THE FUTURE OF LATINOS IN THE UNITED STATES: Law, Opportunity, and Mobility

EL FUTURO DE LATINOS EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS: Ley, Oportunidad, y Movilidad

A PROJECT OF THE American Bar Foundation

"Shifting Latinx Demographics and the Infrastructure of Support for the Latinx Community of California"

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I. Introduction: a Brief History of Latinx in California

Latinxs[1] have maintained a consistent presence in current-day California. Given the colonial history of the West and the Southwest, as well as Mexico's 1824 independence from Spain and subsequent holding of land masses extending throughout California, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado, it is not surprising that the vast majority of surnames in California's only state census of 1852 are comprised overwhelmingly of individuals of Spanish descent.[2] While "color" was used as a determinant of identity, only "White (W)," "Black," "Yellow," (Asian), "Mulatto," and "Coppers" (indigenous) were terms that census enumerators utilized. Such identifiers as "Brown" and "Mexican" were not used; however, "Place of Birth" and "Last Residence" may have been proxies for these identities.[3]

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[1] Throughout this paper, I employ the term "Latinx." In so doing, I reject the gender binary that is inherent linguistically in both "Latino" and its newest form Latin@. While Census data do reference the identity "Hispanic," I do not engage with this term because it privileges Spanish and Spanish-descendent identities (*Hispano* of *Hispanola)*. The term Latinx is both gender-neutral does not exclusively honor Spanish origin.

[2] California officially became a state in 1848 and was included in the 1850 federal census. The numbers were likely not accurate given the demographic shifts that occurred as a result of the California Gold Rush. For more information see https://www.library.ca.gov/calhist/pdf/StateCensusResearch.pdf.

[3] In various instances, names themselves were often raced through the conversion of racial tropes into names . For example, in the Santa Clara County census, numerous individuals are referred to as "John Chinaman" and "Sam Singsong." For more information see http://www.scchgs.org/census52/1852intro.pdf.

While several counties across California have commissioned studies of the 1852 census, the census in its entirety has never been published. In an 1853 report, the California state legislature wrote that completing the California census was a difficult undertaking:

> This object, however, has been but imperfectly accomplished, in consequence, in some degree, of the intrinsic difficulties of so complicated and extensive an undertaking, but mainly owing to the mixed, unsettled and fluctuating character of our population, the difficulties of thoroughly exploring our mountain counties, the hostile tribes of Indians infesting some sections, and the mistaken supposition on the part of many that the business of the Census agent was in some way connected with taxation...

This report appeals to a common racial fear at the turn of the 19th century – that non-white settlers and indigenous peoples occupying land across the frontier made bureaucratic tasks of the state difficult and impossible at times. Painting various parts of the state as uninhabitable or "mixed and unsettled," census officials conceded that they likely only counted about 80% of the population.

By 2014, 162 years after California's first documented census, the state became home to a quarter of the Latinx population nationwide and Latinx representation now surpasses white representation in California. As I will demonstrate in this paper, these growing demographics do not necessarily equate with increasing opportunity.

In what follows, I provide demographic profiles of Latinxs in California, focusing on four key law and policy areas: 1) immigration; 2) education; 3) economic trends; and 4) political mobilization. To explore the shifts within these four areas, I draw from data released by the American Community Survey and the United States Census, and various organizations and reports.

I provide a multiscalar analysis of demographic shifts by navigating between statewide, region wide, and county-specific data. To do this, I compiled data from all 58 counties in California. I organized these counties into one of six regions, using the regional classification

system that the California Department of Fish and Wildlife uses (see Figure 1 and Table 1 on pages 4 and 5, respectively).[4] In total, I entered over 2,600 data points into excel to measure change over time.

This paper is divided into three sections. **First**, I assess demographic trends across the state of California, focusing on growth of the Latinx population in the last five years (2010-2015). While several studies have provided statewide and county or city-specific demographic profiles, no studies analyze these data concurrently. This paper provides that multiscalar perspective.

Second, I explore four policy levers in isolation from one another, providing a regional analysis of the nature of Latinx immigration in California, the state of Latinx educational opportunities, the economic vitality of Latinxs in California, and the degree to which Latinxs participate in the electoral process.

Finally, I bring my analyses together to provide a regional synthesis of the main obstacles Latinxs face as they seek the benefits of full social equality, as well as the opportunities available for researchers, advocates, and politicians as they assist this burgeoning population in pursuing those benefits. Here I discuss the infrastructure of Latinx-focused organizations, research institutes, and law school clinics.

While data I interpret for this paper are certainly helpful in isolating and analyzing the Latinx experience in California, it is important to note that the data are rarely if ever stratified by race or gender. Thus, there are limitations to these analyses. Further, as I mentioned, the data I compiled on each of the 58 counties come from the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau or the 2015 American Community Survey Data. These data are limited in scope and interest and there are many other indicators I could have used in analyzing each of the four policy areas. However, the

[4] For more information see https://nrm.dfg.ca.gov/FileHandler.ashx?DocumentID=55162&inline=1).

benefit of using data collected through the Census is that the data are methodologically consistent and therefore comparable across counties and regions. Given that this paper is an analytical comparative study of counties across California, I wanted to ensure that any trends or comparisons I derived were statistically significant.

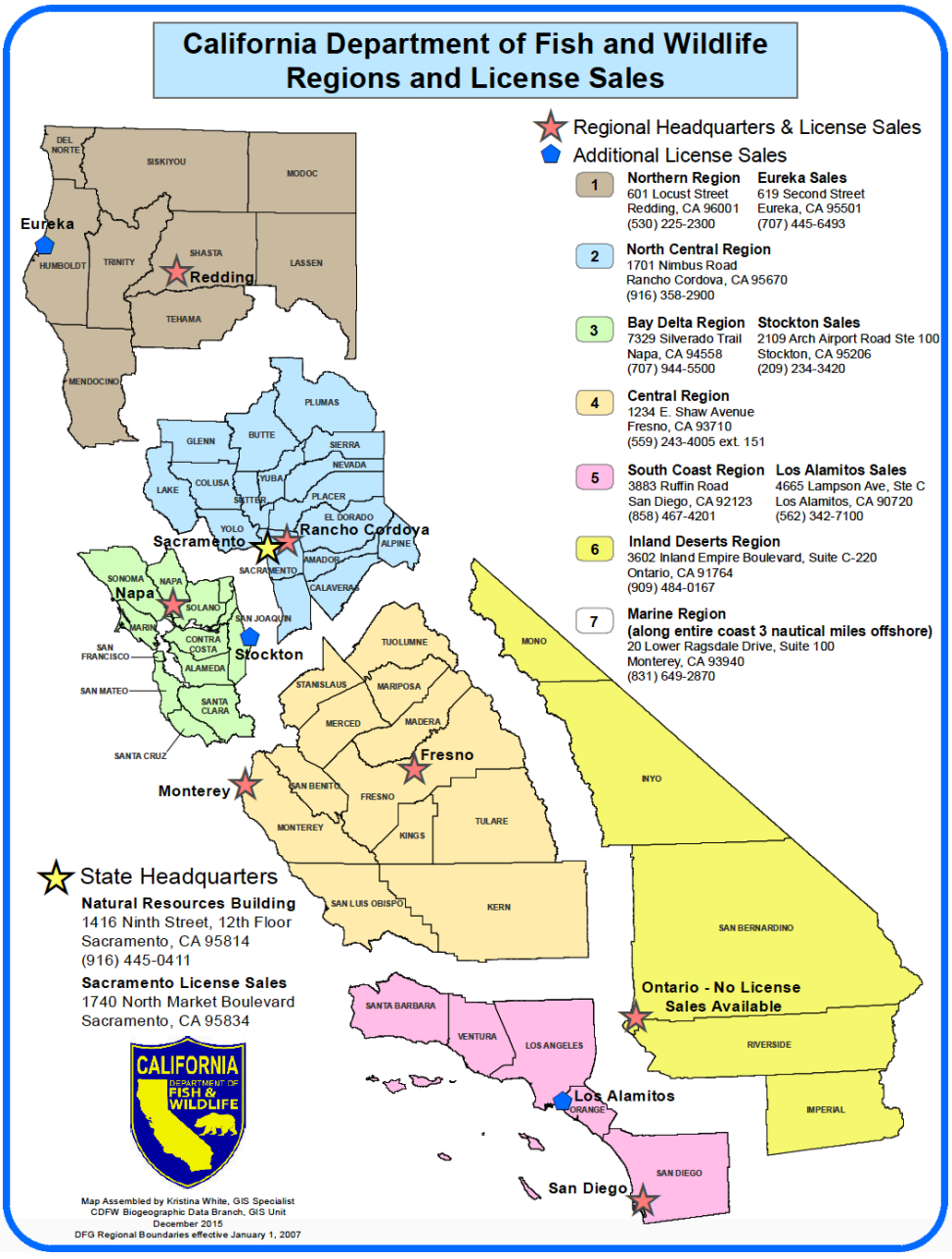

Figure 1: Regional Designation, California Department of Fish & Wildlife
Source: https://nrm.dfg.ca.gov/FileHandler.ashx?DocumentID=55162&inline=1

Table 1
List of Regions and Affiliated Counties

Bay Delta Region	Central Region	Inland Desert Region	North Central Region	Northern Region	South Coast Region
Alameda	Fresno	Imperial	Alpine	Del Norte	Orange
Contra Costa	Kern	Inyo	Amador	Humboldt	Los Angeles
Marin	Kings	Mono	Butte	Lassen	Santa Barbara
Napa	Madera	Riverside	Calaveras	Mendocino	San Diego
San Francisco	Mariposa	San Bernardino	Colusa	Modoc	Ventura
San Mateo	Merced		El Dorado	Shasta	
Santa Clara	Monterey		Glenn	Siskiyou	
Santa Cruz	San Benito		Lake	Tehama	
Solano	San Luis Obispo		Nevada	Trinity	
Sonoma	Stanislaus		Placer		
	Tulare		Plumas		
	Tuolumne		Sacramento		
			San Joaquin		
			Sierra		
			Sutter		
			Yolo		
			Yuba		

II. Overall Demographic Growth in California

In order to review data on overall demographics, I drew from data contained in the U.S. Census, as well as 2015 American Community Survey Data. For each of the 58 counties, I collected the following information:

1. Region
2. Area (square miles)
3. Population
4. Latinx Percentage (as of April 1, 2010)
5. Latinx Percentage (as of July 1, 2015)
6. Latinx Percentage Change (2010-2015)
7. Overall Population Percentage Change (2010-2015)

California's 58 counties exhibit a range of Latinx population percentages. As I detail in Table 2 (next page), 8 of the top 10 counties with the highest overall percentage of the Latinx

population are located in the Central Region. The county with the greatest percentage of Latinx population, however, is Imperial County in the Inland Desert Region, with 82.7% of total population identifying as Latinx. Located along the border of California, México, and Arizona, Imperial County's Latinx population is substantial in part due to the local agricultural and livestock economies. Imperial County is a leader in exporting commodities worldwide and boasts 489,137 acres of farmable acres in the county.[5] Despite this agricultural prominence, Imperial Valley unemployment rates generally hover at around 20% and working conditions for farmworkers have historically been deplorable, as has been the case for most agricultural communities in California. [6]

Table 2
Counties: Highest Overall Percentage of Latinx Population

County	Region	Overall Percentage of Latinx Population (as of July 1, 2015)
Kern	Central	52.2%
Fresno	Central	52.4%
Kings	Central	53.6%
Madera	Central	56.7%
Monterey	Central	57.8%
Merced	Central	58.2%
Colusa	North Central	58.5%
San Benito	Central	58.7%
Tulare	Central	63.6%
Imperial	Inland Desert	82.7%

In contrast, those counties that have very low percentages of Latinx are overwhelmingly located in the Northern and North Central Region, with 8 out of the 10 lowest population

[5] To access the 2014 Imperial county Agricultural Crop & Livestock Report, please visit http://www.co.imperial.ca.us/ag/crop_&_livestock_reports/2014%20Crop%20and%20Livestock%20Report.pdf.

[6] One of the earliest recorded strikes of farmworkers occurred on January 1, 1930, when over 5,000 Mexican and Filipino lettuce workers walked off the job. For more information see Bronfenbrenner 1991 (accessed here: http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1562&context=articles).

percentages located in these regions (Table 3, below). Trinity County is the county with the 4th smallest overall population at 13,069 as of 2015.[7] Further, Trinity County is fairly mountainous, with much of the area (in square miles) comprised of mountain range. Plumas County has a similar demographic and environmental context, with a population of 13,409 living along the Sierra Nevada.

Table 3
Counties: Lowest Overall Percentage of Latinx Population

County	Region	Overall Percentage of Latinx Population (as of July 1, 2015)
Trinity	Northern	7.4%
Plumas	North Central	8.3%
Alpine	North Central	9.2%
Nevada	North Central	9.3%
Shasta	Northern	9.6%
Sierra	North Central	10%
Humboldt	Northern	11.1%
Mariposa	Central	11.2%
Calaveras	North Central	11.5%
Tuolumne	Central	11.8%

In comparing Tables 2 and 3, it becomes clear that Central region is the most demographically inconsistent, as the counties with both the lowest and the highest percentages of Latinxs are located in this region.

On average, California's counties have seen an increase of 1.83% of the total population from 2010-2015, and Latinxs now comprise 39% of the total population in California. California is thus leading the way nationally, as census data suggest that Latinxs will make up 30% of the nation's population by 2050.

[7] Alpine County in North Central California has the smallest overall population, with 1,110 individuals as of July 1, 2015.

On average, the Bay Delta region has experienced the greatest demographic increase, with roughly 6% average growth across counties (see Table 4, below). While the greatest overall demographic growth occurred in this region, the Bay Delta region is also home to the county with the lowest overall growth in the Latinx population. The largest increase in the Latinx population has occurred in the Central region, with a 2.43% increase, which mirrors the overall growth in the region of 2.78%.

Table 4
Latinx Demographic Change by Region, 2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Average change in population (+/-)	**+5.9%**	+2.78%	+2.4%	+0.45%	+3.2%	+4.74%
Average change in Latinx population (+/-)	+0.82%	**+2.43%**	+1.62%	+1.62%	+1.69%	+1.34%
Highest Increase in Latinx population	Solano +2%	Merced +3.3%	Riverside +2.4%	**Glenn +3.6%**	Tehama +2.5%	Ventura +1.34%
Lowest Change in Latinx population	**Santa Clara -0.6%**	Tuolumne +1.1%	San Bernardino +0.7%	Plumas +0.3%	Trinity +0.4%	Los Angeles +0.7%

Out of the 58 counties in California, only two counties experienced an overall decrease in the Latinx population (Santa Clara and San Mateo). Both of these counties are located in the Bay

Delta Region. Santa Clara experienced a 0.6% decrease while San Mateo witnessed a 0.3% decrease in the Latinx population.

The counties in the state that experienced the highest Latinx percentage growth are primarily or historically rural. Solano, Merced, Riverside, Glenn, Tehama, and Ventura represent those counties that have witnessed above-average growth in the last 5 years. Merced County leads the group with an overall growth of 3.3% in the Latinx population from 2010-2015.

III. Demographic Trends Among Policy Areas

A. Immigration

The Census and American Community Survey data provide several data points by county to derive a profile of immigration in the state of California. Figure 2 (next page) shows the five indicators I analyzed in order to prepare this profile. When it came to immigration, I considered the following datasets for each of the 58 counties: 1) Foreign-born 2010 and 2014 by county and change over time; 2) Naturalized U.S. Citizen 2010 and 2014 by county and change over time; 3) Not a U.S. Citizen 2010 and 2014 by county and change over time; 4) Number of Foreign-born from Latin America 2010 and 2014 by county and change over time; and 5) Spanish spoken at Home 2010 and 2014 by county and change over time. I acknowledge that these data are limited in that they do not consider the undocumented because we currently only have rough estimates of undocumented Latinxs.[8] In the section that follows, I go through each of these 5 indicators and provide a county and regional snapshot.

[8] See a report by the Public Policy Institute of California for estimates per county. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_711LHR.pdf.

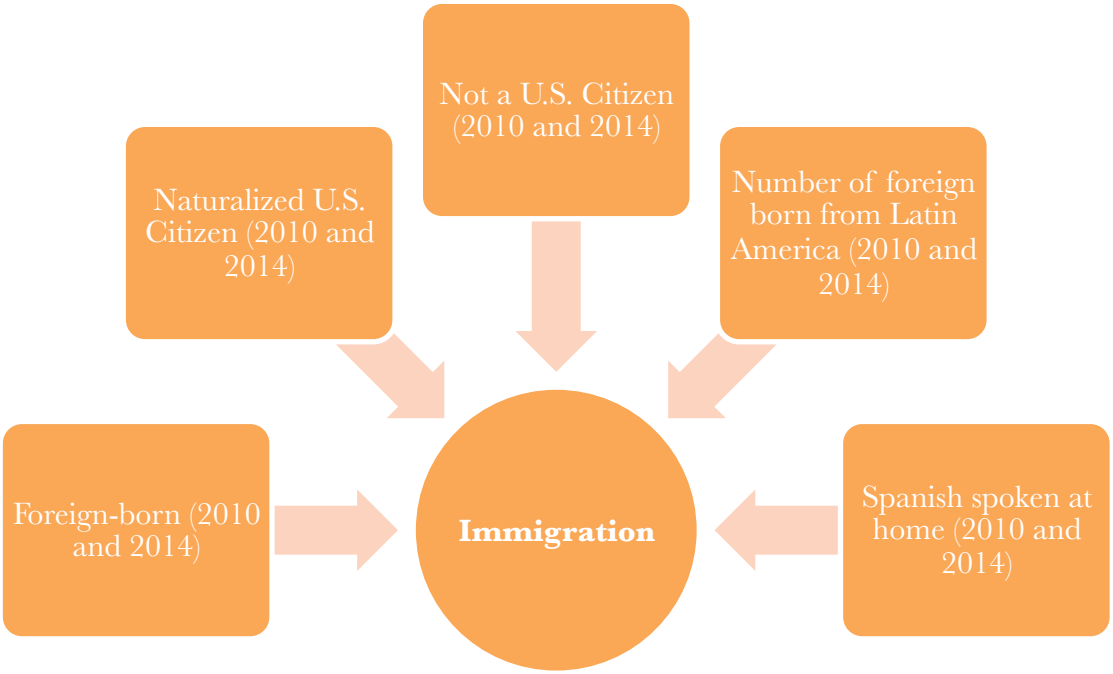

Figure 2: Immigration Indicators Discussed in this Paper

As Table 5 demonstrates (next page), on average all regions experienced increases from 2010-2014 in immigration indicators. All regions except the Northern region experienced an increase in foreign-born as well as naturalized U.S. Citizens and foreign-born individuals from Latin America. Surprisingly, the South Coast region, which is home to Los Angeles and San Diego counties, experienced an overall decrease in the number of individuals who are not U.S. Citizens as well as an average 4.91% decrease in the number of individuals who speak Spanish at home.

Table 5
Immigration: Demographic Change by Region, Averages
2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Foreign Born	Average increase of 5% in region	Average increase of 8.77% in region	Average increase of 2.84% in region	Average increase of 3.21% in region	Average decrease of 1.10% in region	Average increase of 2.92% in region
Naturalized U.S. Citizen	Average increase of 9.49% in region	Average increase of 11.74% in region	Average increase of 8.05% in region	Average increase of 15.84% in region	Average decrease of 1.49% in region	Average increase of 8.75% in region
Not a U.S. Citizen	Average increase of 1.76% in region	Average increase of 9.23% in region	Average increase of 1.08% in region	Average increase of 4.10% in region	Average increase of 1.34% in region	Average decrease of 1.77% in region
Number of Foreign Born from Latin America	Average increase of 2.03% in region	Average increase of 10.61% in region	Average increase of 7.19% in region	Average increase of 3.65% in region	Average decrease of 0.49% in region	Average increase of 0.97% in region
Spanish Spoken at Home	Average increase of 6.17% in region	Average increase of 8.28% in region	Average increase of 5% in region	Average increase of 8.47% in region	Average increase of 3.81% in region	Average decrease of 4.91% in region

Table 6
Immigration: Highest Demographic Increases by Region
2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Highest Increase in Foreign Born Population	Santa Clara +6.99%	**Mariposa +48.1%**	Imperial +7.82%	Sierra +23.16%	Trinity +16.94%	San Diego +6.44%
Highest Increase in Naturalized U.S. Citizen	Napa +14.25%	San Benito +29.95%	Inyo +44.89%	**Sierra +66.67%**	Tehama +19.70%	Orange +12.29%
Highest Increase in Non-U.S. Citizen	San Francisco + 7.43%	**Mariposa + 78.41%**	Mono +17.25%	El Dorado +27.68%	Trinity +22.68%	San Diego +3.08%
Highest Increase in Foreign Born From Latin America	Marin +6.17%	**Mariposa +84.4%**	Mono +16.82%	Nevada +35.67%	Mendocino +19.13%	Ventura +2.9%
Highest Increase in Spanish Spoken At Home	Sonoma +12.38%	Mariposa +35.89%	Mono +11.52%	**Sierra +39.36%**	Trinity +23.94%	Santa Barbara +6.51%

In the Central region, Mariposa County consistently experienced increases in immigration indicators. In 4 out of the 5 immigration measures I analyzed, Mariposa County was the county with the highest increases in that region (Table 6, above). From 2010-2014, Mariposa County experienced an increase of 84.4% of foreign-born residents from Latin

America. This is fascinating, especially when we consider that only 11.2% of the overall population is Latinx. The data show that Mariposa County is growing rapidly, with the largest influx of immigrants from Latin American of all 58 counties in California.

According to the data I analyzed and present in Table 7 (next page), Plumas County in the North Central Region experienced the greatest decrease in the foreign born population from Latin America (28.59% decrease), while San Diego County showed the greatest decrease in Spanish spoken at home (45.56% decrease). Given that San Diego County has traditionally been a port of entry for Latinx coming into California, these data are unexpected. With a total population of 3,299,521 in San Diego County, 33% of the individuals who live there are Latinx; however, only 11% (375,040) speak Spanish at home according to the 2014 estimates.

In comparing Tables 6 and 7, we see that the Central Region is experiencing the highest growth in immigration, while the North Central Region is experiencing the greatest declines in immigration indicators.

Table 7
Immigration: Lowest Demographic Shifts and Highest Decreases by Region
2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Foreign Born Population	Santa Cruz +2.67%	Kings -8.85%	Mono -2.65%	**Alpine -32.2%**	Tehama -19.24%	Los Angeles +0.19%
Naturalized US Citizen	San Francisco +3.16%	Kings -1.28%	**Mono -54.13%**	Plumas -30.59%	Siskiyou -26.59%	Santa Barbara +2.33%
Non-US Citizen	Solano -3.78%	Kings -11.95%	Inyo -15.98%	**Alpine -58.33%**	Tehama -36.40%	Los Angeles -4.63%
Foreign Born From Latin America	Santa Cruz -0.58%	Kings -10.59%	San Bernardino -0.16%	**Plumas -28.59%**	Del Norte -23.72%	Los Angeles -1.86%
Spanish Spoken At Home	San Francisco +1.35%	Tuolumne -10.79%	Inyo -6.16%	Butte -10.83%	Modoc -13.03%	**San Diego -45.56%**

B. Educational Opportunity

The data I analyze and present as they relate to Latinx educational opportunity are: 1) Public School Enrollment by County; 2) High School Graduates by County; and 3) High School Graduates Completing College Preparatory Courses (see Figure 3, below). I compiled these data from KidsData.org and the U.S. Census.

Unlike the other 3 law and policy levers, the education data are not comprehensive. 16 counties (including 8 out of the 9 counties comprising the Northern region) did not have data for each of these three indicators. The reason for this lack of information was not clear.

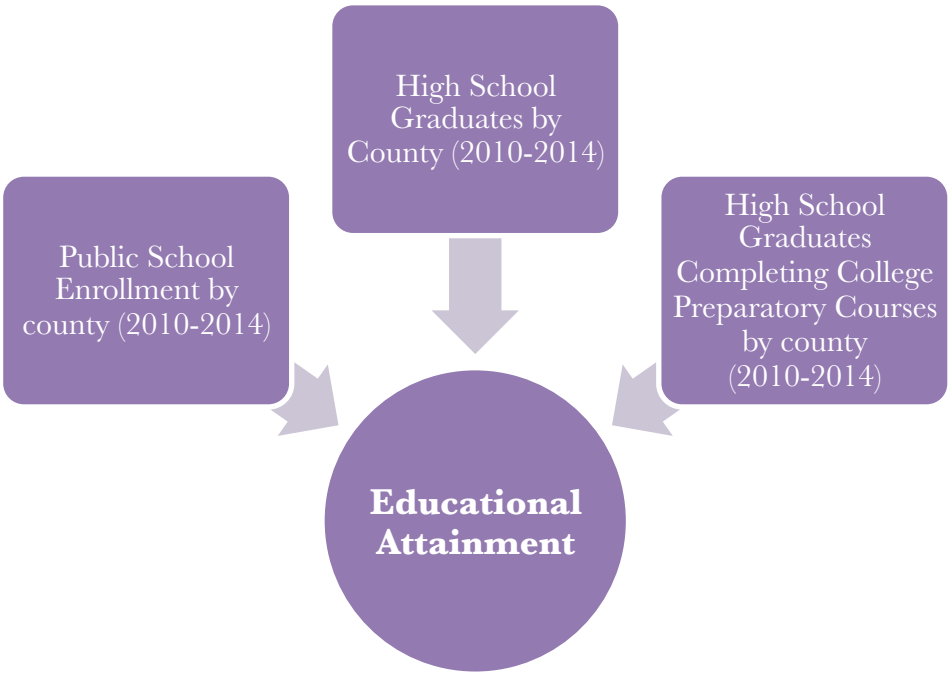

Figure 3: Educational Attainment Indicators Discussed in this Paper

Table 8 (next page) shows the highest demographic increases by region for each of the three markers of educational attainment. As the data illustrate, the North Central Region has experienced the largest growth in Latinx public school enrollment, high school graduation, and

number of Latinx students who are taking and completing college preparatory courses. This is consistent with the demographic data I analyzed in Section I where I demonstrated how the largest increases in the Latinx population are occurring in the North Central region. In San Joaquin County, Latinx students comprise over 50% of the public school enrollment, with a 12.7% growth in the last 5 years. In Yuba County, 75.2% of high school graduates in 2014 are Latinx, up 21.6% from 2010. Despite this increase in Latinx high school graduates, only 27.9% of Latinx students in 2014 completed graduate preparatory courses. In Placer County 46.8% of the students who complete graduate preparatory courses are Latinx.

Table 8
Education: Highest Demographic Increases by Region, Latinx Students 2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Highest Increase in Public School Enrollment	Sonoma +5.6%	Stanislaus +7.5%	Inyo +19.7%	**San Joaquin +12.7%**	Tehama +6.2%	Santa Barbara +4.9%
Highest Increase in High School Graduates	Solano +14.3%	Fresno +11.7%	San Bernardino +9.4%	**Yuba +21.6%**	Lassen +20%	Orange +10.5%
Highest Increase in High School Graduates Completing Graduate Preparatory Classes	Santa Cruz +20.1%	Kings +16.8%	Riverside +10.8%	**Placer +26.6%**	N/A	Orange +13%

Across California, Latinx students on average comprise 77.6% of high school graduates as of 2014.[9] According to the California Department of Education, Latinx students comprise 53.97% of the total public school population, including elementary, middle, and high school. Thus, public high schools have over-representation of Latinx youth. As I will demonstrate in my discussion of political participation, this has tremendous implications for electoral politics.

Table 9
Education: Lowest Demographic Shifts and Highest Decreases, Latinx Students 2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Public School Enrollment	San Mateo +2.0%	Mariposa +3.1%	Imperial +2.5%	**Sierra -0.3%**	Trinity -0.2%	Los Angeles +1.5%
High School Graduates	**San Francisco -27.6%**	Tuolumne -4.4%	Mono -10.5%	Nevada -3%	Tehama +4.8%	Santa Barbara +4.7%
High School Graduates Completing Graduate Preparatory Classes	Napa +1.7%	San Luis Obispo +3.7%	**Inyo -21.4%**	Nevada -4.5%	Mendocino -0.2%	Los Angeles -1.8%

[9] http://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp

C. Economic Trends

In order to assess the economic vitality of Latinx community across California, considered two measures: 1) Percentage of Latinx children in Poverty; and 2) Latinxs who participate in CalFresh Programs, which is an index of Food Insecurity (see Figure 4)[10]. I compiled these data using the KidsData database (www.kidsdata.org). According to the Public Policy Institute of California, 40% of Californians live in or near poverty.[11] The data I present below provide a more detailed picture of how poverty operates in California.

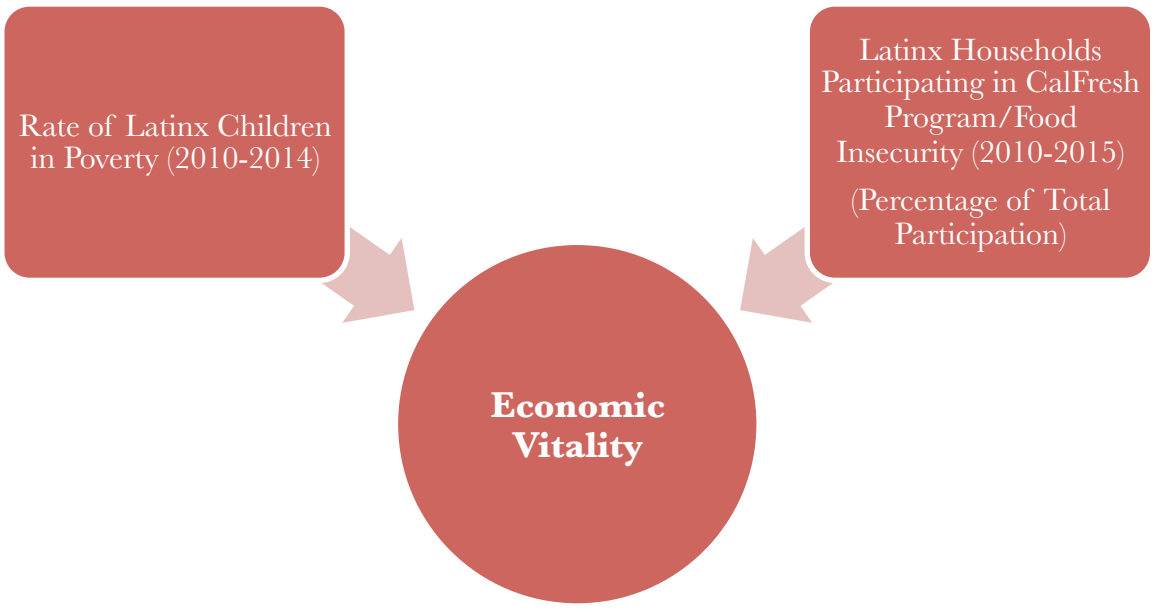

Figure 4: Economic Vitality indicators discussed in this paper

[10] CalFresh is known federally as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). In order to qualify, one must be a citizen or documented immigrant as well as have a gross income that does not exceed 200% of the Federal Poverty Level. For more information visit http://www.calfresh.ca.gov/.

[11] For more information on poverty in general in California please see http://www.ppic.org/main/publication_show.asp?i=261

As I mentioned briefly during my introduction, there are many indicators of economic vitality that I could have used, including but not limited to: number of individuals living in substandard housing, number of Latinx small businesses, percentage of Latinxs making a living wage, etc. Unfortunately, the U.S. Census does not collect these data. Thus, I chose to use the two previously mentioned datasets.

Table 10
Economic Vitality: Average Changes in economic Indicators, Latinxs
2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Average Percentage of Latinx Children in Poverty (2014)	19.6%	**37.9%**	30.4%	27.7%	N/A	28.5%
Average Food Insecurity/CalFresh Participation	35%	50%	47.2%	22.5%	11%	**57.6%**

As I demonstrate in Table 10 (above), the region with the highest percentage of Latinx children who live in poverty as of 2014 is the Central region. This is also the region that has experienced the greatest increase in immigration and the greatest increase in the Latinx population over the past 4 years. The South Coast region leads the way in the average percentage of Latinxs who participate in the CalFresh program, with 57.6% of Latinxs living with food insecurity.

Table 11
Economic Vitality: Highest Increases in Economic Indicators, Latinxs
2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Highest Increase of Latinx Children in Poverty	**San Mateo +8.1%**	Tulare +3.7%	San Bernardino +2.3%	San Joaquin +0.5%	N/A	Los Angeles +3.4%
Highest Increase in Food Insecurity/CalFresh Participation	Marin +5%	**Tulare 16%**	Imperial 0%	Butte 3%	Siskiyou 4%	Los Angeles 1%

San Mateo County in the Bay Delta region saw an increase of 8.1% of Latinx children living in poverty, while Tulare County in the Central Region experienced a 16% increase in CalFresh participation.

Table 12
Economic Vitality: Greatest Decreases in Economic Indicators, Latinxs
2010-2014

	Bay Delta	Central	Inland Desert	North Central	Northern	South Coast
Greatest Decrease of Latinx Children in Poverty (2014)	**Santa Clara -10.2%**	Madera -10.3%	Imperial -2.7%	Sacramento -5.2%	N/A	Ventura -0.6%
Greatest Decrease in Food Insecurity/CalFresh Participation	Santa Clara -8%	San Luis Obispo -5%	Mono -3%	Colusa -4%	Lassen Modoc Tehama 0%	**Santa Barbara -9%**

When it comes to percentage of Latinx Children in poverty, all regions experienced an overall decrease in the numbers over 4 years, with Santa Clara county in the Bay Delta region experiencing the greatest decrease in numbers (10.2% decrease). Thus, the Bay Delta Region counties reflected both the greatest increase in Latinx childhood poverty as well as the greatest decrease. Santa Barbara County in the South Coast region experienced a 9% decrease of CalFresh participation among Latinxs in the past 4 years.

D. Political Participation

Indicators of political participation focus most heavily on franchise. For this policy lever, I drew from Pew Hispanic's 2016 data published online. [12] The primary indicator I use in this paper is the Latinx electorate by congressional district in 2016 (see Figure 5, next page). While Latinxs comprise 38% of the overall population, they have on average comprised less than 15% of registered voters from 2002-2012 (Leadership California Institute Report, 2015). This is not surprising, given that 16.5% of the electorate is Latinxs (ibid.).[13]

There are a total of 53 congressional districts which are comprised of anywhere between one to 11 counties. I review the 2016 data for each of these congressional districts.

[12] http://www.pewhispanic.org/interactives/mapping-the-latino-electorate-by-congressional-district/

[13] I should note that voting is not the only or even primary method of civic and political participation among Latinxs in California. The indicator I analyze in this paper is necessarily related to citizenship and thus excludes the undocumented population who are politically and civically engaged.

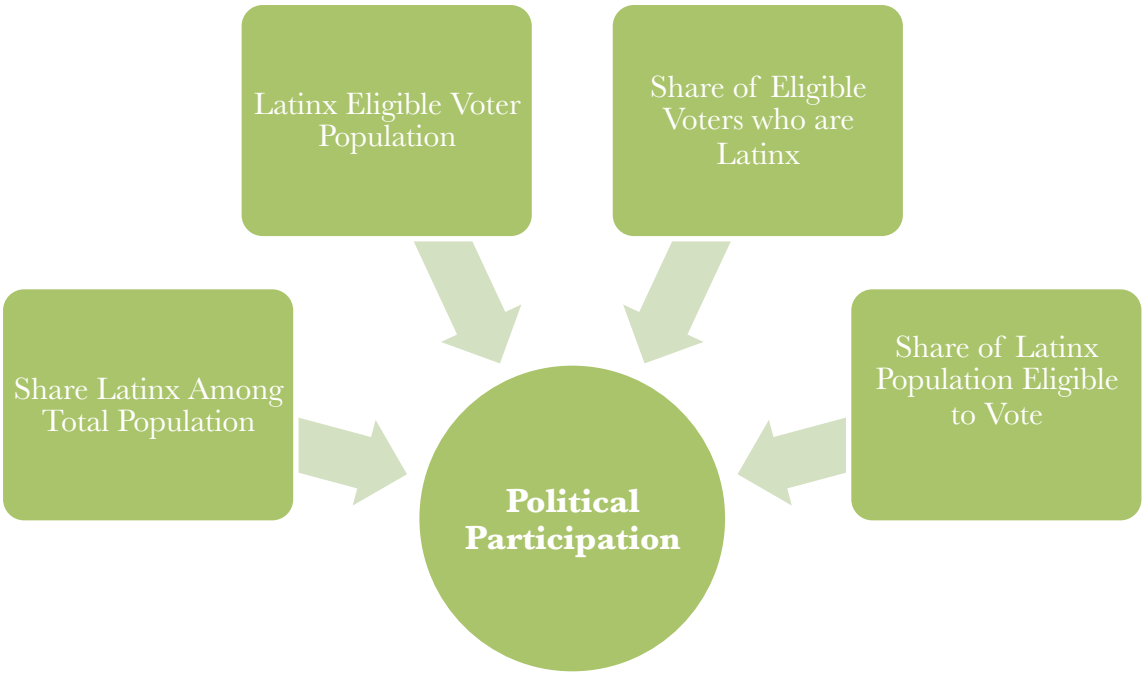

Figure 5: Political Participation Indicators Discussed in this Paper

Table 13
Political Participation: Latinx Electorate by Congressional District (2016)

Share of Eligible Voters who are Latinx	Number of Districts	Number of Republicans Representing	Number of Democrats Representing
< 10%	3	2	1
10-20%	19	3	16
< 20%	31	8	23

In districts where less than 10% of eligible voters are Latinx, 2/3 of the districts hold Republican seats in congress. In contrast, the majority of congressional districts in which 20% or more of eligible voters are Latinx elect democrats (74%). Those districts whose share is anywhere between 10 and 20% experience the highest share of democratic congressional elections, as 84% of those districts are represented by Democrats.

Table 14
Political Participation: Districts with Largest Shares of Eligible Voters who are Latinx (2016)

Share of Eligible Voters who are Latinx	Share Latinx among total Population	Congressional District	Count(ies)	Region(s)
36%	54.2%	31	San Bernardino	Inland Desert
39.1%	62.5%	41	Riverside	Inland Desert
39.4%	75.6%	21	Fresno Kern Kings Tulare	Central
40.8	73.5%	44	Los Angeles	South Coast
41.2%	71.2%	29	Los Angeles	South Coast
45.5%	89%	40	Los Angeles	South Coast
46.7%	65.4%	32	Los Angeles	South Coast
47%	73.4%	51	Imperial San Diego	Inland Desert South Coast
48.6%	74.1%	35	Los Angeles San Bernardino	South Coast Inland Desert
49.6%	65.2%	38	Los Angeles	South Coast

As is visible in Table 14 (above), the congressional districts with the largest shares of eligible voters who are Latinx are located across 9 counties (Los Angeles, San Bernardino, San Diego, Imperial, Riverside, Fresno, Kern, Kings, and Tulare). Interestingly, only one of these districts has a republican congressperson (District 21, Congressman David Valadao).

Table 15
Political Participation: Districts with Smallest Shares of Eligible Voters who are Latinx (2016)

Share of Eligible Voters who are Latinx	Share Latinx among total Population	Congressional District	Count(ies)	Region(s)
8.8%	13.3%	4	Alpine Amador Calaveras El Dorado Mariposa Tuolumne Fresno Madera Nevada Placer	North Central Central
9.5%	18.5%	2	Marin Mendocino Humboldt Del Norte Trinity	Bay Delta Northern
9.8%	13.6%	1	Butte Lassen Modoc Plumas Shasta Sierra Siskiyou Tehama Glenn Nevada Placer	North Central Northern
10.6%	17.6%	18	San Joaquin	North Central
11.4%	13.2%	33	Los Angeles	South Coast
11.5%	17.5%	17	Alameda	Bay Delta
11.6%	15.6%	12	San Francisco	Bay Delta
12.5%	15.8%	52	San Diego	South Coast
12.7%	17.5%	7	Sacramento	North Central
13.5%	23.9%	13	Alameda	Bay Delta

As is visible in Table 15 (page 24), the congressional districts with the smallest shares of eligible voters who are Latinx are located across many counties. Interestingly, only two of these districts have Republican congresspersons (District 1, Congressman Doug LaMalfa and District 4, Congressman Tom McClintock). Further, only two of these 10 districts are located in the South Coast Region (Congressional District 33, which comprises parts of wealthy Brentwood and Westwood and Congressional District 52, which comprises affluent Carmel Valley and Coronado, among other areas).

It is important to stress that the Latinx population is overwhelmingly youthful nationwide. According to the 2014 American Community Survey data, 32% of Latinx nationwide are younger than 18, 26% are 18-33 ("Millennial Adults"), and 22% are GenXers (34-49 years old).[14] 27.3 million Latinx are eligible to cast ballots in the 2016 election, which means that Latinx now comprise 12% of the overall electorate.

IV. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented and analyzed the most recent demographic data on Latinx in California. I have also focused on four key law and policy areas: 1) Immigration; 2) Educational attainment; 3) Economic trends; and 4) Political participation and civic engagement. Table 2 (next page) summarizes these data.

Providing a profile of immigration proved to be the easiest, given the abundance of U.S. Census and American Community Survey data that are easily accessible online. More data, however, need to be collected to include undocumented persons in these immigration profiles. Economic trends and educational attainment are relatively well documented; however, for economic vitality, I was only able to analyze the indicators of each in counties where the

[14] http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/04/20/the-nations-latino-population-is-defined-by-its-youth/

population was 65,000 or over. This means that the data are skewed and over-represent larger counties. Smaller and more rural counties are not part of the consistent data collection process. When it comes to educational attainment, 16 out of 58 counties did not have complete data. For political participation, I was only able to utilize 2016 data.

Table 16
Summary of Findings

Key Policy Lever	Status
Immigration	Overall increase in numbers of Latinxs in every region, with the highest increase in the Central Region. Decrease in the North Central Region.
Educational Attainment	Latinxs in North Central region consistently comprised the greatest increase in school enrollment, graduation, and percentage of students completing college preparatory courses.
Economic Vitality	Latinxs in the Central region experience the highest increase in CalFresh participation, while Latinx children in the Bay Delta region experience the highest increase in poverty.
Political Participation	In districts where less than 10% of eligible voters are Latinx, 2/3 of the districts hold Republican seats in congress. In contrast, the majority of congressional districts in which 20% or more of eligible voters are Latinx elect democrats (74%).

The data I analyze in this paper provide a picture of growing demand for an infrastructure in the state that can address the inequities the Latinx population faces (see Table 16 for a summary of findings, above).

In the final section of this paper, I consider three types of organizations/institutions that are of particular importance as we begin to develop a Network for Justice. The first of these is the

law school clinic. Figure 6 (below) shows a heat distribution map of Law School Clinics Across California. As the map shows, while law school clinics are concentrated in the greater Los Angeles and San Francisco metro areas, they are relatively absent throughout the rest of the state. Many counties in the Central Valley and coast are over 30% Latinx; however there are no law school clinics serving the community in this region.

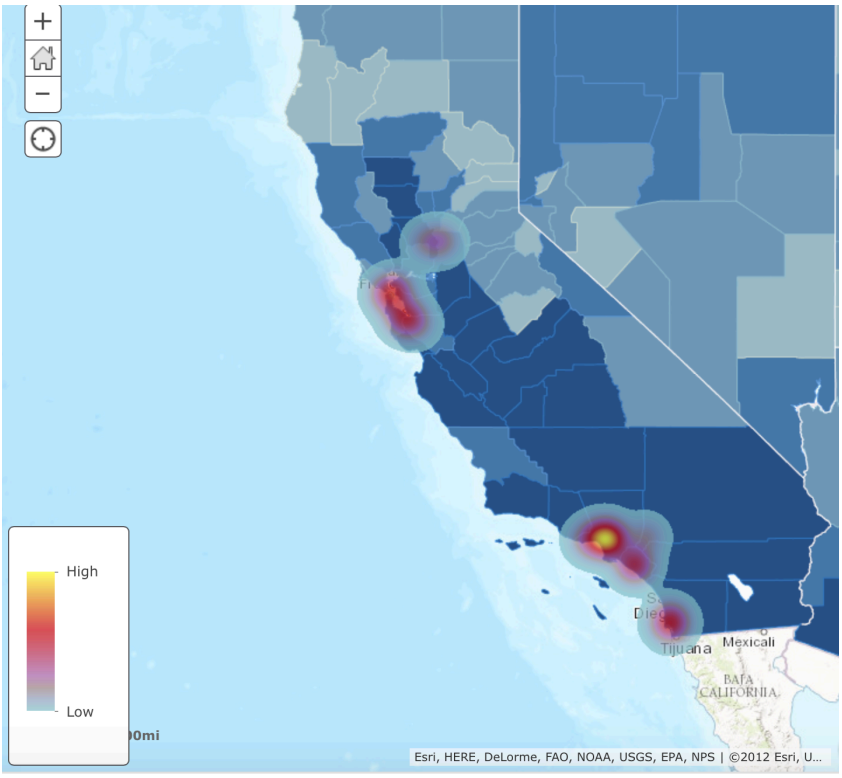

Figure 6: Heat Map of ABA-Accredited Law School Clinics Across California

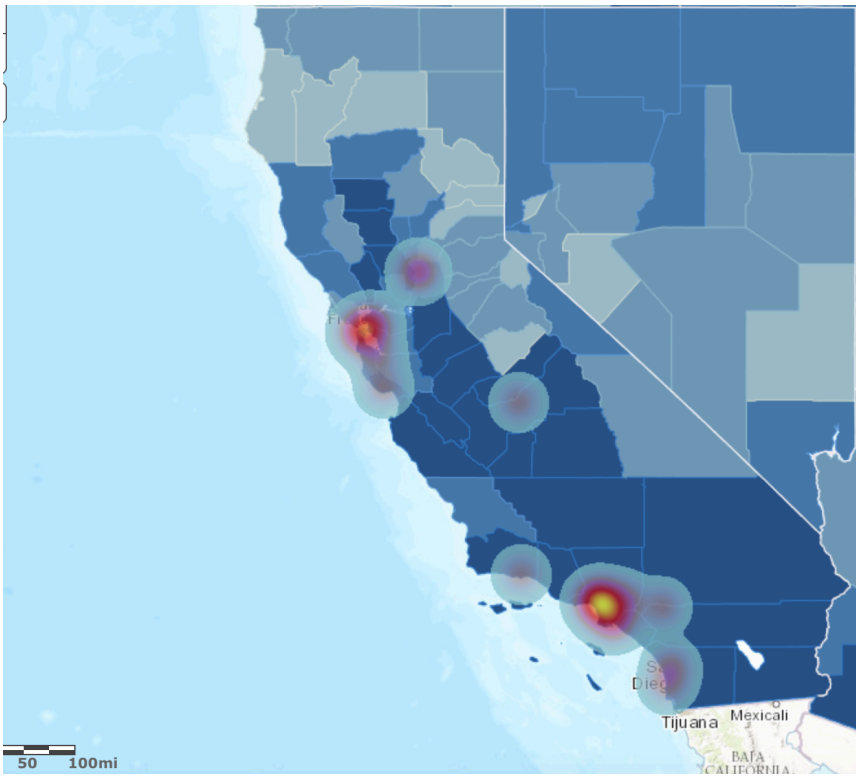

Figure 7: Heat Map of Research Institutes Across California

Latinx-focused research institutes are concentrated in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas (see Figure 7, above). However, there are also several in the Central Valley. Thus, research institutes are more widely distributed than law school clinics and likely reach more community members than clinics do.

Not surprisingly, Latinx-serving organizations (Figure 8, next page) reach the most Latinxs, as they are more evenly distributed across the state. While law school clinics and research institutes primarily operate in urban centers, non-profit organizations are located in both rural and urban areas. It is thus necessary to cultivate relationships with non-profit advocacy organizations as we build a cohesive and broad-reaching network.

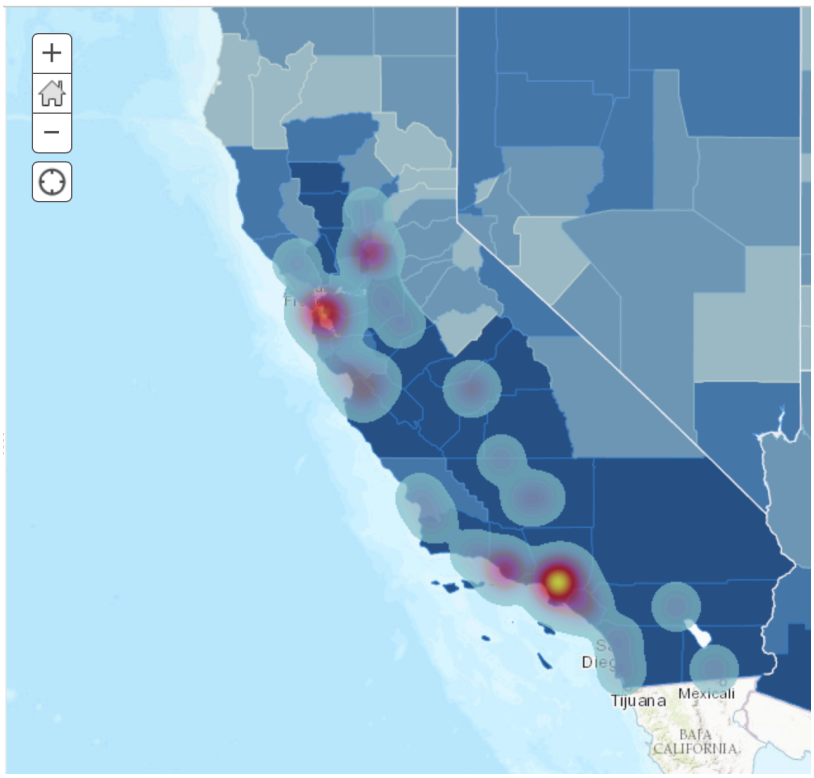

Figure 8: Heat Map of Latinx-Serving Organizations Across California