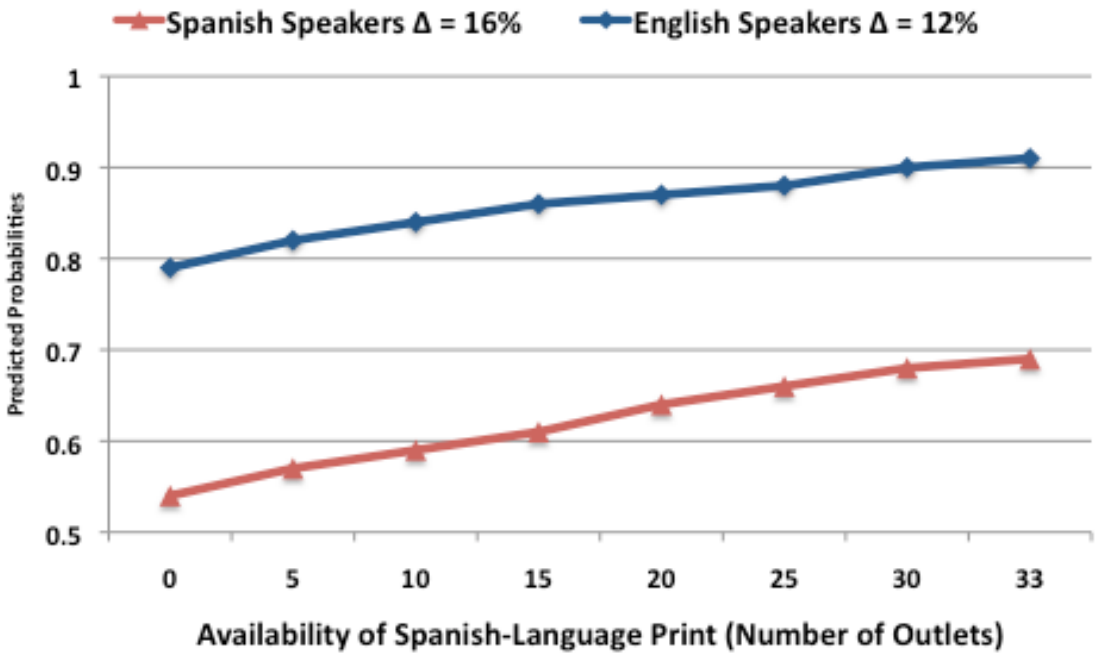
Knowledge of 2004 Presidential Vote Share in Respondent's State
First Difference in Predicted Probabilities
(Correct Recollection)

Variable (Min → Max)	Spanish Speakers	English Speakers
Spanish Print	**.158**	**.121**
Spanish Radio	**.115**	
Watches TV News	**.052**	
Reads Daily Newspaper	**.066**	**.043**
Preference for Spanish Media	**-.064**	

Sources: Latino National Survey 2006, New America Media Directory of Ethnic Media, CLARIFY

level of *Spanish Print* media presence (from 0 to 33 Spanish-language print media outlets), the predicted effect on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* (correct recollection) is a positive 15.8 percent for Spanish speakers, about four-percentage points higher than the 12.1 percent effect for English speakers. In Figure 4.3 I illustrate the differences in predicted effects of the *Spanish Print* media environment on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share*. Here we can observe the positive effects of *Spanish Print* media availability for both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking Latinos. Though it appears that English-speaking Hispanics are more affected by *Spanish Print* media presence at the full range of Spanish-language print availability (0-to-33 outlets) the difference between minimum and maximum *Spanish Print* availability is greater for Spanish-speaking

Figure 4.3
Predicted Effects of Spanish-Language Print Media on Knowledge of 2004 Presidential Vote Share (State-level Political Knowledge)



Sources: Latino National Survey 2006, New America Media Directory of Ethnic Media, CLARIFY.

Hispanics (a 16 percent change) versus English-speaking Hispanics (a 12 percent change).

The estimates of the state-level knowledge dependent variable indicated effects of *Spanish Radio* presence on knowledge among Spanish speaking Latinos, which we did not observe in the model of *Political Knowledge* measured as an additive ordinal variable. Thus, we observe that moving from the minimum to the maximum value of *Spanish Radio* presence (0 to 22 Spanish-language radio outlets), the predicted effect on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* is 11.5 percent improved for Spanish-speaking Hispanics.

Watches TV News is another indicator on which we did not observe a statistically significant effect in the additive, ordinal measure of knowledge. In Table 4.6 we observe that for Spanish-speaking Latinos, the effect of watching TV news on the probability of *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* is about 5 percent. The media use indicator, *Reads Daily Newspaper*, provides us with another opportunity compare the effects of media use indicators on Spanish-speaking and English-speaking LNS respondents. Recalling that *Reads Daily Newspaper* is a dichotomous variable, moving from 0 to 1 on this measure, the predicted effect on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* is 6.6 percent for Spanish-speaking Hispanics, 2.3 percent more than the 4.3 percent effect *Reads Daily Newspaper* has for English-speaking Hispanics. Finally, *Preference for Spanish Media* has a negative predicted effect on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* of 6.4 percent, which resembles the negative minimum-to-maximum effect of *Preference for Spanish Media* at the levels of high political knowledge and very high political knowledge reported in Table 4.4.

The Moderating Effects of Interest in Politics

Above I have shown through ordered logit and logit estimates, and accompanying predicted probabilities for the key independent variable effects on *Political Knowledge* and *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share*, the key dependent variables of interest to this chapter. We have observed the effects of the Spanish media [Opportunity] environment, Means, and Motives through these statistical tests. However, given an understanding of the Means, Motives, and Opportunity framework, we know it suggests that individual characteristics such as interest in politics interact with attributes of information

Table 4.7 **Ordered Logit Estimates for Predictors of Political Knowledge Among Hispanics: The Moderating Effects of Interest in Politics**

	Model 7: All	Model 8: Spanish	Model 9: English
Opportunity (Media Environment)			
Spanish Print	0.000181	-0.00523	0.00308
	(0.0104)	(0.0128)	(0.0184)
Spanish TV	0.0123	0.0167	0.0159
	(0.0368)	(0.0452)	(0.0649)
Spanish Radio	0.0104	0.00737	0.0121
	(0.0162)	(0.0203)	(0.0277)
Spanish Print X Interest in Politics	0.0155*	0.0183+	0.0157
	(0.00781)	(0.0100)	(0.0138)
Spanish TV X Interest in Politics	-0.0238	-0.0253	-0.0286
	(0.0289)	(0.0370)	(0.0492)
Spanish Radio X Interest In Politics	-0.00529	0.000353	-0.0105
	(0.0126)	(0.0171)	(0.0201)
Watches TV News	0.0381	0.0810	-0.0418
	(0.0982)	(0.128)	(0.157)
Reads Daily Newspaper	0.251**	0.348**	0.135
	(0.0522)	(0.0660)	(0.0877)
Preference for Spanish Media	-0.388**	-0.316**	-0.337*
	(0.0592)	(0.0705)	(0.137)
Means			
Education	0.155**	0.100**	0.254**
	(0.0153)	(0.0186)	(0.0281)
Motives			
Interest in Politics	0.451**	0.265**	0.694**
	(0.0435)	(0.0574)	(0.0689)
Attention to politics in home country	0.0869**	0.0688*	0.134**
	(0.0232)	(0.0294)	(0.0388)
U.S. Born	0.299**	0.321*	0.113
	(0.0627)	(0.126)	(0.0871)
Gender (Male = 1)	0.357**	0.338**	0.375**
	(0.0486)	(0.0634)	(0.0771)
Age	0.00674**	0.00766**	0.00414
	(0.00168)	(0.00232)	(0.00254)
Household Income	0.146**	0.143**	0.0993**
	(0.0141)	(0.0200)	(0.0213)
Democrat	0.245**	0.308**	0.177
	(0.0687)	(0.0904)	(0.109)
Republican	0.740**	0.647**	0.733**
	(0.0907)	(0.131)	(0.133)
Party Apathetic	-0.744**	-0.661**	-0.879**
	(0.0725)	(0.0879)	(0.132)

Table 4.7 (Continued) **Ordered Logit Estimates for Predictors of Political Knowledge Among Hispanics: The Moderating Effects of Interest in Politics**

	Model 7: All	Model 8: Spanish	Model 9: English
Cut 1 Constant	0.621**	0.652**	0.441
	(0.181)	(0.232)	(0.301)
Cut 2 Constant	2.356**	2.382**	2.208**
	(0.183)	(0.235)	(0.301)
Cut 3 Constant	3.915**	3.923**	3.848**
	(0.188)	(0.241)	(0.308)
Observations	6,213	3,627	2,586
Pseudo R^2	0.142	0.102	0.131
Chi^2	2437.1	991.4	877.5
Log Likelihood	-7349.5	-4377.5	-2914.1

SE in parentheses + p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01 Fixed effects for respondent's state, thresholds omitted
Sources: Latino National Survey 2006 & New America Media

environments (Luskin 1990; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). Having observed this potential of a moderating effect of *Interest in Politics* in predicting high levels of political knowledge via the *Spanish Print* media environment above in Figure 4.2 we should expect to see *Interest in Politics*, our operationalization of "motives" in the Means, Motives, Opportunity framework, moderate the effects of the opportunity environment on their learning new information. I explore this by introducing a set of multiplicative interaction terms with the different Spanish-language media environment indicators.

In Table 4.7 I report the results of an ordered logit regression model of estimates of predictors of the additive, ordinal measure of political knowledge (*Political Knowledge*). To the set of independent and control variables in the regression results presented in Table 4.3 (Models 1, 2, and 3), I add in Table 4.7 the interaction terms *Spanish Print X Interest in Politics*, *Spanish TV X Interest in Politics*, and *Spanish Radio X Interest in Politics* as a means of capturing the moderating effects of *Interest in Politics* on the relationship between the Spanish-language media environment and *Political*

Table 4.8 **Logit Estimates for Predictors of Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share in Hispanic Respondent's State: The Moderating Effects of Interest in Politics**

	Model 10: All	Model 11: Spanish	Model 12: English
Opportunity (Media Environment)			
Spanish Print	-0.00620	-0.00934	-0.00273
	(0.0125)	(0.0146)	(0.0250)
Spanish TV	0.0173	0.0324	-0.0160
	(0.0437)	(0.0513)	(0.0842)
Spanish Radio	0.0124	0.00566	0.0226
	(0.0190)	(0.0228)	(0.0344)
Spanish Print X Interest in Politics	0.0326**	0.0355**	0.0248
	(0.0106)	(0.0130)	(0.0203)
Spanish TV X Interest in Politics	0.0173	0.0324	-0.0160
	(0.0437)	(0.0513)	(0.0842)
Spanish Radio X Interest In Politics	-0.0233	-0.00758	-0.0454+
	(0.0157)	(0.0200)	(0.0264)
Watches TV News	0.0742	0.236+	-0.285
	(0.114)	(0.141)	(0.213)
Reads Daily Newspaper	0.269**	0.288**	0.241*
	(0.0624)	(0.0758)	(0.114)
Preference for Spanish Media	-0.279**	-0.219**	-0.130
	(0.0701)	(0.0821)	(0.173)
Means			
Education	0.0760**	0.0559**	0.111**
	(0.0183)	(0.0215)	(0.0368)
Motives			
Interest in Politics	0.268**	0.0976	0.573**
	(0.0534)	(0.0666)	(0.0933)
Attention to politics in home country	0.0575*	0.0631+	0.0686
	(0.0286)	(0.0343)	(0.0538)
U.S. Born	0.310**	0.208	0.118
	(0.0806)	(0.152)	(0.118)
Gender (Male = 1)	0.261**	0.195**	0.397**
	(0.0597)	(0.0734)	(0.106)
Age	0.00425*	0.00582*	0.00115
	(0.00212)	(0.00274)	(0.00350)
Household Income	0.117**	0.100**	0.0845**
	(0.0178)	(0.0238)	(0.0289)
Democrat	0.402**	0.377**	0.466**
	(0.0840)	(0.105)	(0.145)
Republican	0.464**	0.316*	0.558**
	(0.116)	(0.155)	(0.184)
Party Apathetic	-0.355**	-0.376**	-0.252
	(0.0827)	(0.0978)	(0.160)

Table 4.8 (Continued) **Logit Estimates for Predictors of Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share in Hispanic Respondent's State: The Moderating Effects of Interest in Politics**

	Model 10: All	Model 11: Spanish	Model 12: English
Constant	-1.166**	-1.360**	-0.655+
	(0.214)	(0.262)	(0.397)
Observations	6,213	3,627	2,586
Pseudo R^2	0.129	0.092	0.103
Chi^2	1028.5	460.2	273.2
Log Likelihood	-3485.9	-2258.3	-1189.7

SE in parentheses + p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01 Fixed effects for respondent's state, thresholds omitted
Sources: Latino National Survey 2006 & New America Media

Knowledge. Recalling the strong and statistically significant independent effect of *Spanish Print* media presence on *Political Knowledge*, which we observed in Model 1 and Model 2 above, we observe here that when the interaction terms are introduced in a new model specification, those independent effects disappear. Nonetheless, the interaction *Spanish Print X Interests in Politics* has positive and statistically significant effects on *Political Knowledge* among the full LNS sample (p<.05) and *Political Knowledge* among the subsample of Spanish-speaking LNS respondents (p<.10). We do not observe a relationship between the interactive terms *Spanish TV X Interest in Politics* and *Spanish Radio X Interest in Politics* in any of the models in Table 4.7.

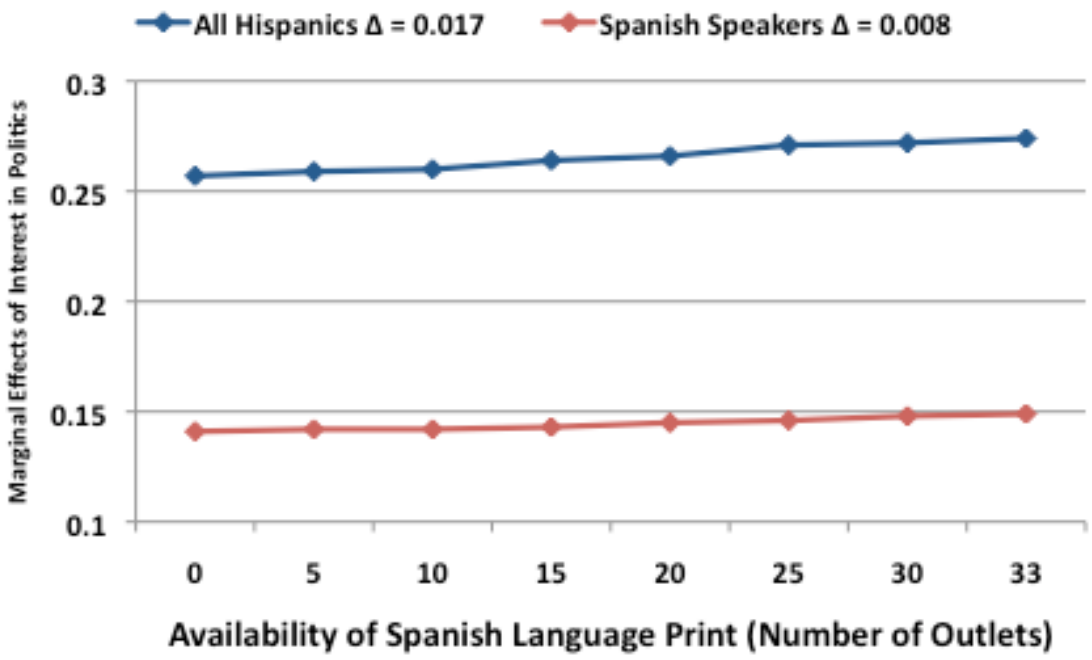
Combining my interest in the Spanish-language media environment's ability to predict levels of state-level political knowledge and in exploring the moderating effects of *Interest in Politics* (motives) on the Spanish media and state-specific knowledge, I also estimate the effects of the Spanish media environment on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* and report the results of these tests in Table 4.8. Here I estimate the dichotomous dependent variable *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* with the same set of independent and control variables present in Table 4.5 plus the set of interaction terms. In

Model 10 (all LNS respondents) and Model 9 (Spanish-speaking LNS respondents) we again see a positive and statistically significant effect of the interaction term *Spanish Print X Interest in Politics*, this time at an even stronger ($p<.01$) level. The effects of *Spanish TV X Interest in Politics* are non-existent in all model specifications of state-level knowledge. However, moderating effects of interest on Spanish-language radio presence and state-level knowledge are present in Model 12, the estimation of these effects for the subsample of English-speaking LNS respondents. The relationship between the interaction term *Spanish Radio X Interest in Politics* is negative and statistically significant at $p<.10$.

The results of these sets of estimates of general and state-level knowledge with the interaction terms present reveals that *Interest in Politics* does play an important moderating role in predicting general and state-level knowledge by the *Spanish Print* media environment. The direction of the coefficients reported for *Spanish Print X Interest in Politics* in Models 7 and 10 reveal that among all Latinos with low levels of *Interest in Politics*, the availability of *Spanish Print* media has no significant association with their levels of *Political Knowledge* and *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* but for all Latinos with higher levels of *Interest in Politics*, the availability of more *Spanish Print* media yields much higher levels of *Political Knowledge* and *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share.* A critical point here is that these results are being driven primarily by the effects of *Spanish Print X Interest in Politics* for Spanish-speaking Hispanics, a phenomenon we observe by the presence of these effects in Models 8 and 11 and an absence of the same in models 9 and 12, the estimates of knowledge among

English-speaking LNS respondents. What we observe in Model 12 as a negative effect of *Spanish Radio X Interest in Politics* on state-level political knowledge reveals that for English-dominant Hispanics with high *Interest in Politics* the presence of *Spanish Radio* suppresses state-level knowledge. I illustrate the net effects of the interaction terms relevant to these models in figures depicting the marginal effects of *Interest in Politics* in Figure 4.4, Figure 4.5, and Figure 4.6 below.

Figure 4.4
Marginal Effects of Interest in Politics on Political Knowledge Across the Spanish Print Media Environment

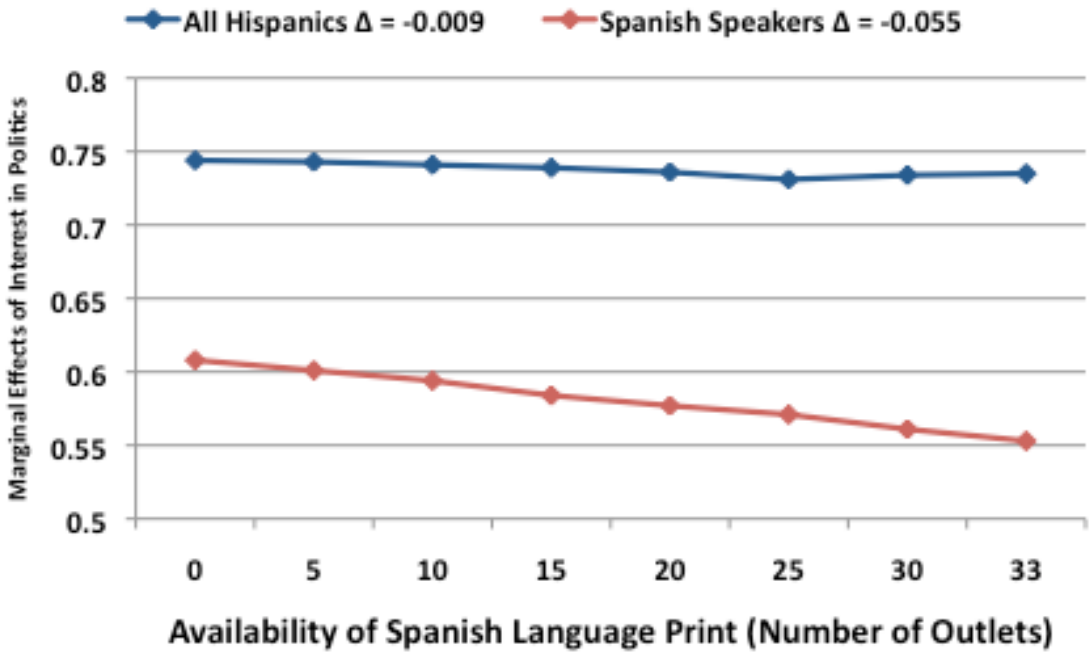


Source: Latino National Survey (2006), New America Media, CLARIFY

The relationships between *Spanish Print* media presence and the two measures of political knowledge as moderated by *Interest in Politics* are illustrated in Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5. The blue line in Figure 4.4 shows how a one unit increase in *Interest in Politics* affects the probability of high *Political Knowledge* (the ordinal measure of

political knowledge) among all LNS respondents across the range of *Spanish Print* media availability. The red line in Figure 4.4 shows how a one unit increase in *Interest in Politics* affects the probability of high *Political Knowledge* among only the Spanish-speaking subsample of LNS respondents across the range of *Spanish Print* media availability. Here I note that the marginal effects of *Interest in Politics* are stronger overall for the full sample of Latinos than for the subsample of Spanish-speakers across the range of *Spanish Print* media availability and that the difference in political interest's marginal effects from 0 *Spanish Print* outlets to the maximum value of 33 *Spanish Print* outlets is greater (1.7 percent versus 0.8 percent).

Figure 4.5
Marginal Effect of Interest in Politics on Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share (State-Level Knowledge) Across the Spanish Print Media Environment

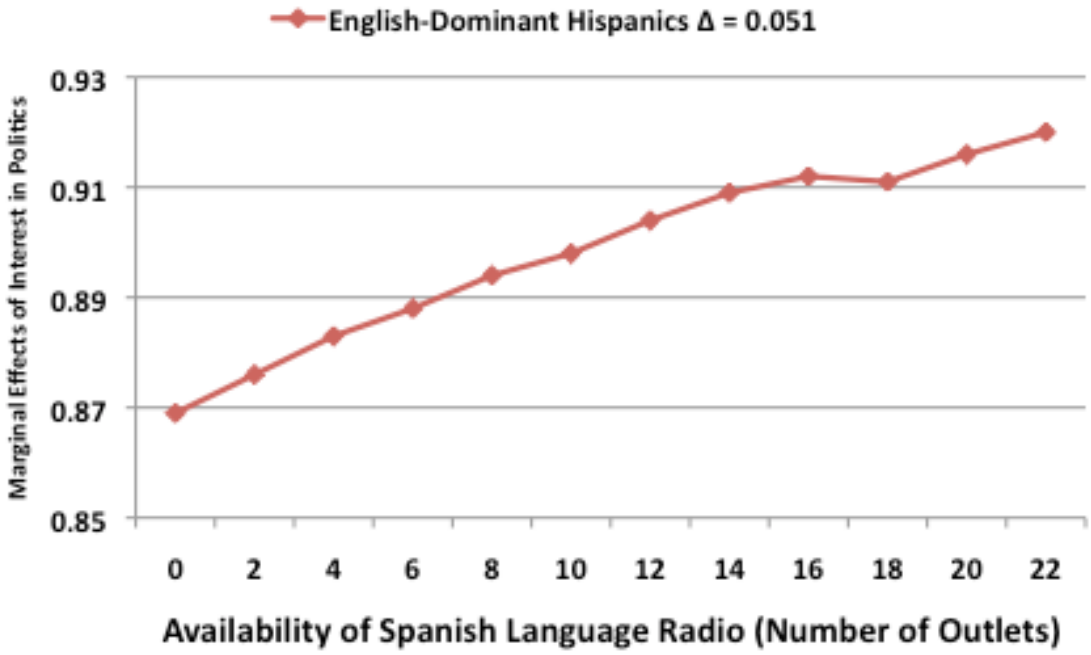


Source: Latino National Survey (2006), New America Media, CLARIFY

Recall that when modeling the marginal effects of the interaction *Spanish Print X Interest in Politics* on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share*, the state-level indicator of political knowledge (Table 4.8), we observed slightly stronger effects of the interaction term than those we observed in the estimates of the ordinal measure *Political Knowledge* (Table 4.8). A look at the marginal effects of *Interest in Politics* on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* in Figure 4.5 also reveals some differences. The blue line in Figure 4.5 illustrates how a one unit increase in *Interest in Politics* affects the probability of *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* (the dichotomous state-level measure of political knowledge) among all LNS respondents across the range of *Spanish Print* media availability. The red line in Figure 4.5 shows how a one unit increase in *Interest in Politics* affects the probability of *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* among only the Spanish-speaking subsample of LNS respondents across the range of *Spanish Print* media availability. At this point we can differentiate between the marginal effects of *Interest in Politics* on the two different operationalizations of Latino political knowledge. Note that while the marginal effects of *Interest in Politics* are stronger overall for the full sample of Latinos than for the subsample of Spanish-speakers across the range of *Spanish Print* media availability just as in Figure 4.4. However, the marginal effects of unit changes in *Interest in Politics* on *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* are relatively stable for all Hispanics but they diminish for Spanish speakers, as the *Spanish Print* media environment grows more robust.

Without *a priori* expectations as to the effects of the Spanish-language media environment's effects on Latino political knowledge based on individuals' language

Figure 4.6
Marginal Effect of Interest in Politics on Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share (State-Level Knowledge) Across the Spanish Radio Environment



Source: Latino National Survey (2006), New America Media, CLARIFY

choice, it is neither intuitive nor necessarily unusual to observe effects of the *Spanish Radio* environment as conditioned by *Interest in Politics*. Thus, we observe in Figure 4.6 how a unit increase in *Interest in Politics* affects the probability of *Knowledge of Presidential Vote Share* (state-level knowledge), for English-dominant LNS respondents, across the range of *Spanish Radio* availability. Here, the marginal effect of *Interest in Politics* is strongest when the *Spanish Radio* environment is most robust. This finding is particularly compelling and important due to its support for the context-matters thesis motivating the arguments I advance in this chapter and throughout this dissertation.

In search of support for my general research hypothesis of a positive effect of the Spanish-language media environment on Hispanics' levels of political knowledge, I presented evidence that Latino political knowledge is, in part, a function of Spanish-language media environment (the opportunity to learn), and of the interplay between this opportunity and political interest, which motivates Latinos to learn about politics. In what follows I discuss the substantive implications of these statistical findings, their importance to the theory of the Spanish-language media functioning as a representational link between constituents and political representatives, and introduce avenues in which this preliminary research can take our understanding of the Spanish-language media and Latino political knowledge toward other factors of political life for U.S. Hispanics.

Acquiring Political Knowledge From Opportunities to Learn in Spanish

Intuition along with an abundant literature on the effects of the news media suggest to us that reading the newspaper on a daily basis is an activity that enhances one's political knowledge. Yet, because of the potential social desirability effects associated with identity-based or ethnic media, Latinos may over-report how much they read newspapers, watch television, and listen to radio programming in Spanish, potentially biasing our estimates of the effects of the Spanish-language media on Latino preferences, behavior, and knowledge about politics. That is, Latino survey respondents potentially over-report the use of Spanish-language media, perhaps to the point at which they may report a preference for Spanish-language news and a high frequency of use when there are few or no such resources in their information environment. In this analysis I argue that the context in which Latinos learn about politics matters employ an indicator

of the Spanish-language news media environment and test its effects on Latino political knowledge. Using Spanish media and Hispanic public opinion data, I create a virtual Spanish-language media environment for a sample of U.S. Latinos as an alternative measure with which to test the Spanish-language media's effects on knowledge. Using four sets of model specifications on two measures of political knowledge I provide a basis for uncovering the independent and conditioned relationships between the Spanish media environment and political knowledge among Hispanics.

As a contribution to the measurement of Spanish-language media and its effects, I replace the self-reported use of Spanish media with what I consider a more refined measure of the Opportunity/Information structure—the media environment—for U.S. Latinos. When measuring political knowledge as an ordinal measure comprised of three LNS "general political knowledge" questions I find evidence suggesting that the Spanish-language print media environment has a positive independent impact on political knowledge for Spanish-speaking Latinos though not for English-speaking Latinos. I also demonstrate how this positive effect of Spanish print media presence in Latinos' information environments on general political knowledge is most pronounced among Latinos with higher levels of interest in politics. What we learn from operationalizing political knowledge on the basis of three general political knowledge questions—measuring knowledge of major party ideologies, the partisan makeup of the U.S. Congress, and the 2004 presidential election—is that the presence of Spanish-language newspapers in Latinos' information environments affects Spanish-speaking Latinos' levels of political knowledge.

One important goal of this chapter is to establish the importance of the Spanish-language media environment to Latino mass publics (constituents, and potential voters). The set of findings on the basis of the composite measure of "general" political knowledge satisfies this goal. However, to meet the goal of applying the findings in this chapter of the Spanish media's effects on Latino political knowledge as evidence in support of the broader theoretical framework of this dissertation—that the Spanish-language media function as a representational link between Hispanic publics and their representatives in U.S. state legislatures, I also find it useful to operationalize political knowledge as knowledge specific to each LNS respondent's state. In the set of statistical tests estimating the independent effects of the Spanish media environment on state-specific knowledge of vote share between President George W. Bush and his Democrat challenger John Kerry in the 2004 presidential election I demonstrate how the presence of Spanish language print media in Hispanics' information environments has significant independent effects on this state-specific measure of political knowledge for both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking Hispanics.

Intuitively, we may not expect that Spanish print media would independently affect English-speaking Latinos' levels of knowledge. Nonetheless, in my original theoretical claims as to the importance of the Spanish-language media environment to Hispanics and their relationships with state lawmakers, I had no *a priori* expectations about the Spanish media's contextual effects based on Hispanics' preferred language. To be sure, I do not observe a significant relationship between the stated preferences for Spanish media among English-dominant Latinos. I do, however, find the availability of

Spanish-language print media having independent effects on knowledge among English-speaking Hispanics. This contextual effect on state-level knowledge, which is generally stronger for English speakers, is also more static than the effects Spanish print media availability had on Spanish-speaking Hispanics' state-level political knowledge. For Spanish speakers, the effects of Spanish print availability on state-specific knowledge are generally lower though marginally more pronounced when comparing the media context's effects on knowledge at low levels of Spanish print availability to the same in a robust Spanish-language print media environment. We also learn from the specification of the Spanish media's effects on state-level knowledge that the presence of Spanish radio plays a role in predicting knowledge for Spanish-dominant Hispanics in ways we did not observe when knowledge is operationalized more in favor of general knowledge. This particular finding suggests the need for further investigation into the value of the real-time and episodic news—which radio and television are better equipped to provide than are print media—and local and state knowledge and participation. In identifying a contextual effect of Spanish radio presence on knowledge, there appears to be a bridge between this study and the important work by Félix et al. (2008) and Barreto et al. (2009), which indentify an important role for Spanish radio—measured as self-reported use—in the mobilization of Latinos.

In the statistical models estimating the independent effects of the Spanish media environment we see the preference for Spanish media—a self-reported measure in the LNS—having the independent effect of suppressing political knowledge among Hispanics. This observed relationship is statistically significant in five of the six

statistical models, with this relationship failing to achieve statistical significant in only in the modeled relationship between the media information opportunity environment and state-level knowledge among English-speaking Latinos. Given data limitations, this particular finding raises more questions than I can engage in the current analysis. However, this set of confounding statistically-derived findings point to my original critique of the reliability of self-reported Spanish media use as an indicator of its effects on political knowledge, sophistication, and behavior. Indeed, this finding, along with the observed independent effects of Spanish print media presence on political knowledge among English-dominant Latinos, paint self-reported Spanish media use as an increasingly unreliable measure.

Building on the Means, Motives, Opportunity framework, I argue that the effects of the Spanish media environment—an opportunity environment important to Hispanics' learning—are conditioned by the motivations Latinos have for learning. Indeed, Hispanics' interest in politics plays a significant, moderating role in the relationship between the Spanish-language media environment and political knowledge. Drawing from the argument I advance, which centers on the media environment's contextual effect on knowledge, I find evidence of the moderating effect of political interest on this relationship in the statistical models accounting for this important interaction. Evidence from this set of tests suggests that the Spanish-language media environment does indeed behave differently for English speakers versus Spanish speakers. Specifically, these tests reveal that the interplay of political interest and the Spanish print media environment has effects on knowledge for Spanish-dominant Latinos that are not present for English-

dominant Latinos. We are able to see these differential effects employing a statistical testing strategy that splits the full LNS sample into the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking subsamples. This set of statistical findings and their accompanying illustrations of the marginal effects of political interest, provide support for the "context matters" argument grounding my study. Finally, the differential effect I identified for Spanish radio's effects on Spanish- and English-dominant Latino's knowledge when I introduce political interest as a conditional factor suggest that the Spanish media context is important even to English-dominant Hispanics.

Building from my contention that self-reported use of Spanish media is a potentially biased predictor of the Spanish media's effects on knowledge, I set out in search of an improved indicator that may influence Latino political knowledge and I identify the number of Spanish-language media outlets actually available to Hispanics as that indicator. I find that the substantive effects of a rich Spanish-language media environment on Latino political knowledge are borne out in the availability of Spanish-language news print, independent of reading the newspaper on a daily basis. To be sure, we expect newsprint, in whatever language, to be more informative generally than information reaching us over the airwaves on television or on the radio (Graber 1984). Newsprint is not as apparently ubiquitous or accessible as radio, television, and increasingly the Internet. In a study of the Latino (English- and Spanish-language) media's effects on knowledge among Latinos surveyed in 1989, Spanish-language media did not have the strong effects on knowledge that are present in my analysis (Subervi-Vélez and Menayang 2008). I argue this is a function of data limitations of the 1989

survey of Latinos and the measurement of the Spanish media's effects not as contextual but as self-reported preferences. The most substantively important difference between the findings I present here and those based on analyzing Latino media effects in the late 1980s grounded in a fact that Subervi-Vélez and Menayang (2008) signal in their important work. That point is that Spanish-language media sources were much less available in the late 1980s (2008: 345) than they were two decades later in the period in which I study their effects. As the evidence I present here suggests, information—in Spanish—disseminated in the Spanish-language print publications appears to play a critical role in keeping Latinos generally informed about politics. Furthermore, the presence an availability of Spanish-language media appears to impact knowledge in important ways not previously observed. Though we do not have the advantage of a natural experimental setting in which we can directly observe how news media's presence and absence affects knowledge and participation (Mondak 1995), the evidence presented here does allow us to say with a reasonable level of confidence that the contextual effects of Spanish media matter in important ways to Latinos' levels of political knowledge.

Identifying the news media as an important part of the information environment is not, on its own, a novel finding. However, given that for many of us our exposure to the potential effects of the Spanish media, and the Spanish language generally, on political life in the U.S. is often limited to and dominated by divisive claims that Hispanic immigrants who use Spanish "threaten to divide the U.S. into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages [and that] the U.S. ignores this challenge at its peril" (Huntington

2004), we are limited in our understanding of important qualities about the U.S. Latino community. By building on our understanding of the Spanish media, in this analysis I engage debates concerning the potentially complementary versus conflicting relationship between the news media and political discussion (Mondak 1995) for Hispanic publics and the Spanish-language news media, and the pluralist versus assimilationist functions of the U.S. Hispanic media (Subervi-Vélez 1986) and present evidence that challenges Huntingon's (2004) position that the active maintenance of the Spanish language inhibits Latinos' learning and threatens U.S. political culture.

Given the limitations of the dataset I construct using Hispanic opinion data and geographic information from a database of ethnic media sources, it is important not to overstate the significance of this finding. An ideal situation in which we could conclude that the Spanish-language print media are the key to understanding the typical information environment and level of political knowledge for Latinos would be one in which we could match actual (not self-reported) consumption of news printed in Spanish with the availability of this medium. However, another data limitation—the lack of media environment data for the same period in which the Hispanic opinion were collected—is to our advantage. That is, linking public opinion data collected in 2006 to Spanish-language media presence data from 2010 may potentially *under*estimate the role of Spanish-language media in making consumers of Spanish-language media more knowledgeable about politics, given the dramatic cuts many newsrooms across the U.S. faced in the wake of the intervening financial crisis and economic contraction that began in 2008.

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, by identifying a meaningful and valuable relationship between the Spanish-language print media and Latinos' levels of knowledge about U.S. and state-level politics, I begin to establish a role for the Spanish-language media as a critical representational link between Latino political representatives and Hispanic constituencies. The development of constituent political sophistication and knowledge of the political world, while important for individuals' civic engagement, is especially critical to understanding representational responsiveness between constituencies and public officials. What we have learned from the analyses in this chapter informs our general understanding of and appreciation for the Spanish-language media environment and its effects on Latino attentiveness to and awareness of politics, and refute Arnold Schwarzenegger's claim that the Hispanics who use Spanish-language media place themselves at an informational disadvantage (Thanawala 2007). At this point in our understanding of the Spanish media environment and its potentially significant effects on political life in the U.S., it is important to advance this research toward studies of Latino political behavior, not limiting our understanding of the relationships between Spanish-language media presence, media preferences, and answers on political knowledge questions but to look at other aspects of Latino political life in the U.S. (Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992) that are affected by the Spanish media.

The inferences we can draw from the analysis in this chapter contribute in important ways to a larger enterprise of understanding the impact the Spanish-language news media have on public opinion, the development of policies that impact U.S.

Hispanics, and the behavior of public officials charged with making decisions about such policies. In Chapter 3 I presented evidence that the Spanish-language media are a valuable resource for state lawmakers and in this chapter illustrated that the Spanish-language media environment has positive effects for Hispanic constituents' levels of knowledge about politics. Independently, these findings reveal the importance of the Spanish-language media to two sets of influential actors in U.S. politics. Together, Chapters 3 and 4 suggest evidence of the potential of the Spanish-language media to provide "home style" representation to Latinos in ways political science researchers have previously explored. In the following chapter I take the next step in elaborating on the Spanish-language media's function as representational link between these two sets of actors by drawing from evidence from my national survey of U.S. state legislators suggesting the importance of the Spanish-language media environment to the development of state legislative policy agendas.

Chapter 5

Spanish-Language Media and Issue Priority Agreement among Hispanic Constituencies and State Legislators

In Chapters 3 and 4 of this study I analyzed the role Spanish-language media environment plays in shaping state legislators' behavior—the degree to which they behave as "media entrepreneurs"—and its impact on shaping political knowledge among Latinos. I explored the effects of the Spanish media on these two political actors—state lawmakers and the Hispanic public—independently while I claimed, as I claim throughout this dissertation, that the Spanish-language media play an important role in uniting these two actors. In this chapter I portray the Spanish-language media environment as critical to facilitating agreement between the policy issue preferences of lawmakers and Latino constituents by studying these preferences concurrently and beginning to illustrate the effects of the media environment on the relationships between Hispanic constituents and lawmakers as seen from the Spanish media. In what follows I hope to further embolden the broader argument I advance in this dissertation, which situates the Spanish-language media in an important role as a representational link between Latino constituents and their political representatives.

This chapter is divided into five sections. First, I explore the role of the news media's role as a policy agenda setter and develop my theory. Next, I discuss the policy issues important to U.S. Hispanics and to state legislators according to the Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey (MPPS). Third, I discuss the factors predicting state legislator-constituent issue priority agreement and my strategy for testing the theory

of the Spanish media's role in the level of agreement. Fourth, I report the findings of my statistical analysis. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for our understanding of the role Spanish-language media play in the ever-evolving relationships between lawmakers and their constituents.

News Media and the Policymaking Agenda

In chapter 1 of this study I reviewed the many roles of the media in politics and the policymaking process in the U.S. as articulated by students of political communication. As part of the challenge of developing the role of the Spanish-language media as a representational link between legislators and constituents, understanding the role of the news media as an agenda setter through a variety of analytical lenses serves to build our understanding of the significance of the Spanish media's role in facilitating legislators' and constituents' agreement on policy issue priorities. Local and national mass media outlets have played a significant role in shaping dialogue and shaping policy elites in a number of ways reflecting what Shudson (2008) calls the media's functions as analyst of the government's activities and as a facilitator of political dialogue, and what Arnold (2004) refers to as arbiter for opinion leaders to inform and shape views of representatives and policies. In studies of the interactions of the national and local press corps with the U.S. Congress (Cater 1959; Cook and Skogan 1991; Trumbo 1995; Bartels 1996; Baumgartner et al. 1997; Vinson 2003; Arnold 2004), the president (Gilberg et al. 1980; Wanta and Foote 1994; Wood and Peake 1998), and other national-level opinion leaders and policymakers, students of political communication have identified a strong relationship between media coverage and the substance and tone of policy agendas.

It is reasonable to expect lawmakers and other policymakers who exercise their roles as political representatives as their constituents' delegates in legislative bodies would not value the news media's opinion on policy matters, and that they would reject the notion of the news media as an agenda setter. Yet, even those policymakers from whom we might expect to the most direct, unadulterated contact with their constituents, the news media serve an important representative function. The information lawmakers acquire from the news media, which while it reflects some combination of objective reporting and media opinion, can often be interpreted by policymakers as the reflection of public opinion—or the voice of the people—itself (Herbst 1998). Coupled with evidence that politicians are often evaluated by the public, which is primed on the basis of the issues advanced, discussed, and promoted by the news media (Iyengar and Reeves 1997), and an understanding of the news media as a social institution (Cook 1998), the notion that the news media influence policymakers to the point that they wield considerable agenda setting power is not far-fetched. Thus, scenarios in which policymakers adopt the issues the news media advance and follow the news media's lead on various issues are reasonable (Walgrave and Van Aelst 2006), perhaps prevalent. From the view that the news is a coproduction of journalists and public officials (Cook 1998; Vinson 2003), I now turn to the policy issues that may be considered as "newsworthy" by the Hispanic public and their state legislators.

Toward a Hispanic/Latino Policy Agenda

The chapter is designed as a test of the theory of the Spanish media as a representational link. In the process of developing the phenomenon under investigation

here—issue priority agreement—we also learn a great deal about the policy issues of concern to state legislators and their largely Latino constituencies. While my discussion and analysis are geared toward developing an understanding the policy priorities shared by legislators and Hispanic constituents, elite and mass opinions of policy preferences and priorities are typically studied in isolation. In the empirical test anchoring this chapter's discussion I analyze the effects of the Spanish-language media on the degree to which state legislators and their largely Hispanic constituents agree on what policy issue is most important. In this section I briefly review the evolution of Latino mass opinion on the important policy issues facing their communities and the nation before revealing findings from the MPPS survey of elite opinion of policy issue priorities.

Related to the present discussion of whether state lawmakers and Hispanic constituencies agree on the salience of different policy issues is the difficult task of identifying the issues deemed as Hispanic/Latino-specific, the issues that may constitute a Hispanic/Latino policy agenda. Language access policies like bilingual education, and policies affecting Hispanic immigrants have been, and continue to be important to U.S. Latinos, and are perhaps most likely to be the issues that come to mind when analysts of U.S. Hispanic politics, myself included, make assumptions about the development of a U.S. Latino/Hispanic policy agenda. These assumptions are, nonetheless, grounded in decades' worth of opinion data. Historically, U.S. Hispanics have held views of policy issues that differ significantly from those of other racial and ethnic groups. Bilingual education and immigration policy are examples of policy issues where Hispanic opinion deviates significantly from the views of whites, African Americans, and Asian Americans

(Cain and Kiewiet 1987). Latinos consistently support bilingual education while support among whites and African Americans for bilingual education programs has been less consistent (Uhlaner 1991).

Keeping in mind that Latinos and so-called "Latino/Hispanic issues" must compete with a multitude of interests to get on policymaking agendas, "Latino/Hispanic issues" can potentially be divisive. Bilingual education for example, is a policy issue that can be interpreted as symbolic by some [ethnic, economic, national origin] groups and as a policy tied to material interest by others (Schmidt 2000). Even on the issue of immigration, studies of Hispanic mass opinion reveal that while immigration is important to all Latinos, opinion is divided among the different Latino subgroups (Michelson 2001).

In the most recent *Noticias Univisión*/Latino Decisions (2012) national survey of Hispanic registered voters, the most important issues influencing Latinos' decision of which party they will vote for in 2012 were the economy (36%), jobs/employment (25%), immigration reform (24%), healthcare (16%), and education (14%). As we will see in the next stage of this discussion of issue priority agreement between sate legislators and Latino constituencies, these top five issue priorities for a national sample of Latinos are five of the top six policy issues state legislators reported in 2011 as their top legislative priorities and the issues most important to their constituents.

Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

Much of the difficulty with identifying Hispanic elite-Hispanic mass agreement on issue saliency and the identification of a Hispanic/Latino policy agenda stems from the dearth of knowledge about Hispanic elite policy preferences and priorities. What we

do know about Hispanic elites' assessments as to what constitute Hispanic/Latino issues is limited to a sparse understanding of how national advocacy groups evaluate the U.S. Congress' performance in addressing Latino policy issues. The National Hispanic Leadership Agenda (NHLA), a nonpartisan association of 40 national and regional Hispanic advocacy organizations, develops and publishes annually a "Hispanic policy agenda" that covers a broad range of "Hispanic" policy issues including civil rights, immigration, economic empowerment, health, and government accountability. While NHLA asserts that the set of issues they deem important to the U.S. Hispanic community are those that "serve the [Hispanic] community", the organization also claims that these issues "enable the community to better serve the nation" (NHLA 2008). The NHLA also issues "scorecards" for all Members of Congress, evaluating their support of legislation classified by the NHLA as a part of the Hispanic/Latino policy agenda. The National Hispanic Leadership Agenda and their scorecards are, to my knowledge, the closest we come to an understanding of what constitutes an agreed-upon Hispanic/Latino policy agenda from the perspective of elites (advocacy organizations). By focusing on issues and legislation before the U.S. Congress, the NHLA's evaluations are, of course directed at Latino policy matters facing the nation. We still know relatively little about the opinions of individual Members of Congress as to what constitutes a Latino/Hispanic policy agenda. We know even less about the views of subnational elites on this matter.

Motivated by the fact that very little is known about the opinions and orientations of Latino public officials at the subnational level, in spring 2011 I fielded a survey of the attitudes and policy orientations of state legislators with large Hispanic constituencies in

which I inquired about the state of the Hispanic/Latino policy agenda in the U.S. states. In the survey I asked state legislators two quasi-open-ended questions aimed at revealing their own legislative priorities as representatives in the statehouse and their perceptions of their constituents' preferences. They were asked:

> *Issue Priority Question # 1: If you were serving in the state legislature during the last session, what three pieces of legislation debated during the last legislative session were most important to you?*
>
> and
>
> *Issue Priority Question # 2: What are the three most important policy issues affecting your district?*

Though the questions were open-ended, I asked them to rank their responses in order 1-to-3, therefore giving the responses some structure in a manner that makes the current analysis of top policy issue agreement and delegate-style representation possible. Similar to McCombs and Shaw's (1972) interview questions administered in the context of campaign issue importance, these questions are aimed at revealing the issue importance in a manner guided by the importance of the news media to the agenda-setting process. Recording legislators' perceptions of the policy issues affecting their districts proved to be more straightforward than coding the pieces of legislation most important to them in the previous legislative session because in several cases the latter involved the additional step of translating reported bill numbers into the substantive meaning of the legislation. Legislators—both Hispanic and non-Hispanic—reported a total of 52 unique policy issues as legislative priorities and/or district issue priorities, which are reported in Table

Table 5.1

District-Level and State Legislator Policy Issue Priorities
(Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey)

Issue	*(1) Top Dist. Priority*	*(2) Top Legis. Priority*	*(3) Second Dist. Priority*	*(4) Second Legis. Priority*	*(5) Third Dist. Priority*	*(6) Third Legis. Priority*	*(7) Total Mentions*
Education	72	31	1	7	3	3	117
Healthcare		5	1	1	43	15	65
Jobs	4		50	3	1	1	59
Budget	1	9	3	5	2	24	44
Economy	3	1	18	1	4	1	28
Immigration Policy	4	2	4	10	1	2	23
Driving Licenses for Undocumented Immigrants			2	15			17
Taxes	3	3	3	1	4	1	15
Housing	1	2	2	2	6	1	14
Water		2	3	1	3	4	13
Criminal Justice		1		3	1	4	9
Transportation			1	3	2	3	9
Environment		2	1	1	3		7
Public Safety	3	1			3		7
Agriculture			1		4		5
Crime Prevention					4		4
Gay Rights		2	1	1			4
Insurance Reg.	1	1		1	1		4
Pensions		1	1	2			4
Redistricting			1	2	1		4
Youth Programs		1		2		1	4
Death Penalty				1		2	3
DREAM Act				3			3
Election Reform		2		1			3
Civil Rights						2	2
Energy			1		1		2
Medical Marijuana		1				1	2
Overregulation	1					1	2
Regulation		1			1		2
Seniors				1	1		2
Social Justice					2		2
Veterans		2					2
Women		1		1			2
Workers' Compensation			1	1			2

Table 5.1 (Continued)
District-Level and State Legislator Policy Issue Priorities
(Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey)

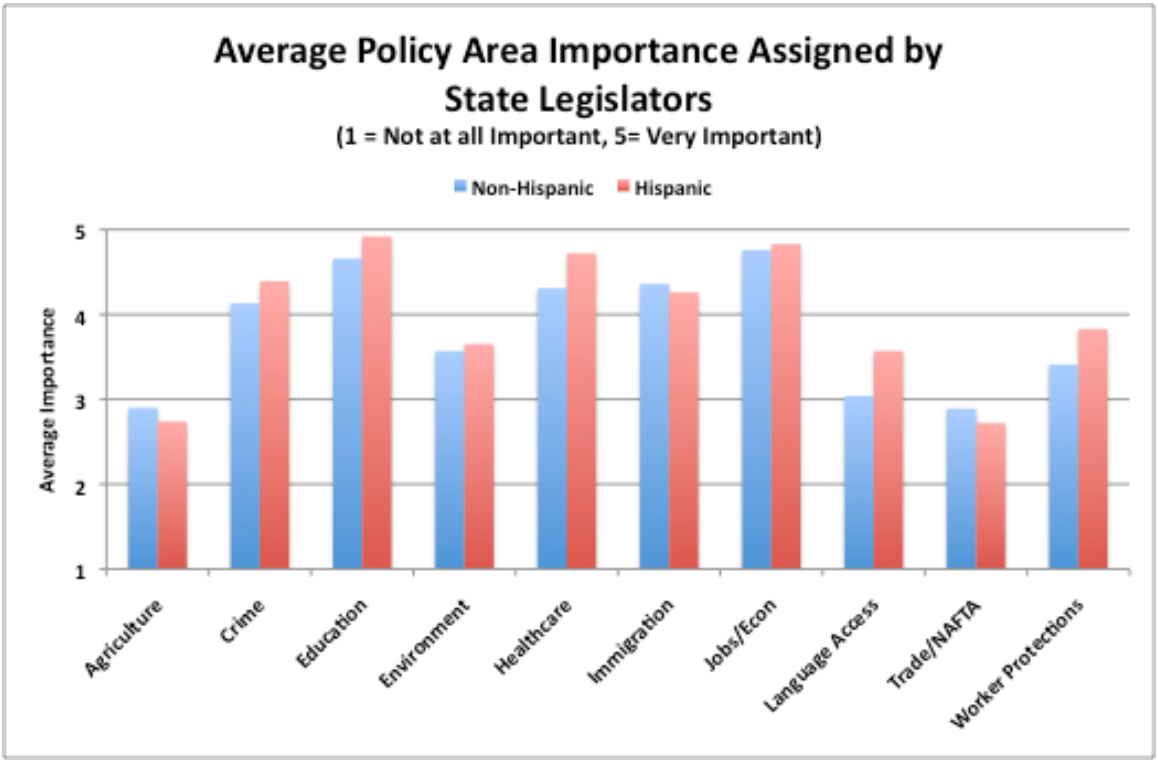
Issue	*Top Dist. Priority*	*Top Legis. Priority*	*Second Dist. Priority*	*Second Legis. Priority*	*Third Dist. Priority*	*Third Legis. Priority*	*Total Mentions*
Abortion		1					1
Bilingual Reform		1					1
Bullying						1	1
Cap & Trade						1	1
Child Protection	1						1
Consumers				1			1
Corrections		1					1
Drug Policy				1			1
English Only		1					1
Firearms		1					1
Infrastructure					1		1
Land						1	1
Minority & Women-Owned Businesses		1					1
Quality of Life					1		1
Small Businesses						1	1
Transparency						1	1
Unemployment Insurance						1	1
Welfare			1				1

Source: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

5.1. Education policy was, by a wide margin, the most frequently mentioned policy issue (117 mentions) among state legislators, followed by healthcare, jobs, the state budget, and the economy. The issues of immigration and driver licenses for undocumented immigrants occupy the sixth and seventh most frequently mentioned policy issues, while taxes, housing, and water round out the top ten issues most important to legislators and their largely Latino districts. Recalling that the sample of state legislator respondents represent largely Latino districts in which their constituencies were on average 50.1 percent Hispanic, and as much as 96.4 percent Hispanic (U.S. Census Estimates 2009),

we might interpret these top five legislative issue preferences and perceived district priorities as the beginnings of a "Hispanic/Latino" policy agenda in the states from the state legislators' perspective.

Figure 5.1



In a separate structured survey question I asked legislators to indicate how important ten different policy areas are to their districts. The average levels of importance legislators assigned to these policy areas are reported in Figure 5.1. Here we observe that education, healthcare, and jobs/economy are the three issues receiving the highest ratings of average importance among both Hispanic and non-Hispanic state legislators (all approaching "5 or" "Very Important"), which is consistent with the top mentions by legislators in the semi-structured questions. Note that, on average, Hispanic legislators

assign slightly more importance to these issues than non-Hispanic legislators. Immigration policy is of considerable importance to all state legislators; they assign an average level of importance equal to just above "4" or "Important" on the scale. Note here that it is non-Hispanic legislators who, on average, assign slightly more importance to the issue of immigration. Trade issues, agriculture, and language access earn the lowest evaluations of policy area importance from legislators. Both Hispanic and non-Hispanic state legislators assign, on average, agriculture and trade issues as somewhere between "2" ("Not Important") and "3" ("Neutral") with non-Hispanic legislators caring slightly more than Hispanic legislators about these issues. We see the most significant disagreement between Latino and non-Latino legislators on the issue of language access, an issue to which non-Latino legislators are virtually indifferent, but that Latino legislators find to be more important. The importance assigned by Hispanic legislators and non-Hispanic legislators with largely Hispanic constituencies to this selection of policy areas also aids our ability to begin to identify a Hispanic/Latino policy agenda from the point of view of Latino political leaders with the power to promote these issues to state legislative agendas. Building on our understanding of the news media's agenda setting role (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Cook 1998; Iyengar and Reeves 1997; Arnold 2004; Schudson 2008), the Spanish media's relationship to Latino group consciousness (Kerevel 2011), and Hispanics' policy preferences (Uhlaner 1991; Uhlaner and Garcia 2002; Schmidt 2000; Michelson 2001; Sánchez 2006; Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano 2010), I argue here that the Spanish-language media play an important role in facilitating agreement between state legislators' and Latino constituents' policy issue priorities. In

what follows I present a set of research hypotheses aimed at situating this study of issue priority agreement in the broader framework portraying the Spanish-language media as a representational link between state legislators and their constituents.

Hypotheses

To test whether my argument of a meaningful relationship between the Spanish-language media environment contributes to the congruence of district (constituent) policy preferences and individual state legislator policy preferences, I advance the following test hypotheses:

> *H_{1a}: The presence of Spanish-language print media in a state legislator's district has a positive effect on issue priority agreement between legislator and district preferences.*
>
> *H_{1b}: The presence of Spanish-language television a state legislator's district has a positive effect on issue priority agreement between legislator and district preferences.*
>
> *H_{1c}: The presence of Spanish-language radio in a state legislator's district has a positive effect on issue priority agreement between legislator and district preferences.*

Because news media effects often interplay with other environmental factors, I argue that Hispanic state legislators, draw upon group affinity/group consciousness (Fox 1996, Sánchez 2006, Kerevel 2011) in their use of and interactions with Spanish-language media in ways that differ from their non-Latino counterparts in the state capitol. To test

for this effect, I offer the following hypotheses of the conditional effects of Spanish media on issue priority agreement among state legislators:

> *H_{2a}: The effects of Spanish-language print media in a state legislator's district on issue salience agreement between legislator and district preferences are stronger for Hispanic legislators.*
>
> *H_{2b}: The effects of Spanish-language television in a state legislator's district on issue salience agreement between legislator and district preferences are stronger for Hispanic legislators.*
>
> *H_{2c}: The effects of Spanish-language radio in a state legislator's district on issue salience agreement between legislator and district preferences are stronger for Hispanic legislators.*

In addition to my expectations of the independent and conditional effects of the media environmental variables, I also argue legislators' individual behavior is central to the Spanish-language media's effectiveness as a representational link between state legislators and Latino constituents. Building on the theory of a representational link, it follows that we ought to observe a relationship between the amount of Spanish-language media that legislators use and the level of issue priority agreement between legislators and Latino constituents. Thus, I propose the following hypothesis:

> *H_3: Legislators' frequency of Spanish media use has a positive effect on legislator-constituent issue priority agreement*.

Factors Predicting State Legislator-Constituent Issue Priority Agreement

The degree to which legislators "make present" the views of their constituents in the state capitol, and where state legislators fall in the "mandate-independence controversy" (Pitkin 1967) inform my conceptualization of the representation of Latino constituencies by state legislators. In this analysis of the impact Spanish-language media have on the early stages of the policymaking process, I examine Spanish media effects on state legislator-constituent issue salience agreement, the dependent variable. I operationalize state legislator-constituent issue salience agreement as the degree to which a legislator's responses to *Issue Priority Question # 1* matched the responses to *Issue Priority Question # 2*. I estimate the level of agreement between legislators' policy issue priorities and those of their districts by examining the top-ranked district and legislative policy issue priorities. These policy issues are reported in columns 1 and 2 of Table 5.1. I code top issue priority agreement—the measure of issue salience agreement between legislator preferences and perceived constituent preferences—as a dichotomous (0,1) variable, where 1 = a legislator reporting the same policy issue as the top legislative priority and top district priority, and 0 = a legislator reporting different policy issues as the top legislative and district priorities. Thus, if the top-ranked response to *Issue Priority Question # 1* is the same as the top-ranked response to *Issue Priority Question # 2*, I observe state legislator-constituent issue salience agreement—the dependent variable

under scrutiny in this study. To operationalize the role of the Spanish media environment on agreement, I employ the following independent variables[13].

The Spanish-Language Media Environment

I hypothesize that three types of media directly, and independently affect the likelihood of state legislator-constituent issue priority agreement. To test the independent effects of the Spanish media environment I operationalize the media environment as the number of *Spanish Print*, *Spanish Radio*, and *Spanish TV* outlets in a state legislator's district. These are identified by using geographic identifiers to match the locations of the Spanish-language media outlets recorded and reported by the New America Media Database of Ethnic Media in the U.S. (2010), to the state legislative districts corresponding to the legislator respondents to the MPPS to create a virtual Spanish-language media environment for each state legislator. Average legislator's Spanish media environment consists of five Spanish newspapers, five (4.9) radio stations, and two (1.6) television stations.

Hispanic Legislator

Drawing from my theory of the Spanish media as a representational link between state legislators and Hispanic constituents, I argue descriptive Hispanic representation, *Hispanic Legislator*, is an important independent predictor of the relationship between legislators and Latino constituencies. Recalling that representation of largely Hispanic constituencies is a key characteristic of the sampling frame of the MPPS, I agree with the argument that the presence of Latinos in state legislatures leads to greater welfare

[13] Descriptive statistics for the dependent, independent, and control variables in this analysis are reported in Appendix 5.1.

benefits at the state level (Preuhs 2007), and I situate this analysis in the question of whether descriptive representation produces better substantive representation for minorities (Mansbridge 2000; Preuhs 2006; Gay 2007). Descriptively Hispanic state legislators account for 71 percent of MPPS survey respondents. *Hispanic Legislator* is coded dichotomously (1 = Hispanic, 0 = non-Hispanic).

Conditional Effects Variables

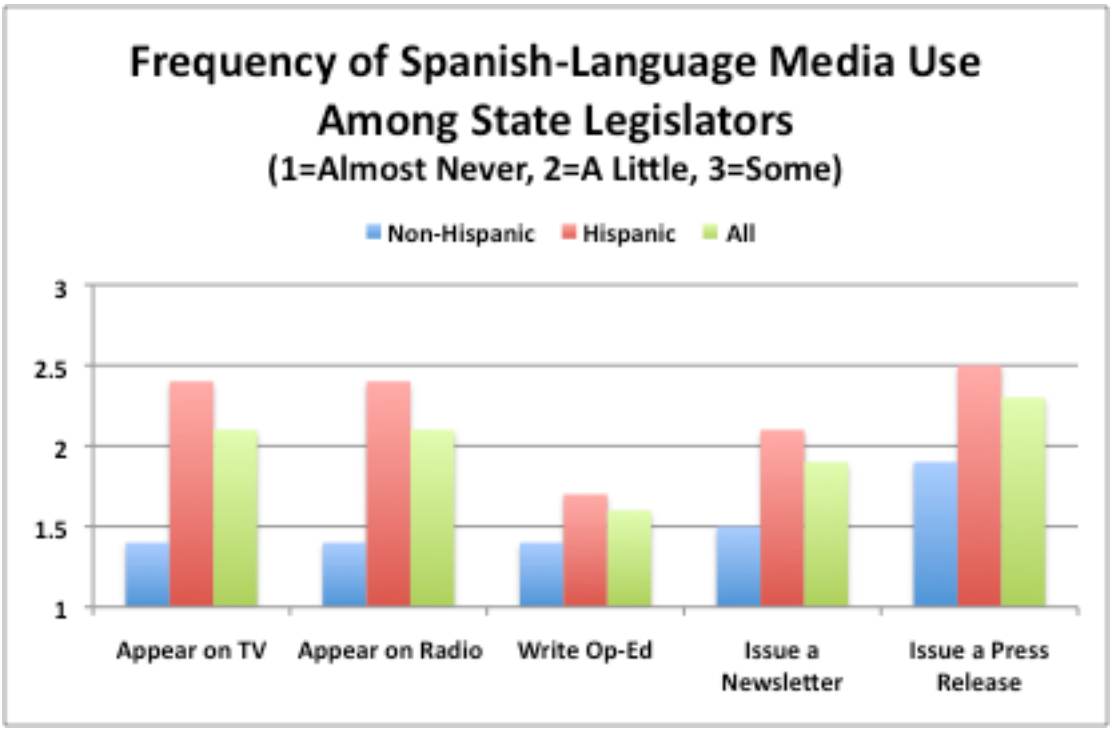
To test for the effects of descriptive Hispanic representation on issue priority agreement when conditioned by the different Spanish media environment indicators I construct multiplicative interaction terms. Treating the number of *Spanish Print, Spanish Radio*, and *Spanish TV* as modifying variables of the relationship between *Hispanic Legislator* and issue priority agreement yields the variables *Hispanic Legislator X Spanish Print*, *Hispanic Legislator X Spanish Radio,* and *Hispanic Legislator X Spanish TV*.

Frequency of Spanish-Language Media Use

In addition to their independent and conditional effects on issue agreement, the effects of Spanish-language media on all aspects of representation and policymaking play out through the amount of Spanish media lawmakers use in their representative roles. In Figure 5.2 I report summary response data for the question in the MPPS, which asks state legislators how often they make use of Spanish-language media tools. Legislators were asked how often they use Spanish-language media tools (1 = Almost Never, 2 = A Little, 3 = Some, 4 = Often, 5 = Very Often). The variable *Frequency of Spanish Media Use* is the average frequency of use of the Spanish media tools: appearances on TV, appearances

on radio, writing op-ed pieces, issuing newsletters, and issuing press releases in Spanish. From the average frequency of use of the individual Spanish media tools I generate a variable accounting for the average of *all* Spanish media tool use.

Figure 5.2

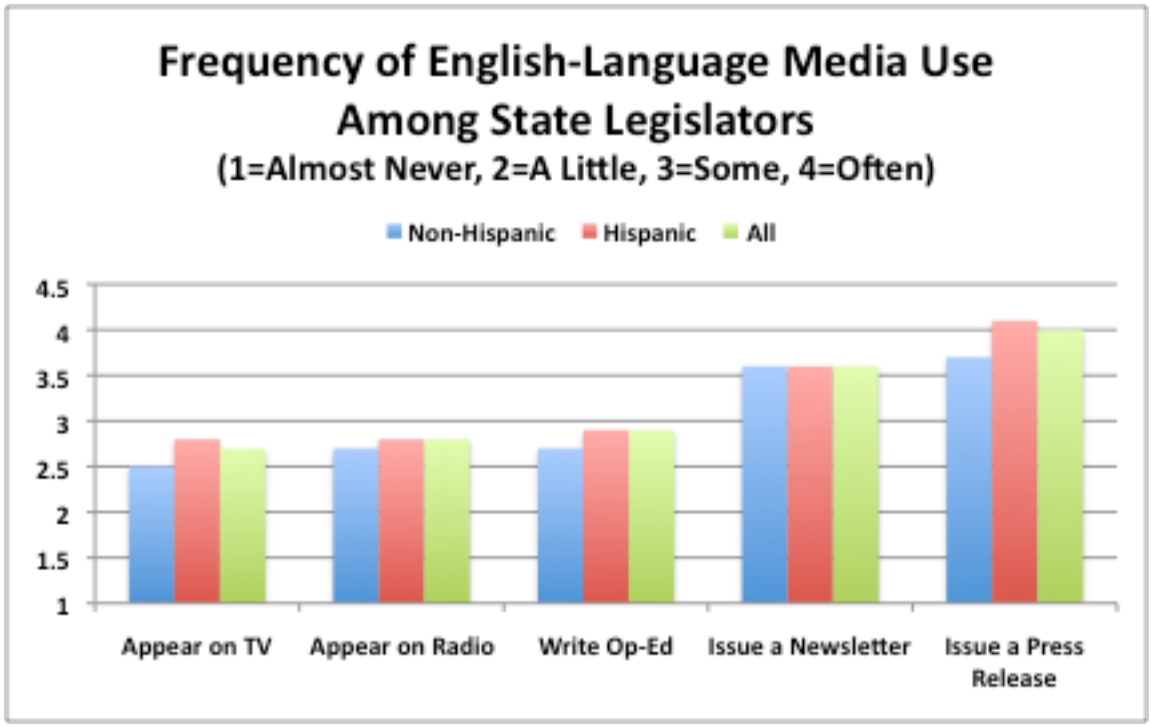


Control Variables

I include *Frequency of English-Language Media Use, Professionalism, Tenure* in the legislature, gender (*Male*), *Democrat, and District Hispanic Population* as control variables in my statistical analysis. *Frequency of English-Language Media Use* is scored in the same manner as *Frequency of Spanish-Language Media Use*—as an average frequency of use of all media tools. I report the average frequencies of use of the individual English-language media tools in Figure 5.3. I include *Frequency of English-*

Language Media Use as a means of identifying differences in the effects of English and Spanish media on top issue priority agreement.

Figure 5.3



Legislative *Professionalism* is the Squire Index (2007) professionalism score. *Professionalism* according to the Squire Index accounts for legislative salaries, benefits, time demands of service, and staff and resources. I expect legislators in more professional legislatures to present more state legislator-constituent issue priority agreement than legislators in less professional legislatures. Informed by evidence from the state legislatures that the frequency with which legislators employ media tactics can be a function of the resources disposal (Cooper 2002), and that media entrepreneurial legislators will use whatever tools at their disposal to influence the legislative agenda (Kedrowski 1996), I expect legislative *Professionalism* to facilitate legislators' overall

engagement with their constituents and to play a positive role in informing issue priority agreement.

Democrat is the legislator's political party affiliation (1 = Democrat Party member, 0 = not a Democrat). Evidence suggesting that Democrat state legislators are more aggressive than their Republican counterparts in engaging their constituents via Spanish-language political communication (Medina Vidal et al. 2009), signals that Democrat state legislators are somewhat closer to their Hispanic constituents' interests. With this in mind, I have a cautiously optimistic expectation for *Democrat* legislators to be more likely than Republicans to have issue priority agreement with their constituents. *District Hispanic Population* is the percent Hispanic population of a legislator's district, *Tenure* is the number of years the legislator has served in the state legislature, *Male* is the legislator respondent's gender (1 = male, 0 = female). In a delegate model of representation, we might predict a positive relationship between *District Hispanic Population* and issue priority agreement. Further, the positive relationship between Latino state populations and descriptive Hispanic representation in state legislatures (Casellas 2009) leads me to reasonably expect a positive association between *District Hispanic Population* and issue priority agreement.

Model Specification and Results

With the dependent variable *Top Issue Priority Agreement* coded dichotomously, I specify a probit regression model of estimates for predictors of state legislator-constituent issue priority agreement with standard errors clustered by state. The results of a probit model specification are reported in Table 5.2. Recalling my hypotheses of

Table 5.2

Probit Estimates for Predictors of State Legislator—Constituent Issue Priority Agreement

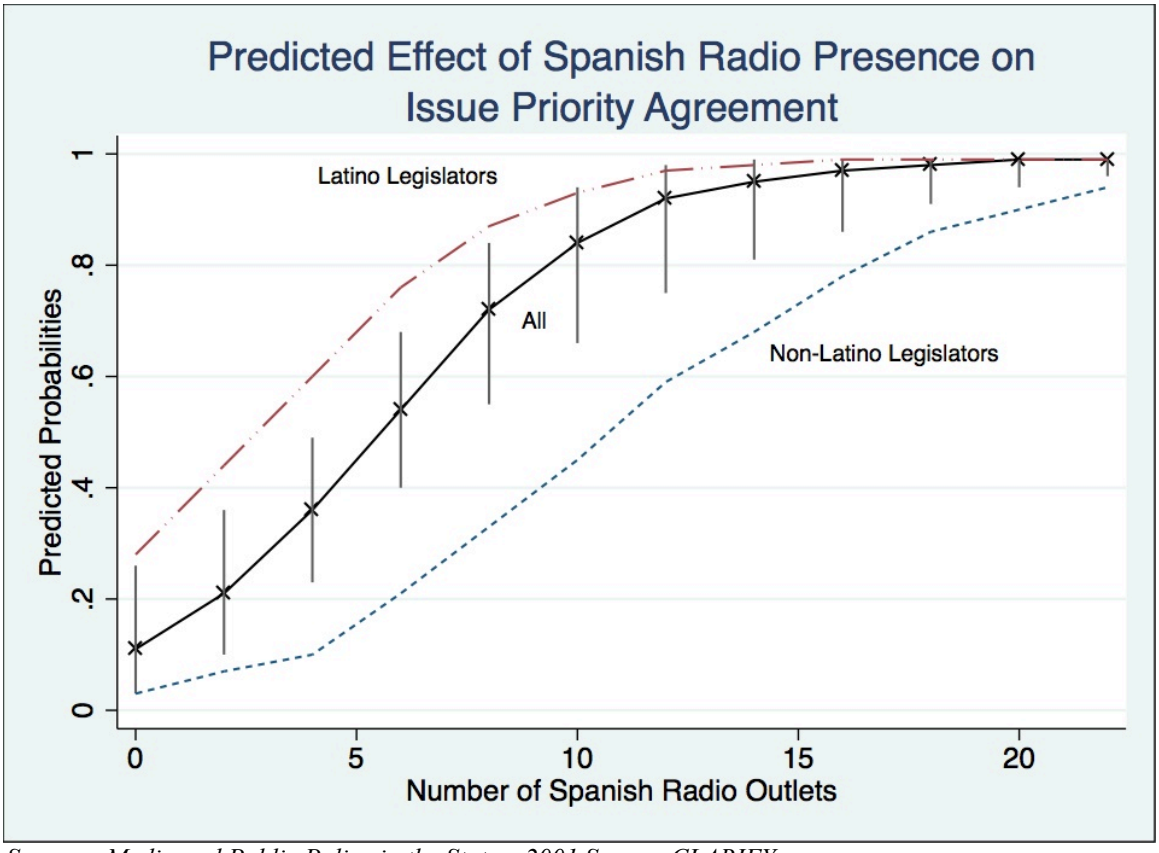
Variable	Coeff.	Std. Errors
Hispanic Legislator	0.628	(0.391)
Spanish Print	0.0120	(0.0582)
Spanish TV	-0.515*	(0.214)
Spanish Radio	0.229**	(0.0762)
Hispanic Legislator X Spanish Print	-0.0107	(0.0456)
Hispanic Legislator X Spanish TV	0.354*	(0.141)
Hispanic Legislator X Spanish Radio	-0.165*	(0.0693)
Frequency of Spanish-Language Media Use	0.596**	(0.160)
Frequency of English-Language Media Use	0.0718	(0.194)
District Hispanic Population (%)	-0.00111	(0.00620)
Professionalism (Squire Index Score)	-3.852*	(1.610)
Tenure	-0.00498	(0.0114)
Democrat	-0.824+	(0.463)
Male	-0.179	(0.571)
Constant	-0.487	(0.607)
Observations	72	
Pseudo R^2	.229	
Wald chi^2 (14)	280.36**	

+ p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01; standard errors clustered by state.
Source: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey,

positive relationships between the Spanish-language media environment variables—the numbers of Spanish print, television, and radio outlets in a legislator's district—we observe mixed results from the estimation of their effects on issue priority agreement.

Beginning with the expectation that the presence of *Spanish Print* media in a legislator's district we observe a positive, albeit not statistically significant, effect of this Spanish media environment indicator. However, the other media environmental indicators, the presence of *Spanish TV* and the presence of *Spanish Radio* do have statistically significant independent predictive effects on policy agreement between state legislators and constituents. The statistically significant effects of the presence of *Spanish TV* ($p<.05$) and *Spanish Radio* ($p<.01$), however, suggest the presence of reliable evidence in

Figure 5.4



Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey, CLARIFY.

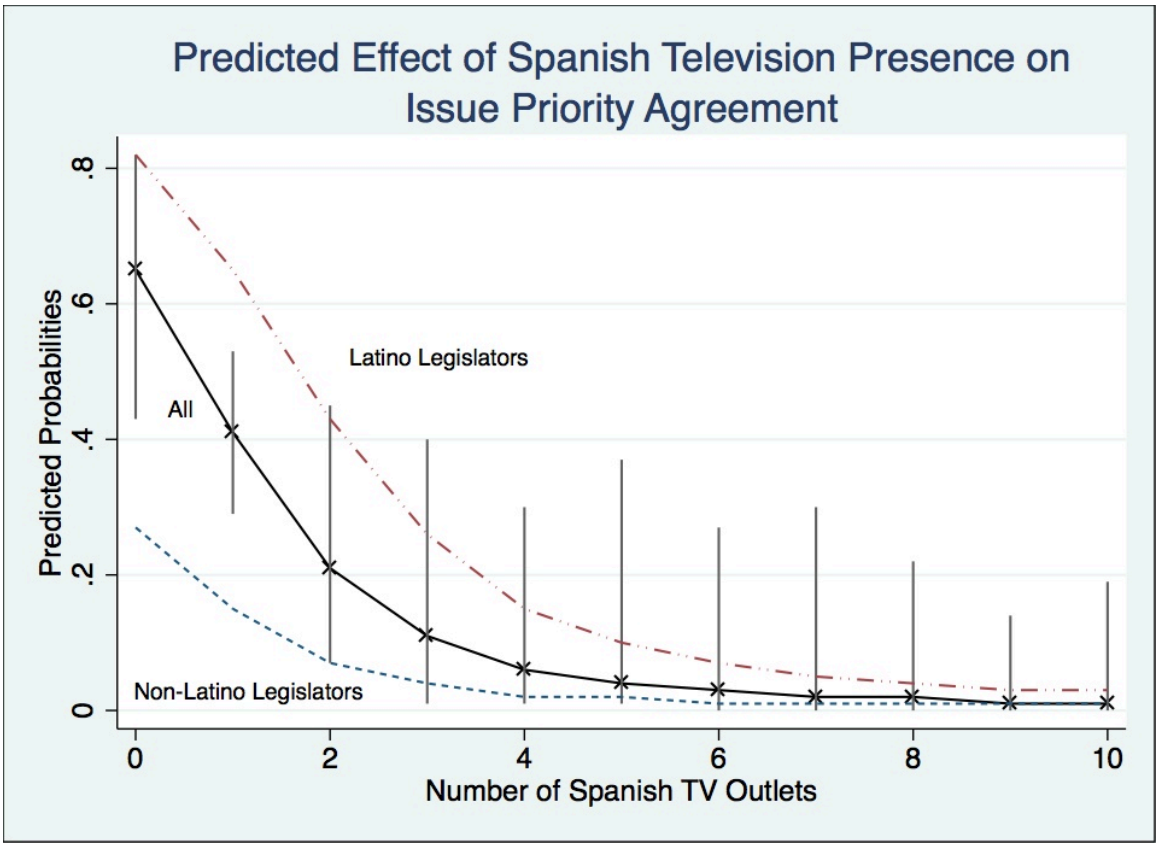
support of my hypothesized relationships between Spanish media presence and legislator-constituent issue priority agreement.

Indeed I find support for Hypothesis H_{1c}, which predicts a *positive* effect of *Spanish Radio* presence on legislator-constituent issue priority agreement. However, the statistically significant independent relationship between the Spanish-language media indicator, *Spanish TV,* and issue priority agreement is *negative*, and thus opposite my theoretical expectation that more *Spanish TV* presence contributes to issue priority agreement. Thus, I find no support for Hypothesis H_{1b}.

Using *CLARIFY* software package tools (Tomz, Wittenberg and King 2001) on the probit model specification, I estimate the predicted effects (probabilities) of the two statistically significant Spanish media environment predictors of issue priority agreement, *Spanish Radio* and *Spanish TV*. To interpret the predicted effects of *Spanish Radio* presence on top issue priority agreement I illustrate these effects in Figure 5.4 where I we observe the probability of issue priority agreement increasing as the number of *Spanish Radio* outlets available to state legislators increases. The solid black line illustrates the predicted probabilities of issue priority agreement with the *Spanish Radio* condition for all legislators with a 95 percent confidence interval represented by the spikes. The red dashed line illustrates the predicted effect of *Spanish Radio* presence for Latino legislators, and the blue dotted line illustrates the same for non-Latino legislators. The strength of the positive effect of the number of *Spanish Radio* outlets for all legislators, which goes from about a 20 percent probability of issue priority agreement at two *Spanish Radio* outlets to about an 85 percent probability of issue priority agreement at 12

Spanish Radio outlets, tapers of significantly when the number of *Spanish Radio* outlets goes above 12 outlets. Considering effects of *Spanish Radio* presence on the probability of issue priority agreement among Latino and Non-Latino legislators separately reveals that *Spanish Radio* presence is, on the whole, a stronger predictor of issue priority agreement for Latino legislators, which provides evidence to support my expectation in Hypothesis H_{2c}.

Figure 5.5



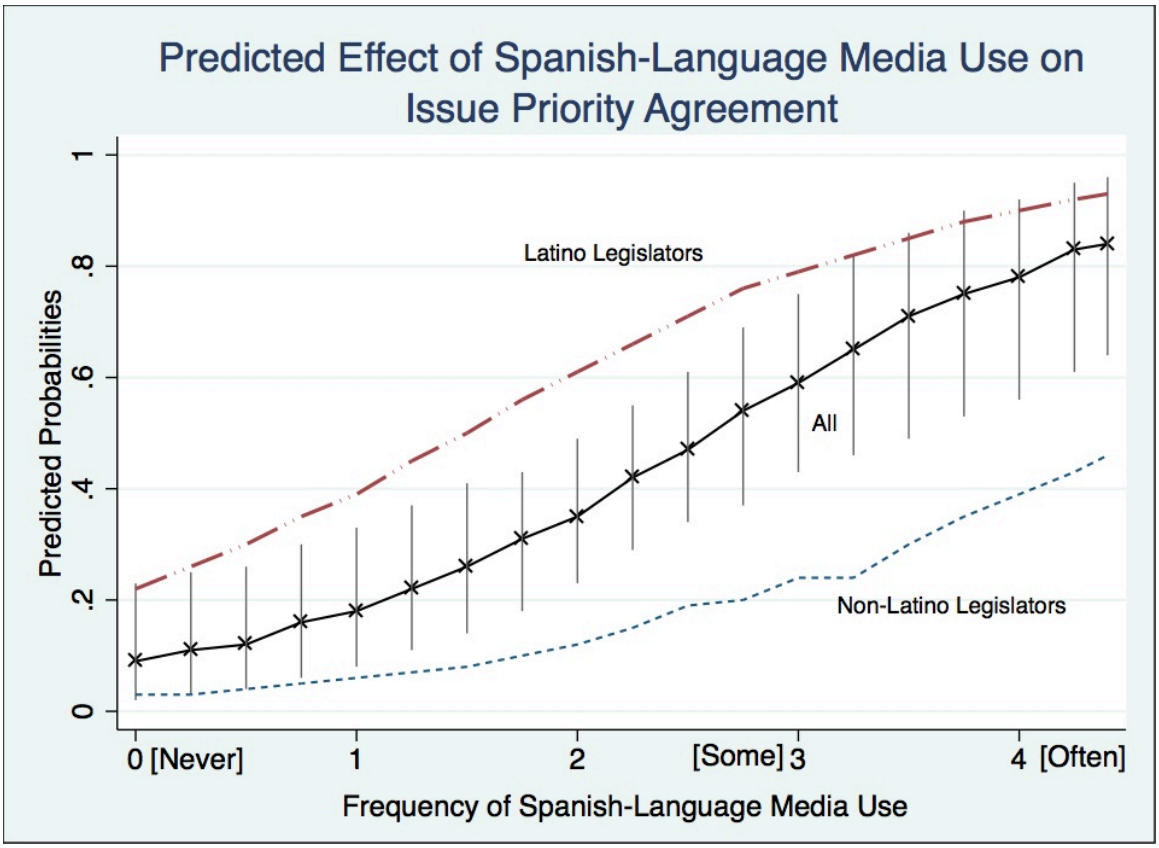
Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey, CLARIFY.

Recalling my theoretical expectation set forth in Hypothesis H_{1b} of a positive effect of *Spanish TV* presence on issue priority agreement, I find that the number of

Spanish TV outlets does have a statistically significant effect on agreement, but this effect is *negative*. In Figure 5.5, an illustration of the predicted effects of *Spanish TV* presence on the probability of issue priority agreement, we see this negative effect at play for all Latino and non-Latino legislators. The strongest effect of *Spanish TV* presence on the likelihood of issue priority agreement between legislators and constituents is when there is one *Spanish TV* outlet in a legislator's media environment. Among legislators with one available *Spanish TV* outlet, there is a 40 percent probability that they agree with their top legislative priority is the same as the policy issue that is most important to their district's constituents. The addition of a second, third, fourth, and fifth *Spanish TV* outlet to the media environment, however, pulls this probability closer to a zero probability, or a null effect of *Spanish TV* presence on issue priority agreement. As with the effects of *Spanish Radio* presence on the probability of top issue priority agreement, the predicted effect of *Spanish TV* presence on agreement is generally higher for Latino legislators than for non-Latinos.

While a media environment that includes Spanish-language media is essential to the effects the Spanish media can have on politics, I also allow space in this analysis for individual legislator behavior to play a role in informing our understanding of the Spanish media's effects on legislator-constituent issue priority agreement. In Table 5.2 we observe *Frequency of Spanish-Language Media Use* having a positive and statistically significant effect ($p<.01$) on issue priority agreement, suggesting evidence to support of my prediction in Hypothesis H_3. As a measure of the average frequency of using the five types of Spanish-language media tools in Figure 5.2, an increase in

Figure 5.6



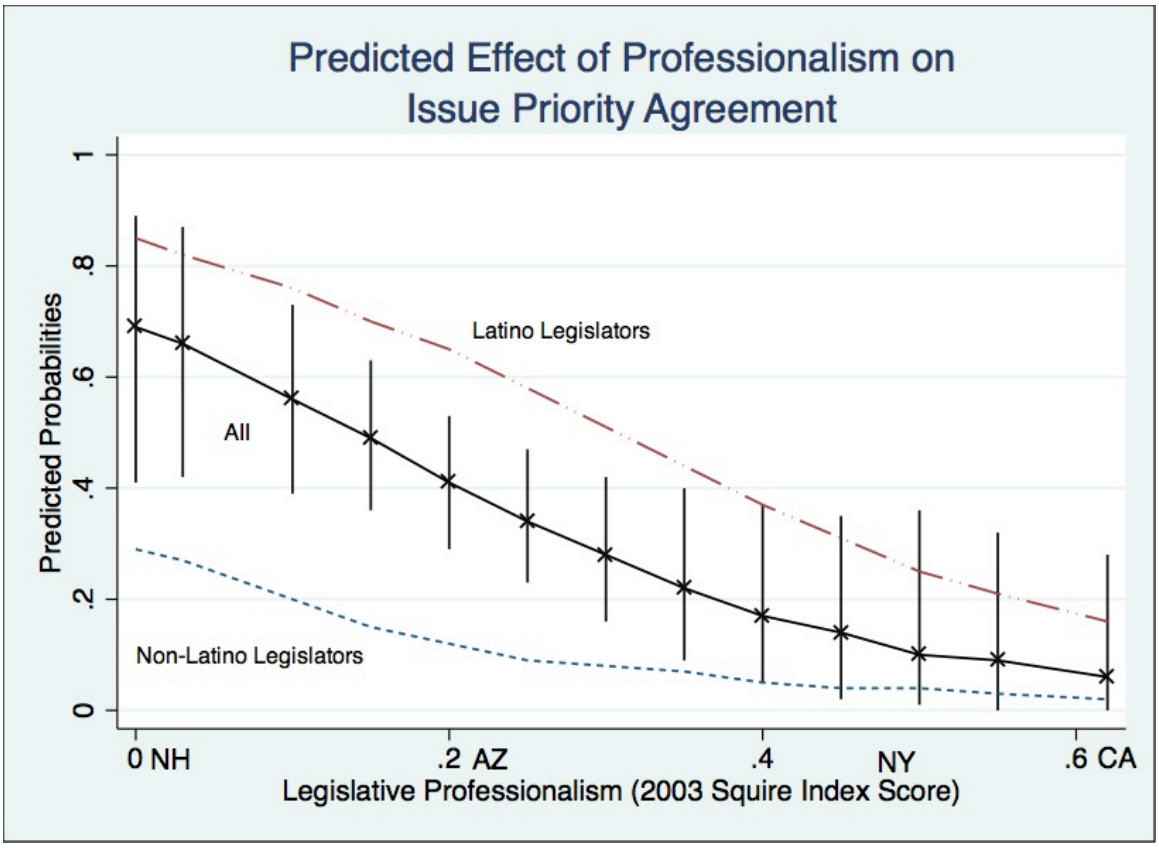
Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey, CLARIFY.

Frequency of Spanish-Language Media Use predicts a higher probability of issue priority agreement. In Figure 5.6 I illustrate the probability of issue priority agreement when legislators never use Spanish media tools and when they use them often. The black line (with spikes indicating the 95 percent confidence band) illustrates the probability of issue priority agreement moving from about 10 percent when all legislators never use Spanish media tools to about an 80 percent probability of issue priority agreement when all legislators use these tools often. For Latino legislators who report not using Spanish media tools the probability that their top issue priority matches that of their district's

constituents is around 20 percent, much higher than that of their non-Latino counterparts. This pattern—or gap between Latino and non-Latinos—continues as average frequency of Spanish media increases to the high frequency "often" category. For Latino legislators who often make use of Spanish media tools, the chance that they also achieve issue priority agreement with their constituents is around 90 percent, compared to only around 45 percent for their non-Latino counterparts. Building on our understanding that Hispanic state legislators make more use of the Spanish-language media (Figure 5.2), the evidence illustrated in Figure 5.6 of a strong, positive predicted effect of *Frequency of Spanish-Language Media Use* on issue priority agreement suggests that the effects of legislators' engagement with the media are different when legislators are Hispanic.

As an important concept hypothesized to influence various legislative behaviors (Squire 2007), I include legislative *Professionalism*, as an important statistical control in the probit model of predictors of legislator-constituent issue priority agreement. With the theoretical expectation that more professional legislatures facilitate issue priority agreement more so than non-professional legislatures, I anticipated the independent effect of legislative *Professionalism* on agreement to be positive. Instead, *Professionalism* in the multivariate probit model of issue priority agreement (Table 5.2) has a *negative* and statistically significant ($p<.05$) effect on agreement. The independent predicted effects of *Professionalism* on issue priority agreement in Figure 5.7 illustrate this negative association. The 70 percent probability that all legislators in the least professional legislature in the sample (New Hampshire) achieve issue priority agreement is nearly 10

Figure 5.7

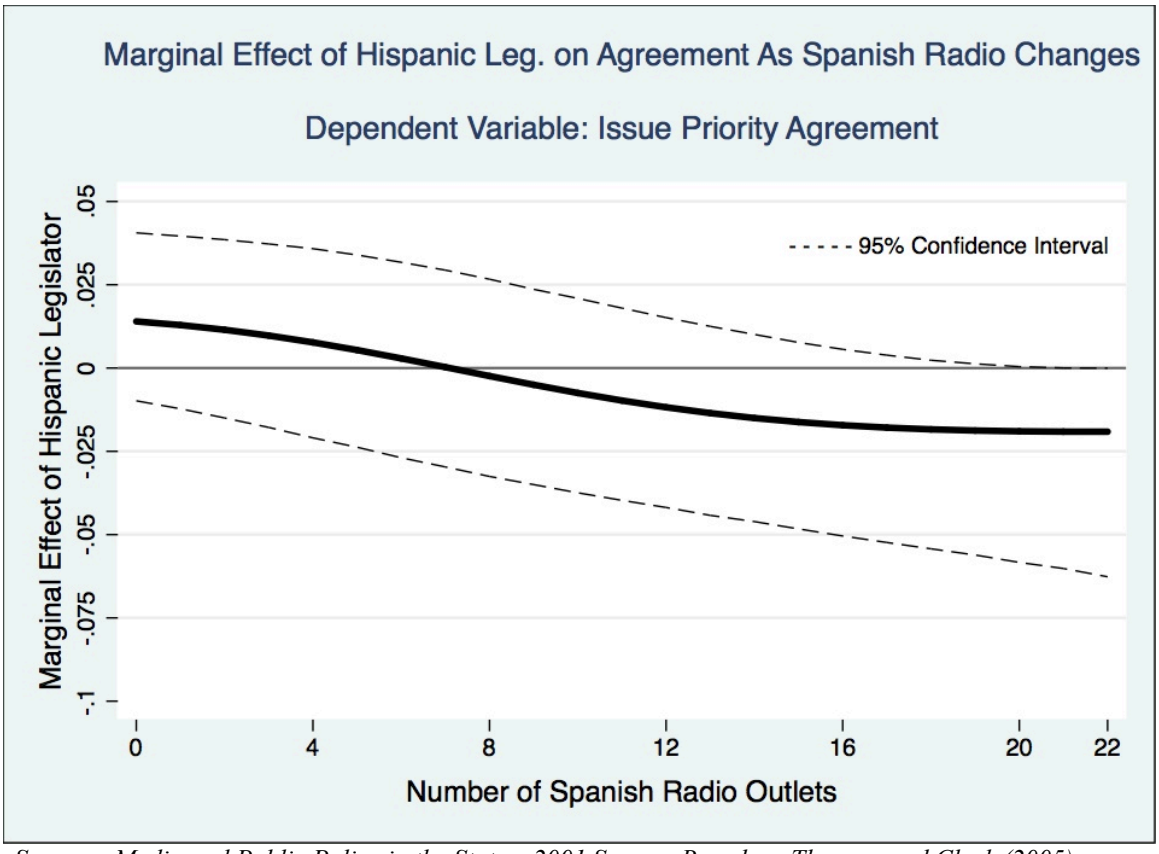


Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey, Squire (2007), CLARIFY.

times greater than the probability of agreement among all legislators in the most professional legislature (California). Finally, also contrary to my theoretical expectation, the probit model reveals *Democrat* legislators as being less likely ($p<.10$) than their GOP counterparts to exhibit issue priority agreement.

Turning to the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on issue priority agreement when conditioned by whether a legislator is Hispanic, I constructed multiplicative interaction terms—*Hispanic Legislator X Spanish Print, Hispanic Legislator X Spanish Radio,* and *Hispanic Legislator X Spanish TV*—of the different

Figure 5.8

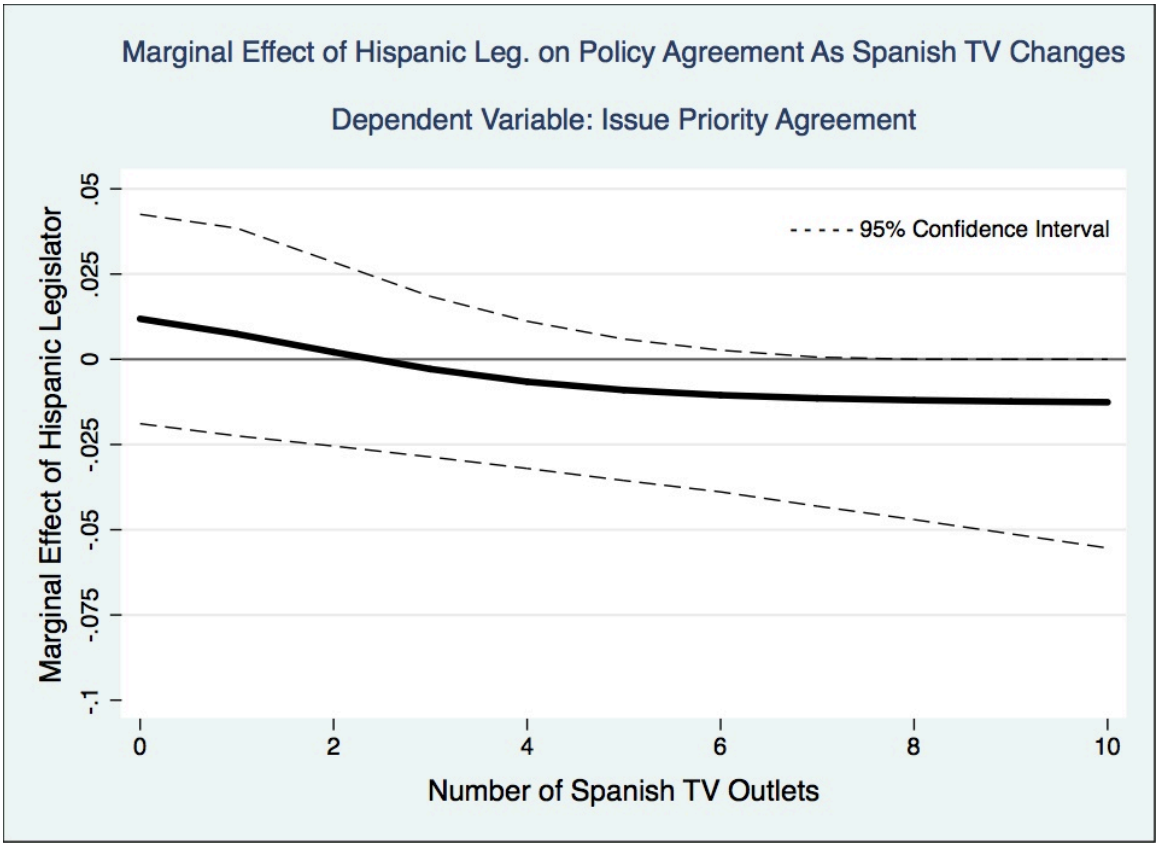


Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey; Brambor, Thomas, and Clark (2005)

Spanish-language media environment indicators (*Spanish Print, Spanish Radio, and Spanish TV*) and *Hispanic Legislator* and, as we observe with the independent effects, the results are mixed. Without a statistically significant finding for the effects of *Spanish Print* media presence on issue priority agreement conditioned by descriptive Hispanic representation, we focus our attention on the conditional effects of *Spanish Radio* and *Spanish TV* on agreement. In Figure 5.8 I illustrate how a single unit increase in *Hispanic Legislator* from its mean value of .71 (Hispanic = 1, Non-Hispanic = 0) affects the probability of issue priority agreement as *Spanish Radio* presence in a legislator's district

changes. What we observe is that the descriptive "Hispanicness" of a state legislator modestly decreases the probability of issue priority agreement, and that this effect becomes negative when the number of *Spanish Radio* outlets is greater than seven.

Figure 5.9



Sources: Media and Public Policy in the States: 2001 Survey; Brambor, Thomas, and Clark (2005)

I illustrate the marginal effect of a legislator's descriptive "Hispanicness," *Hispanic Legislator*, on legislator-constituent issue priority agreement as the presence of *Spanish TV* changes in Figure 5.9. Here we observe how a single unit increase in *Hispanic Legislator* from its mean value of .71 (Hispanic = 1, Non-Hispanic = 0) affects the likelihood that legislators share the same top issue priority as their constituents across

the different levels of *Spanish TV* presence in the legislator's district. Like the marginal effects of *Hispanic Legislator* on issue priority agreement in the *Spanish Radio* environment, the marginal effect of "Hispanicness" on agreement with changes in the *Spanish TV* environment decreases as *Spanish TV* presence increases. However, these marginal effects become negative with an even less robust Spanish TV environment, when the number of *Spanish TV* outlets is two or greater. Still, I find support for the conditional effects hypothesis, H_{2b}, and evidence that *Spanish TV* presence affects the relationship between descriptive Hispanic representation and issue policy agreement.

Understanding Legislator-Constituent Relationships through the Spanish Media

As a study of legislator-constituent issue priority agreement, this analysis informs our understanding of the role of Spanish-language media in shaping the interests and preferences of state legislators and their constituents. Beyond exploring the relationships between the state legislators' policy preferences, constituent preferences, and the media, this chapter also contributes to our understanding of the early development of a Hispanic/Latino policy agenda in the states. Specifically, the evidence presented here suggests that the policy issues U.S. state legislators and their Latino constituents deem important are well within the "mainstream" of public opinion. With education, healthcare, jobs, the economy, and immigration policy at the top of the lists of legislators' legislative policy priorities and their perceptions of their largely Hispanic constituents' priorities—as reported in the MPPS—we can begin to envision an agenda of issues of most importance to U.S. Hispanics.

The empirical findings I present here reveal that Spanish-language radio and television outlets play a significant role in driving agreement between lawmakers' legislative priorities and the policy issue preferences of their constituents. We discovered that issue priority agreement is more likely when more Spanish-language radio stations are available to legislators and their constituents. Having seen Spanish radio play a critical in mobilizing Hispanics toward political protests of proposed reforms to immigration policy (Félix, González, and Ramirez 2009: Barreto et al. 2009), we can use this new understanding of Spanish radio's effects on driving issue priority agreement to suggest that state lawmakers might share the views of the Latino public. Further, given that Hispanic and non-Hispanic legislators alike make use of Spanish-language media tools—including Spanish radio—we might begin to develop some expectations that state lawmakers might be similarly mobilized by Spanish radio to take action on an issue like immigration policy reform. The finding that the presence of Spanish television has a strong independent effect on issue priority agreement between state lawmakers and their constituents only at low levels of Spanish television presence is, however, less encouraging.

Beyond identifying the independent effects of the presence of Spanish-language media on issue priority agreement, I find evidence suggesting that the degree to which state legislators use all Spanish-language media tools is a good predictor of the coherence between their top policy preferences and what they perceive to be the most important issues facing their constituents. Legislators who use the Spanish-language media often are nearly four times more likely to experience issue priority agreement. Recalling the

role Spanish-language media's effect on lawmakers' media entrepreneurism explored in chapter 3 of this study, the finding I identify here suggesting a strong relationship between Spanish-language media use and issue priority agreement suggests that the more state lawmakers use Spanish media tools, the more they seem to be in touch with their constituents' policy concerns. Looking only at Latino state legislators, the evidence I find here of a strong effect of Spanish media use and issue priority agreement suggests that Latino state legislators may be using the Spanish-language media as proxy for Latino public opinion in a manner similar to that described by Herbst (1998). Above all, this particular finding gives a significant boost to the general theory I advance in this dissertation, which portrays the Spanish-language media as an important representational link between lawmakers and their constituents.

In treating the Spanish-language media environment as a feature of the information environment that conditions the effect of descriptive Hispanic representation on issue priority agreement, I find that the presence of Spanish radio and Spanish television does, in fact, have an intervening effect on issue priority agreement. However, the marginal effect of descriptive Hispanic representation on the likelihood of issue priority agreement is positive only at lower levels of Spanish radio and Spanish television presence in legislators' districts.

Finally, though outside the framework of the Spanish-language media's independent and conditional effects on issue priority agreement, my discovery that legislative professionalism suppresses the likelihood of policy issue agreement contributes to our understanding of Hispanic representation in the U.S. states. Our

understanding of institutional design in the states playing a an important role in predicting levels of Hispanic descriptive representation in the statehouses suggests that the designs of the Arizona and California legislatures are most conducive to achieving descriptive representation for Hispanics, while the New York state legislature is among the least conducive (Casellas 2009). As data from the MPPS survey, which surveys state legislators in 19 different states, an important institutional characteristic of state legislators—legislative professionalism—plays a significant role predicting an important aspect of substantive Latino representation—policy issue agreement among Latino lawmakers and their largely Latino constituents. Whereas Casellas (2009) identifies the California and Arizona legislatures as most similar in their favorability to Hispanic descriptive representation, I identify these states—because of their very different levels of legislative professionalism—as potentially very different in the level of Hispanic substantive representation they provide through issue priority agreement. If we were to use only institutional arrangements to predict Hispanic substantive representation, the effects of professionalism on issue priority agreement I identify here actually predict New York and California as less likely than Arizona to yield issue priority agreement and thus meaningful substantive policy representation for Hispanics. While I do not argue here that the institutional characteristics of state legislatures are unreliable predictors of substantive representation here, this finding suggests this area is still fertile ground for studies of Latino representation in U.S. state legislatures.

While indicative of the significant role the Spanish-language media play in predicting agreement among state lawmakers and their constituents as to what policy

issues are most important, the findings I present in this chapter suggest that we are still at an early stage of understanding the policy preferences of state legislators, Latino and non-Latino alike, of the influence of the Spanish media on the state legislative agendas. This area of investigation is fertile ground for more in-depth analysis of these phenomena. To be sure, a more refined study of issue priority agreement would match Hispanic preferences and attitudes gleaned from public opinion data matching the preferences and opinions of state legislators, under the same media environment conditions, and at the same time. To my knowledge, a single study meeting all these criteria does not exist. Still, using available resources, here I present findings indicating that we are moving in the right direction of a comprehensive understanding of the coherence policy agendas as envisioned by Hispanic public officials and Hispanic constituencies. My approach in this first cut to developing an understanding the development of Hispanic/Latino policy agendas is grounded on the notion that, like the mainstream media that inform policy agendas, the Spanish-language media play an important agenda-setting role for Latino public officials and the Latino public. The findings in this chapter raise the question of whether the Spanish-language media are the best venue through which Hispanic elites and the Latino community can come to agreements as to what constitutes a "Hispanic/Latino agenda" to promote in the statehouses. Of course, a more in-depth investigation of the agenda setting effects of Spanish media presence and use on elite and mass-level agreement on salient issues requires investigation into the printed and broadcasted content reaching Latinos in Spanish. This is an important area of future research.

In this chapter I have illustrated evidence of a significant relationship between the Spanish media and the degree to which state lawmakers' policy issue priorities match those of their largely Latino constituencies. Highlighting the function of the Spanish-language media as an agenda setter, I explored the relationships between the Spanish media environment and the policy issues deemed by state lawmakers as important to the Hispanic community. The relationships I identified here contribute to an appreciation for the potential effects of Spanish-language media on policymaking at varying levels of access to these media. Together with the revelations of the strong effects of the Spanish-language media environment on lawmakers' media entrepreneurship (Chapter 3), and Latino political knowledge (Chapter 4), what I identified in this chapter as a significant relationship between the Spanish media and legislator-constituent issue priority agreement suggest that the Spanish-language media are an important social institution (Cook 1998) in the minds of state lawmakers and the U.S. Hispanics.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Spanish-Language Media in the Statehouse

As the primary sources of news and information for millions of U.S. Hispanics, the hundreds of Spanish-language news media outlets in the U.S. are a vital link between U.S. Latinos and their local communities, the nation, and the world. Oriented by the puzzle of what contributions the Spanish-language media make to our understanding of U.S. Hispanic interests, attitudes, and behavior, I began this dissertation by situating the Spanish news media—in its various media functions—as an important institution linking state lawmakers to their Latino constituencies. Throughout this study of the U.S. Spanish-language media environment's effects on state legislators' media entrepreneurship, political knowledge among Hispanic communities, and the degree to which lawmakers agree with their constituents' policy issue priorities, I have uncovered evidence supporting the view that Spanish media are also meaningful and useful instruments of representation in the states. From the view that they function as an important representational link between state lawmakers and the U.S. Hispanic community, the Spanish-language media in the U.S. are a valuable tool with strong potential to enlighten analysts and observers on many aspects of U.S. Latino politics.

Following a brief survey in Chapter 1 of the state of our knowledge of the news media in U.S. politics and of our more limited understanding of how the Hispanic/Latino media, and the Spanish-language media fit in general theories of media and politics, I discussed the analytical tools I developed for my own analysis of the Spanish media's function as a representational link between lawmakers and U.S. Latinos. In Chapter 2, I

described my elite survey of state legislators' attitudes and behaviors as they relate to their use of various means of political communication and their interactions with state capitol news corps. Building on the insights of media and state legislative professionals, I developed the survey as a means of understanding the Spanish media environment from the perspective of public officials engaged in policymaking processes with significant consequences for the U.S. Hispanic community. Data from the "Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey, " which were drawn from a sample of the population of U.S. Latino state legislators and a sample of non-Latino legislators, gave us a unique insight into how important the Spanish-language media are to their functions as political representatives of largely Hispanic constituencies.

My approach to explaining the Spanish-language media environment's effects on the lives of U.S. Latinos and on the shape of U.S. politics generally was based on what I argue is a significant shortcoming in how analysts before me, who have focused largely on Latino public opinion and behavior, have studied these effects. I have argued that in addition to evaluating the Spanish media's various effects on Hispanic knowledge, behavior, and opinion on the basis of self-reported use of Spanish media, these effects can be reliably estimated by the presence and absence of Spanish-language media in individuals' information environments. Thus, I developed a novel measure of individual Spanish-language media environments using ArcGIS software tools for spatial analysis as a means of measuring the presence/absence of Spanish-language media outlets in state lawmakers' and Hispanic individuals' information environments. This new measure—the

Spanish-language media environment—was the key independent variable of interest in the empirical studies I presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

In Chapter 3 I examined the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on media entrepreneurship among state legislators who represent largely Hispanic constituencies. I used elite opinion data from the "Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey," which reveal the various channels through which state legislators communicate and how frequently they use them in as they engage in the lawmaking process. Using the measure of a virtual Spanish-language media environment for each state legislator in the study, I predicted lawmakers' media entrepreneurship was a function of their Spanish media environments. Using various regression specifications modeling the relationships between descriptive Hispanic representation, the Spanish-language media environment, and media entrepreneurship among state legislators I identified the significant independent and conditional effects of Spanish-language media presence on media entrepreneurship. Building from the framework situating the Spanish-language media environment as an element of legislators' and constituents' information environments that functions as a representational link between Hispanic constituents and their political representatives, I found that Spanish media presences moves lawmakers to a high sense of efficacy toward the media and its usefulness.

In Chapter 4 I analyzed the relationship between U.S. Latinos' use of Spanish-language media and political knowledge. I operationalized the Spanish-language media environment as an important element of Hispanics' information environments and tested the independent impact of the Spanish-language media on shaping their general political

knowledge. Building on the Motives, Means, Opportunity framework I also tested the effects of the Spanish media environment (a set of opportunities to learn) on political knowledge when accounting for Latinos' interest in politics (motives to learn). I used data from the New America Media database of ethnic media (2010) to which I merged national Hispanic public opinion data to analyze the effects of Spanish-language print, television and radio on shaping the opportunity, means, and motives that comprise political knowledge and sophistication for respondents to the Latino National Survey. Using these data and regression analysis I identified a meaningful relationship between Spanish-language print media and Latino political knowledge, and Latino interest in home country politics.

With an understanding of the many functions that the Spanish-language media play in the lives of U.S. Hispanics developed in Chapter 1, we learned from my analysis of the effects of access to Spanish media on Latino political knowledge that the presence of Spanish print media matters to Latinos, just as the presence/absence of local newspapers matter to voters generally (Mondak 1995). The findings in Chapter 4 reveal that the Spanish media perform their function as informers (Schudson 2008) for U.S. Hispanics in ways we can notably detect when they are present and absent from Latinos' information environment, providing support for the claim that while the Spanish-language media serve pluralist and assimilationist functions specific to U.S. Hispanics (Subervi-Velez 1986; 2008), they also function in ways that mimic the mainstream English-language news media. Whereas some have argued that the Spanish language and the Spanish-language media pose a "threat" to U.S. national identity (Huntington 2004),

the evidence I provide here suggests that by keeping the U.S. Hispanic community informed about politics, the Spanish-language media actually strengthen the U.S. and its proud identity as a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural society.

As I have argued throughout this study, the Spanish-language media play a significant role in strengthening relationships between lawmakers and the Hispanic community. To this end I have situated Spanish media outlets as important resources for lawmakers to employ a "home style" of representation (Fenno 1978) with their Latino constituents. Independently, both state lawmakers and Hispanic constituencies value the Spanish-language media. I have presented evidence suggesting that the Spanish-language media environment is an important source of knowledge about the political world for Latino constituencies and that the presence of Spanish media encourage state lawmakers to engage their constituents with Spanish-language media tools. While the presence of Spanish media in U.S. society is more apparent for some groups than others, we have learned from state legislators that their presence in the halls of the U.S. state capitols is well known and taken seriously.

This recognition of the Spanish-language media's impact on lawmakers' behavior is reflected in its impact on the degree to which state legislators agree with their constituents on what policy issues are most salient. In Chapter 5 I provided evidence of this phenomenon by analyzing this relationship using original data from the "Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey," in which state lawmakers' policy preferences and the degree to which they use Spanish-language media to communicate with their constituents and other elite political actors are reported, and my operationalization of the

Spanish-language media environment. I found the presence of Spanish Radio and Spanish TV in state legislators' districts has independent and conditional effects on predicting issue priority agreement between state lawmakers and their constituents. In identifying a relationship between the presence of Spanish-language media and policy agreement among lawmakers and their constituents, I revealed evidence of the Spanish-language's function as a representational link between lawmakers and their constituents along with preliminary evidence of the Spanish-language media's potential to influence Hispanic/Latino policy agendas in the states.

Together, these three empirical analyses of the Spanish-language media's functions in the lives of U.S. Hispanics and in the duties of state legislators representing Hispanic constituents in 19 U.S. statehouses support my claim that the Spanish-language media serve an important function in U.S. politics as a representational link between lawmakers and the Hispanic community. This new understanding of the Spanish media environment as an important resource for both Hispanic mass publics and state lawmakers makes an significant contribution to our understanding of the news media and Spanish-language communication as important elements of Hispanic representation in the U.S.

Limitations as Paths for Future Research

As a set of findings, what I present in this dissertation suggests that Spanish-language media do not encumber essential elements of a well-functioning democratic society—communication, knowledge, and the meaningful representation of group interests—they enhance them. The limitations of this study on the inferences we are able

make about the U.S. Spanish-language media environment and its place in U.S. politics, however, stimulate the need for deeper investigation. Through my analysis of the Spanish-language media environment's impact on levels of political knowledge among U.S. Hispanics, we learned that the Spanish news media in the U.S. fill an important space in the information environments for many Latinos. While this study addresses a significant gap in our understanding of the Spanish media environment in the U.S. by providing evidence of a meaningful relationship between state lawmakers, the U.S. Latino public, and the Spanish-language media, it also raises important additional questions. Some of these questions relate directly to the dynamic and evolving nature of the media and the information environment, while others address legislative behavior in the U.S. statehouses. I address some of these questions following some comments on the measurement limitations of my study.

Measuring Spanish-Language Media Effects

In developing my operationalizations of the Spanish-language media environment—the numbers of Spanish print, radio, and television outlets present in Latinos' and lawmakers' information environments (the key independent variables of this study) I use available data from the 2010 database of ethnic media (New America Media 2010) to match Spanish media presence to Latino mass opinion and elite opinion (the sources of the key dependent variables). The Latino National Survey (LNS) is the most comprehensive national survey of U.S. Hispanic attitudes and orientations conducted to date and the source of my measure of Latino political knowledge, which I evaluated in Chapter 4. Nonetheless, it has not been replicated since its release in 2006. This

unfortunate reality results in the lack of a perfect temporal match between the key independent variable—the Spanish-language media environment—and Latino political knowledge. My original data collection efforts, which resulted in the Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey, took place during the fall of 2010 and spring of 2011. Thus, the elite attitudes and opinions data I evaluate in Chapters 3 and 5 suffer from this same measurement shortcoming. Just as every analyst is forced by the limitations of available data on political phenomena to begrudgingly accept trade-offs in the interest of making valuable contributions to science, I accept this limitation.

A Broader look at Spanish-Language Political Communication

Our understanding of the Spanish media environment is restricted in this study to print media and broadcast television and radio presence in the U.S. Though more and more data on the availability and use of Spanish-language news and information in other mediums—cable and satellite television, and the Internet—are becoming increasingly available, data on print, television, and radio presence and use are still more accessible to analysts interested in interpreting the effects of the Spanish-language media on Hispanic knowledge, opinion, and behavior. Still, data on U.S. Hispanics' technology use and where they place on the "digital divide" indicate that while Hispanics trail non-Hispanics in their regular use of the Internet by margins as great as 18 percent, young Hispanics (ages 16 – 17) are using the Internet nearly twice as much as older Hispanics (ages 55 and over) (Pew Hispanic Center 2009). As the U.S. Hispanic, and Spanish-speaking populations continue to grow at rates surpassing 25 percent since 2005 (U.S. Census 2009), and majorities of Latinos surveyed reporting preferences for the Spanish language

(62 percent) (Latino National Survey 2006) and Spanish and bilingual advertising (Wentz 2011), the importance of Spanish-language communication in the U.S. does not appear to be waning any time soon.

To be sure, the trends signaling interest in communicating with Spanish-dominant and bilingual Hispanics are not limited those of savvy advertisers capitalizing on a growing market. Public officials are indeed becoming more interested and active in using the Internet and social media tools to transmit political messages to Latino constituencies (Wilson 2009), and are even tailoring Spanish-language messages to address their particularized interests (Medina Vidal et al. 2010). Thus, it is becoming more apparent that, as analysts, we have much work to do in terms of collecting data and developing innovative research designs that target these important and increasingly relevant forms of Spanish-language political communication. My own next steps in evaluating Spanish-language political communication include conducting spatial analyses of Spanish-language media effects on Latino opinion and behavior, content analyses of Spanish-language media and other Spanish-language political communication, and studying the effects of bilingual Latinos' media preferences in maintaining group identity and political knowledge in an experimental setting.

Behavior in State Legislatures

Other limitations of this study relate to our understanding of legislative behavior in the U.S. states and indicators of legislative behavior that I have not addressed here. In my analysis of the Spanish media's effects on issue priority agreement between lawmakers' and district interests I have yet to account for lawmakers' next steps in

advancing Hispanic/Latino policy issue agendas in their chambers. In future studies I will study the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on the frequencies and substance of bill introductions and sponsorships, floor speeches, and votes in chambers.

Another important phenomenon with the potential to impact the substance and orientation of Hispanic/Latino policy issues in the states is the presence of ethnic-based Latino, Hispanic, Black/Hispanic, and Mexican-American legislative caucuses in state legislative bodies. Future studies of the Spanish-language media's role in shaping policy development and policy agreement in the states should also consider communication and other interaction among organized interest-based legislative caucuses with the Spanish-language media. Having shown in Chapter 5 that legislative professionalism plays an important role in issue priority agreement for state legislators and their Latino constituencies, I expect Latino/Hispanic caucuses—an understudied institutional feature of U.S. state legislatures—and their interactions with the Spanish media to have a significant impact on various aspects of representation for U.S. Latinos in the states.

Finally, the sampling frame for my elite survey of legislators' attitudes and opinions included the population of Hispanic lawmakers in all U.S. state legislatures and a sample of non-Latino legislators who represent largely Latino state legislative districts. Unfortunately, only 30 percent of legislators I recruited to participate in the study responded to my requests. In future efforts to recruit participants I will consider alternative formats such as an Internet-based survey to encourage more participation. To better understand the effects of the Spanish-language media environment on the

relationships Hispanic and non-Hispanic Members of the U.S. Congress have with their constituents I will also pursue them as participants for future studies.

My analysis of the Spanish media environment, which has focused on the implications of Spanish-language communication for a particular aspect of representation in U.S. politics, is but one example of the many avenues media scholars and students of political communication, behavior, and opinion can take to understand U.S. Hispanic politics. Subervi-Vélez (1986; 2008) and the contributors to Subervi-Vélez's edited volume (2008) who examine the Latino (English-language, bilingual, and Spanish-language) media in the U.S. have made the most significant contributions to our understanding of the Spanish-language media in the U.S. In this dissertation I have contributed to Subervi-Vélez's (2008) efforts to bridge the gaps between communications and political science research on the Spanish-language media. There are, nonetheless, many more questions than there are possibilities to address them in a single dissertation study.

With Hispanic population size and proportion, Spanish and bilingual media presence, rates of descriptive Latino representation, and political actors' appreciation for Spanish-language political communication all signaling positive growth trends, there is a great deal yet to be said about the phenomena and relationships I have analyzed in this study. Nevertheless, I hope to have revealed here that the voices of the U.S. Hispanic communities are being made present (Pitkin 1967) in the halls of the U.S. statehouses. As the relationships between state lawmakers and the Spanish-language media continue to develop, these voices are being heard more loudly and more clearly.

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Appendix 2.1

Interview Protocol
State Legislators

D. Xavier Medina Vidal
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Thanks for participating in this study – I really appreciate it. As I explained when we spoke earlier this month, this study concerns the relationship between state legislators and the news media. Some of the questions are specific, asking for examples of your experiences. But most are fairly general: Not much is known about the role of Spanish-language news media in state government and policymaking.

This interview has three parts and I'll give you a sense of where we're at as we move through these three categories: your background, your relationships with other people in the news media, and your relationships with other officials and policy makers. If there is a question you don't want to answer for any reason, just let me know and we can skip past it.

All of your answers to these questions will be kept entirely confidential. In other words, your name and answers will never be linked, and your name never revealed. I am the only person who will have access to any potentially identifying information.

Before we begin, would you be willing to sign this statement of informed consent, recognizing that I have informed you about the nature of my questions and indicating your willingness to participate.

It will be too difficult for me to write down everything you say, and I want to make sure I get your exact remarks recorded. So is it all right if I record our discussion?

A. Questions about Background

1. First, can you tell me a little bit about yourself, and how long you [have been in political office] or [worked in _____'s office]?

2. How did you get involved in public service?

3. Tell me a little about your constituents. How do you stay in touch with your constituents throughout the year?

B. Questions about Relationships with the News Media

Now, I would like to change the subject and talk about your relationships with the news media, and about your interactions with the news media here at the capitol and in your district. I'm not going to ask you to assess anyone else's work or identify anyone by name, but just ask general questions about the way things work here.

1. Generally speaking, would you say that news about state politics and policy is reported accurately by the state capitol press corps?

2. How much of the time do you think you can trust journalists?

C. Questions about Spanish-language media

1. Are there many Spanish-language media outlets in your district? Do they cover activities here in the state capitol?

2. Can you describe your relationship with the Spanish-language media?

3. How does this relationship compare to your relationship and interactions with the mainstream (English-language) media?

4. Which groups most actively communicate with you and your office regarding issues related to Hispanic/Latinos that come before the legislature?

5. Are the Spanish-language active in covering news about legislation that relates to Hispanic interests?

D. Questions about Spanish-language Communication

1. Do you communicate with constituents, your own staff, of fellow legislators in Spanish?

2. Can you give examples of how you communicate in Spanish? Do you have a Spanish-language website? Mailers?

3. How much of your routine activities as a legislators are conducted in Spanish or in a language other than English?

4. Are members of your staff fluent in Spanish or in another language? Is this a critical skill to have for staff working in your office?

Thanks for participating in this interview. If you have any questions about the project, please let me know. I am leaving a business card with you – my telephone number (505-710-6187) and email address (dmedi005@ucr.edu) – are printed on it, so you can get back in contact with me.

Appendix 2.2

Interview Protocol
State Capitol Bureau Reporters

D. Xavier Medina Vidal
University of California – Riverside

Thanks for participating in this study – I really appreciate it. As I explained when we spoke earlier this month, this study concerns the relationship between state legislators and the news media. Some of the questions are specific, asking for examples of your experiences. But most are fairly general: Not much is known about the role of Spanish-language news media in state government and policymaking.

This interview has three parts and I'll give you a sense of where we're at as we move through these three categories: your background, your relationships with other people in the news media, and your relationships with other officials and policy makers. If there is a question you don't want to answer for any reason, just let me know and we can skip past it.

All of your answers to these questions will be kept entirely confidential. In other words, your name and answers will never be linked, and your name never revealed. I am the only person who will have access to any potentially identifying information.

Before we begin, would you be willing to sign this statement of informed consent, recognizing that I have informed you about the nature of my questions and indicating your willingness to participate.

It will be too difficult for me to write down everything you say, and I want to make sure I get your exact remarks recorded. So is it all right if I record our discussion?

A. Questions about Background

1. I'd like to start with some basic background information about your career as a reporter. How did you get into Journalism? Perhaps you could start by telling me where you are from and where you went to school.

2. How long have you been working in the state capital?

3. How is your routine affected by the legislative session? When the legislature is meeting, what differences do you see in your day?

4. Are there any other times of the year your day-to-day routine varies?

I'm also interested in how you view your job.

5. What makes a story newsworthy? Why would you choose to cover one topic instead of another?

6. What are your responsibilities as a journalist? To whom do you feel accountable?

B. Questions about Relationships with State Legislators

Now I would like to change the subject and talk a bit about your relationships with state legislators and legislative staff. I'm not going to ask you assess anyone else's work or identify anyone by name, but just ask general questions about the way things work here.

1. Generally speaking, would you say that you have good relationships with state legislators and their staff?

2. Do you regularly socialize outside of the office with other members of the press corps?
[probe: Are there regular events at which to socialize with legislators and their staff?
[probe: If so, does this social life affect your professional life?

C. Questions about Relationships with Sources

Our last group of questions involves the people who provide information for your reports – sources. One perspective among communication scholars is that "sources make the news," so we are particularly interested in your interaction with sources.

1. Do you think, in general, journalists are given enough access to information about state government?

2. Do you think, in general, journalists are given enough access to policy makers in state government?

3. What kinds of people are your principal sources of information? Do you primarily get information directly from policy makers and elected officials or do you find that most of your information is mediated by press contacts and other staff?

4. What qualities make for a good source of information?

5. Generally speaking, how do officials court the press in the capitol? What do legislators, state officials, staff, and bureaucrats do to get your interest and attention?

6. As a member of the press corps representing the Spanish-language media, do you feel as though legislators, state officials and staff treat the Spanish-language media the same as the mainstream (English-language) press?

6. Are there variations in ease of access to information depending on the office, department or agency concerned?
[probe: Do some agencies or officials make your job easier while others
make it more difficult?

7. In some state capitals it is perfectly natural for journalists and politicians and staff members to be friendly and socialize. Elsewhere this isn't viewed favorably. What has your experience

been? Is it common for you to socialize outside of the office with the people you cover and other sources of information or is this something you are not likely to do?

8. What about other reporters? Do they regularly socialize with officials, staff, and bureaucrats?

9. Have you seen many situations where it seemed that reporters were too close, too friendly, with officials, policy makers, and staff?

10. I'm interested in your thoughts on whether the press corps affects public policy. How large a role would you say the press and news media play in state politics?

11. Do people in state government use the news media to try out ideas – or float trial balloons – to gauge the reactions of the public and other people in the capitol? How often does this happen?

12. What kind of interactions do you have with lobbyists? Do they seek you out for information mostly or come in to try to give you information?

13. Finally, what would you see as the principal obstacles constraining journalistic investigation of state government?

Thanks for participating in this interview. If you have any questions about the project, please let me know. I am leaving a business card with you – my telephone number (505-710-6187) and email address (dmedi005@ucr.edu) are printed on it, so you can get back in contact with me.

Appendix 2.3

Survey Recruitment Letter

"Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey"

D. Xavier Medina Vidal

University of California - Riverside

Representative, Assemblyperson, Senator _____

State Capitol Room XXX

Capitol City, US XXXXX

Dear Legislator,

I am a graduate student in political science at the University of California-Riverside and I am conducting a study of how state legislators work with news media.

Within a few days you will be receiving in the mail a booklet from the University of California-Riverside. The survey booklet, which is being distributed to state legislators in 34 states, will include questions aimed at how you as a state legislator communicate with constituents, the media, and other political actors as you perform your duties.

Little is known about the ways in which state legislators work with the news media generally, and Spanish-language media in particular. I am conducting this study to help us better understand how state lawmakers communicate with constituents and news media. In this study I examine the frequency and conditions under which state legislators use the news media.

I need your help with my study by agreeing to complete and return the survey, which should take no longer than 15 minutes of your valuable time to complete. If you would prefer to delegate the completion of the survey to one of your trusted staff members, that would be of great help as well.

I very much appreciate your help. If I can provide additional information about the study, please contact me by email (dmedi005@ucr.edu) or by telephone (505-710-6187). You may also contact my faculty advisor, Associate Professor Martin Johnson by email (martinj@ucr.edu) or by telephone (951-827-4612). If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4810, or to contact them by email, please use IRB@ucr.edu

Sincerely,

Dennis Xavier Medina

Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science

University of California-Riverside

Email: (dmedi005@ucr.edu) **Daytime Phone**: (505-710-6187)

Appendix 2.4

Survey Cover Letter

[To accompany survey booklet (Appendix 2.6)]

"Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey"

D. Xavier Medina Vidal

University of California - Riverside

Representative, Assemblyperson, Senator _____

State Capitol Room XXX

Capitol City, US XXXXX

Dear Legislator,

I am a graduate student in political science at the University of California-Riverside and I am conducting a study of state legislative politics and the news media.

Little is known about the ways in which state legislators work with the news media generally, and Spanish-language media in particular. I am conducting this study to help us better understand how state lawmakers communicate with constituents and news media. In this study I examine the frequency and conditions under which state legislators use the news media.

I need your help by agreeing to complete the enclosed survey. Your responses to this brief survey will enhance our understanding of how state legislators communicate with constituents, the media, and other political actors as they perform their duties.

The survey should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. Most important, your responses to the survey, along with any identifying information, will be protected by the strictest standards of confidentiality, from the University of California-Riverside's Office of Research Integrity. If you would prefer to delegate the completion of the survey to one of your trusted staff members, that would be of great help as well.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4810, or to contact them by email, please use IRB@ucr.edu.

For questions regarding the survey itself, please feel free to contact me by email (dmedi005@ucr.edu) or by phone (505-710-6187). You may also contact my faculty advisor, Associate Professor Martin Johnson by email (martinj@ucr.edu) or by telephone (951-827-4612).

If you are willing to participate in this project, please complete the attached survey and return it in the enclosed envelope addressed to the University of California-Riverside. I very much appreciate your help. This project would be impossible without it.

Sincerely,

Dennis Xavier Medina

Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science
University of California-Riverside

Appendix 2.5

Survey Id. No.

Media and Public Policy in the States

2011 Survey

Sponsored by:
University of California – Riverside
&
University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States

Dennis Xavier Medina
Department of Political Science
900 University Avenue
Riverside CA, 92521

Thank you for participating in the 2011 Survey of Media and Public Policy in the States.

Your responses will inform ongoing research about relationships between lawmakers, the news media, and other political actors in U.S. state government and politics.

This survey has four sections and should require no more than 15 minutes to complete.

IMPORTANT: Please indicate whether you are a:
_____ Legislator
_____ Staff Member → How long have you worked for your current employer?_____

Section 1. We begin with questions about how you communicate with constituents and the news media.
(Please indicate your responses by circling the appropriate numbers)

1. When communicating with these individuals and groups, how frequently do you use the following tools?

	Almost Never		Some		Very Often
a. Contacting other legislators directly	1	2	3	4	5
b. Appearing on *English* TV news programs	1	2	3	4	5
c. Appearing on *Spanish* TV news programs	1	2	3	4	5
d. Appearing on *English* radio programs	1	2	3	4	5
e. Appearing on *Spanish* radio programs	1	2	3	4	5
f. Writing op-ed articles in *English*	1	2	3	4	5
g. Writing op-ed articles in *Spanish*	1	2	3	4	5
h. Issuing newsletters in *English*	1	2	3	4	5
i. Issuing newsletters in *Spanish*	1	2	3	4	5
j. Issuing press releases in *English*	1	2	3	4	5
k. Issuing press releases in *Spanish*	1	2	3	4	5
l. Social networking (e.g. Twitter, Facebook)	1	2	3	4	5

2. How often do you communicate with the following individuals or groups in *SPANISH*?

	Almost Never		Some		Very Often
a. Fellow legislators	1	2	3	4	5
b. Constituents	1	2	3	4	5
c. Lobbyists	1	2	3	4	5
d. Members of the press	1	2	3	4	5
e. Staff	1	2	3	4	5
f. Interest groups	1	2	3	4	5

Section 2. Next we ask about attitudes toward the media and state capitol reporting.

1. How fair would you say is the coverage of state policy issues and legislative activities by the following media outlets?

	Very Unfair				Very Fair	Not applicable
a. English-language TV	1	2	3	4	5	.
b. Spanish-language TV	1	2	3	4	5	.
c. English-language radio	1	2	3	4	5	.
d. Spanish-language radio	1	2	3	4	5	.
e. English-language newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	.
f. Spanish-language newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	.

2. How accurate would you say the reporting on state policy issues and legislative activities is in these media outlets?

	Very Inaccurate				Very Accurate	Not applicable
a. English-language TV	1	2	3	4	5	.
b. Spanish-language TV	1	2	3	4	5	.
c. English-language radio	1	2	3	4	5	.
d. Spanish-language radio	1	2	3	4	5	.
e. English-language newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	.
f. Spanish-language newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	.

3. From your experiences with these media outlets, about how <u>important</u> would you say state policy issues and legislative activities are to each?

	Not at all Important				Very Important	Not applicable
a. English-language TV	1	2	3	4	5	.
b. Spanish-language TV	1	2	3	4	5	.
c. English-language radio	1	2	3	4	5	.
d. Spanish-language radio	1	2	3	4	5	.
e. English-language newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	.
f. Spanish-language newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	.

4. Below you will find several statements about legislators' use of the media. For each statement, please indicate whether your strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
a. Members of the state legislature often solicit media exposure as a way to stimulate discussion about policy proposals.	1	2	3	4
b. Soliciting media exposure is an effective way to put an issue on the legislative agenda.	1	2	3	4
c. Media exposure is an effective way to convince other legislators in both chambers to support policy proposals.	1	2	3	4
d. Media exposure is an effective way to stimulate discussion on policy alternatives and issues among executive branch officials.	1	2	3	4

5. Thinking of the development of legislation that addresses issues important to Hispanics/Latinos, how often do the following groups or individuals communicate with you or your staff?

	Almost Never				Very Often
a. Fellow legislators	1	2	3	4	5
b. Party caucus	1	2	3	4	5
c. Latino/Hispanic caucus	1	2	3	4	5
d. *English*-language news media	1	2	3	4	5
e. *Spanish*-language news media	1	2	3	4	5
f. National Latino advocacy groups	1	2	3	4	5
g. Local Latino advocacy groups	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5

Section 3. Here we ask questions about policy preferences, legislation, and staff activity.

1. Legislators may engage in a variety of activities in order to achieve their public policy goals. Please indicate how much of a priority you consider the following activities to be for achieving policy goals.

	Lower Priority		Some		Highest Priority
a. Speaking on the floor	1	2	3	4	5
b. Meeting with lobbyists	1	2	3	4	5
c. Developing new legislation	1	2	3	4	5
d. Studying proposed legislation	1	2	3	4	5
e. Meeting with your party's caucus	1	2	3	4	5
f. Meeting with Latino/other ethnic caucus	1	2	3	4	5
g. Contacting governmental agencies	1	2	3	4	5
h. Keeping in touch with constituents	1	2	3	4	5
i. Meeting with the governor/gov. staff	1	2	3	4	5
j. Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5

2. If you were serving in the state legislature during the last session, what three pieces of legislation debated during the last legislative session were most important to you?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

3. Please indicate how important each of the following policy areas is to your district.

	Not at all Important				Very Important	NA
a. Agriculture/ranching	1	2	3	4	5	.
b. Crime	1	2	3	4	5	.
c. Economic security/jobs	1	2	3	4	5	.
d. Education	1	2	3	4	5	.
e. Environment/environmental justice	1	2	3	4	5	.
f. Healthcare	1	2	3	4	5	.
g. Immigration	1	2	3	4	5	.
h. Language accessibility	1	2	3	4	5	.
i. Trade/NAFTA	1	2	3	4	5	.
j. Worker protections	1	2	3	4	5	.
k. Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5	.

4. What are the three most important policy issues affecting your district?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

5. How closely do the legislative priorities of the Latino/Hispanic caucus align with the policy concerns in your district?

Not at all closely				Very closely
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

6. How many staff members does your office dedicate to the following?

a. Constituent Services (*Capitol Office*) _____

b. Constituent Services (*District Office*) _____

c. Media Relations (*All Offices*) _____

d. Policy/Bill Analysis (*All Offices*) _____

Section 4. Finally, this set of questions refers to the characteristics of the legislator's district and to the legislator's background. Remember that your answers will be kept confidential.

(IMPORTANT: If you are a staff member completing this on behalf of a legislator, please answer these questions in reference to the legislator for whom you work)

1. Thinking of the demographic characteristics of your district, what proportion of your constituents are Spanish-language dominant? ? If you are unsure, please provide your best estimate.

_____ % Spanish-language dominant

2. What languages do you speak with a reasonable level of proficiency?

_____

3. What languages do members of your staff speak with a reasonable level of proficiency?

_____

4. How long have you been a state legislator?

_____ years

5. In what year were you born? 19_____

6. What is your highest level of education?

_____ a. High school diploma

_____ b. Some college

_____ c. College degree

_____ d. Some graduate school (including law school, MBA, professional programs)

_____ e. Graduate degree (Ph.D., J.D., MBA, etc.)

7. What is your primary occupation? _____

Thank you for your participation!

If you have any additional comments, please write them below.

Please return the completed survey in the return envelope provided addressed to:

Dennis Xavier Medina
Department of Political Science
900 University Avenue

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4810, or to contact them by email, please use IRB@ucr.edu.

Appendix 2.6

Reminder Postcard

"Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey"

D. Xavier Medina Vidal

University of California - Riverside

Representative, Assemblyperson, Senator _____

State Capitol Room XXX

Capitol City, US XXXXX

Dear Legislator,

A few weeks ago you received a survey booklet entitled "Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey". You were asked to participate in this survey because you are a state legislator. In this survey, which should take no more than 15 minutes of your valuable time to complete. I would really appreciate your help in completing the survey and returning it as soon as possible to the University of California-Riverside Political Science Department in the return envelope provide. If you do not recall receiving a survey or have misplaced your completed survey, please contact me via email at dmedi005@ucr.edu or via daytime phone at 505-710-6187. Thanks again!

Sincerely,

Dennis Xavier Medina

University of California-Riverside
If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4810, or to contact them by email, please use IRB@ucr.edu.

Appendix 2.7

Survey Telephone Reminder Script

"Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey"

D. Xavier Medina Vidal

University of California - Riverside

Hello, my name is Xavier Medina from the University of California – Riverside. I am calling today because a few weeks ago [legislator (by survey ID number)] may have received a media and policy survey in the mail.

> [IF YES] Great! I would like to take this opportunity to ask [legislator] again to take a few minutes to review and complete the survey. The survey will take about 15 minutes to complete and it would help us out a great deal in our research of the important work state legislators do for their constituents.
>
> Please remember to return the completed survey in the envelope we provided, which is addressed to the political science department at UC Riverside. If you need another copy of the survey or just another envelope we'd be happy to send you one.
>
> If you have any questions I can be reached at in Riverside, California at 505-710-6187 or via email at dmedi005@ucr.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4810, or to contact them by email, please use IRB@ucr.edu."
>
> [IF NO] Well then, I would like to make sure that I have [legislator's] correct mailing address so that I can ensure [his/her] participation in a multi-state study of policymaking and media in the state legislatures. The 'Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey" is a brief, 15 minute, survey in which [legislator] will have an opportunity to share [his/her] valuable thoughts and experiences as a legislator. Is [legislator's mailing address] the correct mailing address? I will send [legislator] another survey along with a return-addressed envelope in which to send the completed survey.
>
> If you have any questions I can be reached at in Riverside, California at 505-710-6187 or via email at dmedi005@ucr.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4810, or to contact them by email, please use IRB@ucr.edu."
>
> Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from [legislator] soon.

Appendix 3.1

Mean Media Effectiveness (Media Entrepreneurship)

Attitude Scale Value	Percentage/N
1	1
1.25	1
2.0	2
2.25	6
2.5	13
2.75	14
3.0	32
3.25	12
3.5	6
3.75	5
4.0	8
Total:	**100**

Appendix 3.2

Chapter 3
Descriptive Statistics – All Legislators

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variables				
Average Media Effectiveness	3.0	.55	1	4.0
Average Frequency (all media)	2.6	.75	1	4.4
Average Frequency (Spanish)	2.0	.98	1	4.4
Average Frequency (English)	3.1	.88	1	4.8
Independent Variables				
Spanish Print Media	5.0	8.0	0	33
Spanish Radio	4.9	6.5	0	22
Spanish TV	1.6	2.4	0	10
Hispanic Legislator	.71	.46	0	1
Spanish Print X Hispanic	3.5	7.1	0	33
Spanish Radio X Hispanic	3.6	5.8	0	22
Spanish TV X Hispanic	1.2	2.1	0	10
Control Variables				
Professionalism (Squire Score)	.26	.18	.03	.63
Tenure (Years)	8.5	7.8	.35	34
Male	.73	.45	0	1
Education	Some grad school	1.2	1	5
Age	52.2	14.2	22	76
Democrat	.76	.43	0	1
Upper Chamber	.22	.42	0	1
District Hispanic Population	50.1	23.7	.263	96.4
Border State	.64	.48	0	1

Sources: New America Media, Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey

Appendix 4.1

Chapter 4
Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variables				
Political Knowledge	1.41	1.078433	0	3
Interest in Politics	.865	.731196	0	2
Attention to home country politics	1.11	1.082878	0	3
Independent Variables				
Spanish Print	5.09	8.434685	0	33
Spanish TV	1.61	2.602443	0	10
Spanish Radio	4.35	6.61833	0	22
Watch TV News	.921	.268651	0	1
Read Daily Newspaper	.549	.4976114	0	1
Spanish Media Preference	.454	.4979674	0	1
Control Variables				
U.S. Born	.283	.4508488	0	1
Gender (Male = 1)	.451	.4976455	0	1
Education	High School	_	None	Grad/Prof.
Age	40.5	15.46781	18	97
Household Income	$25K-$49K	_	<$15K	>$65K
Democrat	.357	.4792345	0	1
Republican	.112	.3158106	0	1
Party Apathetic	.364	.4812165	0	1

Sources: Latino National Survey (LNS) 2006; New America Media Ethnic Media Directory

Appendix 5.1

Chapter 5
Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variable				
Top Issue Priority Agreement	.42	.49	0 (Disagree)	1 (Agree)
Independent Variables				
Spanish Print	5.0	8.0	0	33
Spanish Radio	4.9	6.5	0	22
Spanish TV	1.6	2.4	0	10
Hispanic Legislator	.71	.46	0	1
Spanish Print X Hispanic	3.5	7.1	0	33
Spanish Radio X Hispanic	3.6	5.8	0	22
Spanish TV X Hispanic	1.2	2.1	0	10
Frequency of Spanish Media Use	2.0	.98	1	4.4
Control Variables				
Frequency of English Media Use	3.1	.83	1	4.8
Professionalism (Squire Score)	.26	.18	.03	.63
Tenure (Years)	8.5	7.8	.35	34
Male	.73	.45	0	1
Age	52.2	14.2	22	76
Democrat	.76	.43	0	1
District Hispanic Population (%)	50.1	23.7	.263	96.4

Sources: New America Media, Media and Public Policy in the States: 2011 Survey