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# Two Political Worlds? The Relevance of Language in California Politics

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**Two Political Worlds? The Relevance of  
Language in California Politics**

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**Abstract**

In this paper we examine how Spanish language marks a political divide within the Latino community. Spanish language use also provides an opportunity for political parties to send slightly different campaign messages. We illustrate this point with reference to California's Democratic party.

**KEYWORDS:** language, Latino representation

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## Two Political Worlds? The Relevance of Language in California Politics

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### Introduction

In few other places is an understanding of “the Latino vote” as important as it is in California. The growing Latino population is matched by growing numbers of Latino voters, even though the community contains large numbers of residents who are ineligible to vote because of citizenship or age requirements. Field Poll analysis suggests the Latino share of registered voters in the state has grown from 8% in 1978 to 21% in 2009.<sup>1</sup> The growth of California’s Latino population has also meant a growth in the number of people in the state for whom Spanish is their first language (Mar-Molinero 2000). To date, attention on language has focussed on the scope for political conflict over, for example, official English ballot propositions and bilingual education (Schmidt 2000; Citrin et al. 1990). Other studies have examined the barriers that language may present to political participation of immigrants in general and Latinos in particular (e.g., Leighley 2001; Johnson et al. 2003). In this paper, rather than emphasize the way in which language operates as a barrier between Latinos and others we examine the way in which language is a marker for issue differences within the Latino community. We also look at the way in which language may provide opportunities for political outreach to the major parties.

We use very simple kinds of evidence to allow us to make two main points. First, even aside from well-established differences among Latino voters based on national origin it is probably a mistake to conceive of the Latino vote as a homogenous whole. In particular, Spanish language use seems to demarcate a strong dividing line within the Latino community. There are, as we and others note, many reasons for this. Language use can be a marker for both class and, also, immigration status: a greater reliance on Spanish seems to be associated with being both blue collar and a recent immigrant. In a very simple way, language use can act as a marker

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for underlying social differences. But language also marks an information barrier between Spanish-speaking residents of the state and its predominantly English-speaking political structure.

Second, while language may be seen as a barrier it can also be seen to be an opportunity for political parties. Political parties may be able to shade their appeals slightly differently to different language groups, and we are able to show that at least one party—the Democrats—may be attempting to do just that.

Both of these points have consequences for the longer-term party politics of the state and potential for both political parties.

In what follows we begin with a discussion of “the” Latino vote and the role of language in defining the Latino community. From here we move to examine public opinion data in order to assess the diversity of issue concerns among Latinos. We then turn to examine examples of Spanish language outreach by the major political parties.

### **“The” Latino Vote**

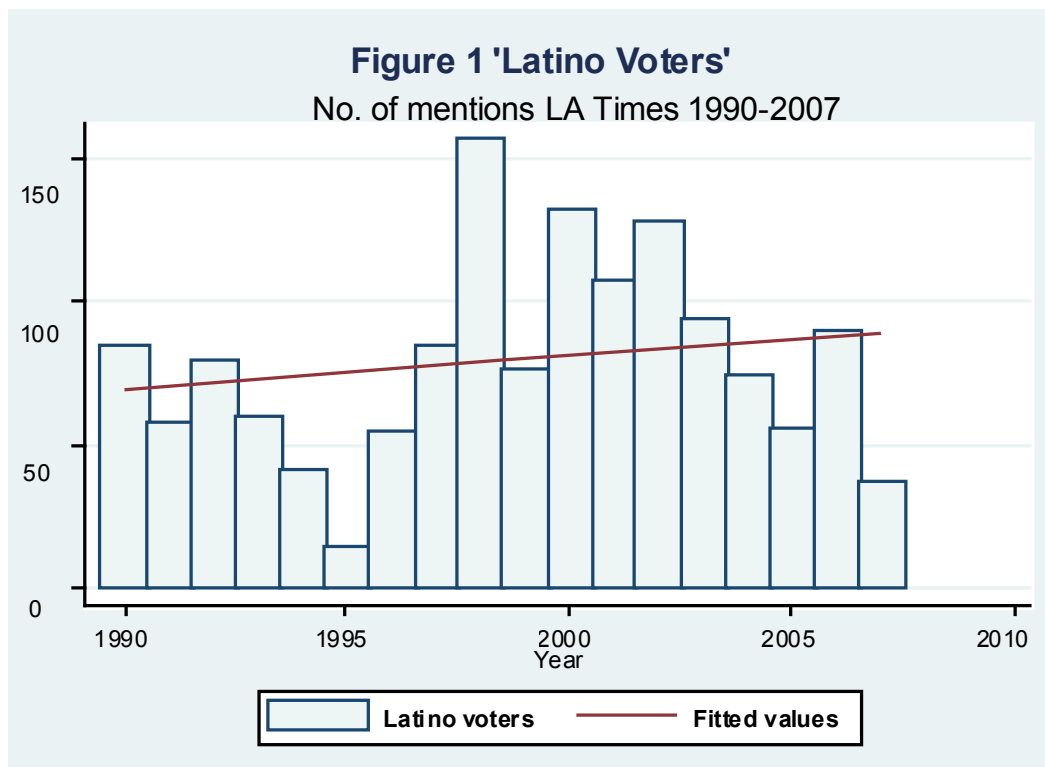
Latinos comprise a growing share of the state and national electorate and so command growing attention from scholars and parties on those grounds alone (Barreto 2005; de la Garza and DeSipio 2004) and in the bingo game of U.S. electoral demographics terms such as “the Latino Vote” or “Hispanic Voters” seem to have joined the list of demographic markers as “soccer-moms,” “the African-American” vote, and “social conservatives” (Leal et al. 2005).

Figure 1 shows a simple count of the frequency of *L.A. Times* usage of the phrase “Latino voters” in recent years. As can be seen, there is a steady upward trajectory in the trend of mentions of Latino voters from 1990 to 2007.

Figure 1 about here

But is it reasonable to talk of “*the* Latino vote,” or “Latino voters” as a largely homogenous bloc? There is nothing new about this question, but answers to date have been preoccupied by documenting differences among Latinos attributed in large part to national origin (e.g., Cuban-Americans versus Mexican-Americans). Another limitation on answering this question has been that imposed by the generally small number of Latinos sampled in most surveys; with very small sample sizes there is, necessarily, a limit to our ability to examine differences within the Latino community and examine the usefulness of phrases like “*the* Latino vote.”

In some senses of course this begs the question of how one defines who is, and who is not, Latino. Before moving on to assess Latino opinion we should note the complexities involved in arriving at a definition (Medina 2009).



### Latinos and the Spanish Language

One important component to understanding “the” Latino vote is the role of Spanish language in defining membership in the Latino community. Language is, of course, not the only means of arriving at that definition. The range of standards by which persons of Spanish origin have been identified by politicians and policymakers in the U.S. has “included Spanish surname, ancestry, birthplace, [having] parents of foreign-born parentage, self-identification, and language when growing up” (García 2003, 17; see also Medina 2009 for extended discussion on the use of Spanish surname). Hence while many markers and cleavages demarcate the heterogeneity of Latinos in the U.S. and, by extension “the Latino vote,” Spanish language use ranks at or near the top of “defining characteristics” of Latinos (García and Sánchez 2008).

Still, while Spanish-only speakers can be considered Latino, not all Latinos speak only Spanish. People of Hispanic descent who are Anglophone or bilingual can also see themselves as Latino. To the extent that language does overlap with first- and second-generation immigration status then simply using language use as the defining characteristic works against the inclusion of third and higher generations

of native-born U.S. citizens. Furthermore, in a political sense, recent immigrants are much less likely to be registered voters than native born Latinos and—hence—using language use alone as a defining characteristic would select against voters. One rough and ready solution to this issue when using survey data is to rely (as we do below) on respondent self-identification. If a respondent identifies him/herself as Latino/a then that is a rough and ready—but reasonably workable—answer to the question of who is Latino.

It is an answer, however, that still leaves open the possibility of seeing language as a marker for differences of opinion within the Latino community (and not just between Latinos and others). Language use may, as we noted, be a marker both for socio-economic attributes (immigration status and class) as well as for the range and availability of political information. That is, talk of “the” Latino vote tends to imply homogeneity but just how much homogeneity of political views exists among Latinos is an empirical question. One potentially important marker for diversity in opinion and outlook is likely that of language use—within the Latino community.

### **Issue Concerns of Latino Voters**

Above we noted the problem of small sample sizes that hampers many studies of minority opinion. By pooling PPIC surveys over a three-month period (March-May 2007) we can arrive at a reasonable number of Latino respondents from within the same state: just over 1,600 respondents self-identified as Latino. This group of self-identified Latinos comprises both Spanish-speaking and English/bilingual respondents. In examining “the” Latino vote we can anticipate that language use should also denote differences in political outlook.

Table 1 reports responses to the question “what is the most important issue facing California?” from those surveys. Within the (self-defined) Latino sample there are relatively few differences between Latinos and Latinos registered to vote with respect to the issues they consider most important. That is, both registered Latino voters and nonregistered Latinos agree that immigration is the most important and crime is second most important issue. There are differences, however, in how registered and nonregistered Latinos rank the importance of jobs and education. When we disaggregate by language use (columns 3 and 4) differences between subsets of the Latino electorate become much more marked. For example, non-Spanish speaking Latinos rank gas prices and education as the top issues of concern while Spanish-speaking Latinos rank crime/gangs/drugs and immigration at the top of their list of important issues. There are, then, markedly different issue concerns within different sections of the Latino community by language group.

**Table 1. Top 5 Issue Concerns of California Latinos (March-April 2007)**

	<b>Latino</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Latino-registered</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Non-Spanish speaking</b>	<b>%</b>
1	immigration	13.8	immigration	11.1	gas prices	13.1
2	crime gangs drugs	13.6	crime	10.2	education	10.7
3	economy	9.3	gas prices	10.0	economy	9.5
4	gas prices	9.0	economy	9.8	immigration/illegal and immigration/health care (tied)	7.7
5	jobs	8.3	education	7.8		
N		1,652		843		652

	<b>Spanish speaking</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Non-Spanish speaking and registered</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Spanish speaking and registered</b>	<b>%</b>
1	crime gangs drugs	18.3	gas prices	13.0	crime gangs drugs	17.9
2	immigration	17.3	education	12.0	immigration	16.5
3	jobs unemployment	11.0	economy	9.6	economy	10.0
4	economy	9.17	health care	9.2	jobs unemployment	8.9
5	[vol] don't know		illegal immigration	7.7	illegal immigration	7.3
N		1,036		333		255

Source: PPIC March-April-May surveys, 2007.

One other—very large—distinction comes over interest in politics. Table 2 presents a very simple breakdown of levels of interest among those surveyed. Spanish speaking respondents are much less interested in politics than Anglophone Latinos.

In some ways some of these differences should not be too surprising because language does indeed act as a marker for class differences. At least in the data assembled here Spanish speakers tended to have much lower levels of formal education. Almost 60% reported their formal education finished with—or before—high school, compared to only 14% of Anglophone Latinos. The consequences of this for income and general life chances are obvious and, hence, the differences in policy concern should come as little surprise even aside from issues of how information sources (and content) differ across the language groups.

These kinds of differences across different sections show up again in a more surprising way in Table 3 when we consider distributions of (self-assigned) ideology



**Table 2. Interest in Politics (Percent)**

	<b>Non-Spanish Speaking</b>	<b>Spanish speaking</b>	<b>Non-Latino</b>
Great deal	21%	13%	28%
Fair amount	42%	12%	47%
Only a little	29%	58%	21%
None	8%	18%	4%
N	614	1,022	4,805
Mean (point scale: 1 = great deal, 4 = none)	2.2	2.8	2.01

*Source: PPIC March-April-May 2007*

on a standard five-point scale. Here, Spanish-speaking respondents identify as more conservative than others. While a number of individual-level variables such as immigration history and status may partially explain this distribution, our interest remains differences between Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking Latinos.

The difference in mean values of ideological self-placement between Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking Latinos is statistically significant at the .10 level when the sample is that of registered (and Latino) voters and an even stronger relationship among all Latinos (registered or not). However, there are limits to how much even this approach buys us in terms of understanding Latino relationships to political parties: as can be seen sample sizes plummet when we only consider registered voters. It is worth noting, however, that the self-assigned conservatism of Spanish-speaking Latinos is striking. If anything, the political context of California is one in which Latino votes have been systematically pushed towards the Democratic Party by the actions of the GOP in the 1990s (Pantoja and Segura 2003). The campaigns in support of Propositions 187 (1994), 209 (1996), and 227 (1998) illustrate this point.

It is also likely that the differences noted here understate the range of differences between the two language communities in terms of political behavior. It may be that the importance of social organization and media use may also differ across the two communities (Uhlener 1989; Leighley 2001).<sup>2</sup> There may, too, be differences in the role of media sources. For example, a body of work has examined the importance of Spanish-language (not English-language) radio to the spring 2006 rallies and protests. Spanish-language news may simply report different news from English-

**Table 3. Distributions of Ideology (Liberal-Conservative) by California Latinos, March-April 2007 (Percent)**

	<b>Latinos</b>	<b>Latino registered</b>	<b>Latino &amp; non-Spanish speaking</b>	<b>Latino &amp; Spanish speaking</b>
Very liberal	8.5	9.8	10.3	7.3
Somewhat liberal	17.9	19.0	20.6	16.2
Middle of the road	32.0	33.3	33.1	31.9
Somewhat Conservative	30.1	27.9	26.5	32.3
Very conservative	11.4	9.8	10.3	12.1
Mean	3.18	3.08	3.05	3.25
N	1,553	815	591	962

	<b>Latinos &amp; non-Spanish speaking &amp; registered</b>	<b>Latino Spanish speaking &amp; registered</b>	<b>non-Latino &amp; registered</b>
Very liberal	10.3	9.1	10.6
Somewhat liberal	22.2	16.2	20.7
Middle of the road	32.9	33.9	31.6
Somewhat Conservative	25.8	30.7	24.0
Very conservative	9.7	9.9	12.8
Mean	3.03	3.16	3.07
N	464	352	4,181

*Source: PPIC March-April-May 2007.*

language sources.<sup>3</sup> It is also likely that patterns of media use differ markedly by class—a pattern that maps on to language differences.<sup>4</sup>

The point of these very simple figures is straightforward: language use can be seen to mark a dividing line within the Latino community when it comes to issue concerns and political outlook. There are noticeable differences within the Latino community according to language use. True, translation and bilingualism can help bridge differences across non-Spanish-speaking and Spanish-speaking

communities, but if these bridges are narrow then it may be that there are persistent differences across the two communities. Given such differences within the Latino community one question becomes whether or not the political parties recognize these differences in their outreach efforts.

As policymakers and politicians attempt to tap into “the Latino vote,” they are increasingly made aware of the fact that language use, along with country of origin and immigration differences, is an important factor contributing to the heterogeneity of Latino political values, interests, and incentives (Leighley 2001). For example, Spanish-language preference has been found to be associated with lower levels of political interest (MacManus and Cassel 1988), while for partisan and nonpartisan mobilization efforts, accommodating the preferences among certain Latino-targeted voters for communicating in Spanish is critical; a failure to do so weakens the effects of such campaigns (Ramirez and Wong 2006). As Uhlaner and García (2005) point out, predominantly Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans tend to identify with the Democratic Party. Thus, to candidates for public office, some thought is generally given to providing a well-articulated and targeted Spanish-language message.

In order to examine the question of how candidates and officials address the Spanish-language issue we need to move away from public opinion data to an examination of the efforts of politicians themselves.

**“ . . . for Representation in English Press Button One;  
para Rrepresentación en Español Oprime el Número Dos”**

It is common to see the language gap between Latinos and non-Latinos as a challenge for elected representatives (see e.g., Bloomekatz and Vara-Orta, *L.A. Times*, April 14, 2008). But there are also opportunities. Latinos may use “different words for different contexts” (Sánchez-Muñoz [in press]) and parties may take advantage of that fact. In principle, the difference in language communities does give a party a chance to try and offer slightly different messages to the two different communities (Abrajano 2005). The Spanish language provides parties with an opportunity to engage Spanish-speaking Latinos with more finely tuned messages. Do the parties take advantage of that language gap to say ever so slightly different things to different audiences?

We should note that these kinds of differences are difficult to see in practice because examples will, necessarily involve subtle differences in tone rather than glaring examples of a candidate saying two completely different things to two audiences. A politician is simply unable to pledge to lower taxes in English and pledge to raise them in Spanish (or vice versa) because it is a readily discoverable

contradiction. Rather, differences in language use are likely to be nuanced and subtle rather than obvious and crass.

Before looking more closely at differences in language use we can make some general comments on the use of the Spanish language by the two parties. Take, for example, an immediate and accessible use of Spanish language: the web sites of legislators and parties in the state. The basic pattern is that the use of Spanish is much more prevalent for Democrats than Republicans, both in terms of the party web sites and in terms of individual web sites themselves.<sup>5</sup> The web sites we examined were those of California Assembly members. Of the 79 out of 80 web pages that could be counted during the period under view (January 2008) 13 Assembly web pages had some Spanish language content or links to Spanish language content on their home page. All those who listed Spanish web content were Democrats. The Latino caucus lists only Democrats as members: Republican Bonnie Garcia was not a member. Of the 16 members listed as members of the caucus seven had Spanish language content, nine did not.

What seems to predict the presence of Spanish-language content on a given web site was, not surprisingly, the district having a sizeable Latino electorate (see Appendix A). There is also some—very slight—evidence that the issue front grounded on the web site is related to population: as an issue of concern crime seems to figure more prominently on the web sites of members from heavily Latino districts. Given the evidence from Table 1 this does suggest at least some crude evidence of correlation between member and Latino opinion that is at least consistent with issue concerns being expressed by Spanish-speaking voters.

But these kinds of figures are quite crude and do not pick up on the different ways in which politicians may use language, and in particular use the language divide, to their advantage by shading the messages they send. One of the questions we posed earlier was whether or not a party can take advantage of the language gap to offer slightly different messages to the two different language groups. The public opinion evidence earlier suggested that there were different policy concerns between Spanish and English speakers even among the Latinos. Is it possible for a party to try to engage in “price discrimination” and present slightly different messages to the two groups?

Some evidence that speaks to this is available from the California Assembly’s Democrat caucus. This caucus produces a regular radio broadcast in both English and Spanish.<sup>6</sup> The topics of the address are the same and, by and large, the content of the address is identical. By comparing the content of these texts it is possible to see if there are differences between the two messages.

Each radio broadcast that we found—with one exception—begins with an Assembly Democrat naming herself or himself. The one exception was Mike Eng’s discussion of his opposition to hate crimes against LGBT individuals. While there

was a Spanish-language version of this speech no named individual was identified as the speaker in the Spanish version. For the most part, however, a named individual is identified in the broadcast. In one or two cases it is the same individual.

For the most part the language used seems very similar and the differences minor. But some differences are seen in some of the scripts—but the differences are subtle.<sup>7</sup>

In Table 4 we present selected text from radio addresses by California Assembly Democrats that illustrate subtle differences between the English and Spanish messages. Note, for example, the January 11, 2008 Democrat response to Governor Schwarzenegger's budget proposal in which the Spanish-language message mentions the same enrollment caps and cuts in funding to public education, parks, and other social services announced in the English address and makes *additional* mention of proposed cuts to special education, student nutritional programs, and childcare for low-income families. We can see too the specific mention of farm laborers in connection to Thanksgiving, and some evidence of shying away from mentioning cuts in services in the February 28 speech. All of these show examples of the ways in which a slightly different message—rather than a literal translation—conveys a more specific and targeted message to their Spanish-speaking audiences; a message that appeals to families and family issues and to specific concerns (farming) of that community.

In comparing across the different speeches it is rare, as we would expect, to find a great deal of difference. Appendix B reports one radio broadcast in full that represented the most extensive differences we found. The number and scope of these differences are quite unusual. Table 4, then, represents examples of the standard kinds of differences we are likely to see.

The differences within a particular speech are therefore quite modest. But what happens when we examine the differences across several speeches? It is always difficult to compare across languages. But the advantage of comparing these radio broadcasts is that they are on the same topic at the same time. Table 5 compares word counts of English- and Spanish-language messages from a series of radio broadcasts. It is only to be expected that if, say, we compared a Republican speech on crime to one by Democrats we would see quite marked differences. But the comparisons we are making here are across the same speeches on the same topic given by the same party at the same time as each other. The only difference is that of the language being used to express the policy position of the party at that one point in time.

When we compare the speeches we see that in the Spanish versions of the addresses there are far more mentions of terms relating to families and children than there are in the English-language versions. There is also a more frequent reference

**Table 4. Comparisons of Selected Text from Radio Address by California Assembly Democrats**

<b>Thanksgiving 2007</b>	
And we have our California farmers to thank for our Thanksgiving celebration.	Así como se repone de la comida del Día de Acción de Gracias, y como descubre otras maneras de usar sus sobras, usted a lo mejor no se ha dado cuenta cuan [sic] dependiente es la celebración del Día de Acción de Gracias con los trabajadores de la agricultura.
<b>Budget response Jan 11 2008</b>	
His budget relies on higher fees and enrollment limits at UC and CSU campuses, and he supports mid-year cuts to K-12 education.	Su presupuesto depende en un aumento en las matriculas y limites de estudiantes para las universidades publicas del estado. El Gobernador además apoya recortes adicionales a medio año de los fondos para la educación para la educación primaria y secundaria, inclusive educación especial y nutrición estudiantil.
He wants to close state parks and release prisoners early, and he expects low-income Social Security recipients to handle significant cuts to their aid.	El [sic] quiere cerrar parques, dejar en libertad a prisioneros, eliminar cuidado de niños de bajos recursos, y recortar los ingresos de los jubilados que dependen del seguro social.
<b>More on the budget Feb 28 2009</b>	
There must be a creative approach to our state's financial problems that addresses the reality of today while protecting the needs and priorities of tomorrow.	Tenemos que buscar una forma más creativa para resolver el problema fiscal del estado que aborde las realidades de hoy pero que al mismo tiempo proteja las necesidades y prioridades del mañana.
Cuts to services must be done with care, and revenues also need to be on the table.	NOT MENTIONED

to work and worker, but also far fewer mentions of crime and gangs than in the English versions of the same addresses.

When we combine the references to children and family we see that in the English text they are used 211 times and in the Spanish text 245. What this means in substantive terms is that, on average over the 38 speeches, in almost every speech the Spanish text is more likely to include an additional reference to children or families than the comparable speech in English on the same.

These differences may not seem to be especially large but several points should be borne in mind. First, we should expect to see only very subtle differences. It is simply not plausible to expect that two speeches on the same topic will be based

**Table 5. Word Count of Key Terms in 38 Radio Addresses by Assembly Democrats, April 27, 2007 - Feb. 29, 2008**

English		Spanish	
Youth/young/teen	19	Joven/jóvenes	21
Family/families	19	Familia/s	26
Child/children/boy/girl	44	Niño/hijo/	48
Education/educational etc (26)		Educación/educar (30)	
+ teaching/learning etc	72	+aprendizaje, aprender	90
Medicaid/medically (18)		Medicaid/ médica (36)	
+ Health / healthy (39)	57	+ Salud/ sanos (24)	60
<b>Total “family values”</b>	<b>211</b>		<b>245</b>
Work/worker	45	Trabajo, trabajadore	53
Discrimination	3	discriminación	4
Immigrants/immigration	21	Immigración/migraterio	17
Crime (18), gangs (29)	47	Crimen (7), pandillas (25)	32
<b>Total N of words</b>	<b>14,145</b>		<b>16,060</b>
<b>Avg no. of words in speech</b>	<b>372</b>		<b>422</b>

on extreme differences. Second, this difference is averaged over the whole sample of speeches and so understates the amount of difference we may see on some specific issues; many speeches simply did not give rise to discussions of “family values.” In their more concentrated form—such as in the example provided in the appendix—the differences become much more pronounced. Third, some words seem to be mentioned systematically less often (in particular “immigration”) and, hence, the patterns we see are not due to an across-the-board prolixity innate to the Spanish language. The corpus of the Spanish text is a little longer (just over 16,000 words as opposed to just over 14,000 for the English broadcast), and part of that is undoubtedly due to that underlying structure of language.<sup>8</sup> But those kinds of grammatical differences are not likely to apply to the frequency of nouns used within a policy speech; and certainly should not lead us to expect a systematically greater frequency in use of words such as “children” at the same time we see systematically less frequent use of words like “immigrant” simply on the basis of grammar alone.

The persistence of the differences in terms used suggests a conscious choice to present a subtly different emphasis in message for Spanish-language listeners.<sup>9</sup>



### **Discussion: Two Political Worlds But Only One Political Party?**

In this paper we made two main points. First—even beyond the discussion of differences due to national origin—it is probably an oversimplification to talk of “the” Latino vote not least because there are persistent and in some cases quite dramatic differences between English- and Spanish-speaking Latinos. Given that different information sources will provide different information content it is likely that Spanish-only Latinos will possess—and be given—a different set of information than bilingual or Anglophone Latinos. It may be something of an exaggeration to talk of this as two political worlds, but the gaps between the two language communities in terms of issue concerns, interest in politics, and ideological outlook are striking.

Second, one party in the state is aware of these differences and is making at least some response to them. The California Democratic Party seems to be making some subtle shifts in campaign message to respond to Spanish-speaking Latinos. This shading of message is not surprising given that many Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans identify as Democrats and that the Democratic Party and Latinos share some issue interests. In fact, in terms of normative concerns about representation what we see is what “should” happen: parties should respond to the concerns of citizens regardless of the language being spoken. A positive take on the Democrats’ use of Spanish does suggest an active move towards political incorporation (see also Schmidt 2000).

What is surprising, however, is that it is just the one party wooing Spanish-language voters—and in some ways it is the “wrong” party. If the patterns of issue concerns noted in the first part of the paper persist then the GOP may conceivably be in a position to make sizable gains among Spanish speakers, for example, by emphasizing its “tough on crime” issue ownership. The GOP may also be able to capitalize on the (self-identified) conservatism of Spanish speakers. But the GOP does not seem to be taking advantage of those opportunities, in part because it seems to engage in very little outreach in Spanish. Instead, it appears that the GOP has conceded the Latino vote the Democrats. The reason that we did not conduct the same kind of comparison for Republican campaign materials is that we found none. This lack of GOP outreach to Spanish speakers may well be explicable in ideological terms—a reflection, perhaps, of concerns over immigration—but it is not explicable in terms of the electoral marketplace.

The political consequence for the state is that to the extent that there is a pro-Democrat homogeneity within the Latino community it may be because the GOP has simply conceded that portion of the electorate. In ignoring this growing section of the electorate the state’s Republican politicians seem to be confining themselves to a declining share of the vote.



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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See <<http://field.com/fieldpollonline/subscribers/Rls2309.pdf>> and <<http://www.naleo.org/ElectoralProfiles/CA08.pdf>>.

<sup>2</sup> And indeed in preliminary investigations that seems to be the case in California.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for example, the Spanish language *La Prensa* <<http://www.laprensaenlinea.com/>> and the publication from the same publisher the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* for the same area <<http://www.pe.com/>>.

<sup>4</sup> For example, manual occupations that do not require college-level education are probably more likely to have radios in the workplace than computers with web access: white collar workplaces are likely to have radios and computers with web access. This kind of pattern is, of course, just one example of the generic difficulty of studying media effects and sorting out self-selection (e.g., due to class) from the mobilizing power of the media.

<sup>5</sup> Some scholars note a deeper point to this difference across the parties. By engaging the Spanish-speaking citizens and supporting the reproduction of the Spanish language in state government institutions, the California Assembly Democrats have embraced the call for "linguistic pluralism" by responding to the call of Latino language pluralist activists' insistence on Latinos' right to participate in U.S. society as Spanish-speakers (Schmidt 1997, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Transcripts may be found here <<http://democrats.assembly.ca.gov/ademRadioAddress.asp>>. We should note it is hard to find when and where these were actually broadcast.

<sup>7</sup> Nor are differences in language use clearly tied to the issue concerns listed in Table 2.

<sup>8</sup> The three most frequently used words in the English broadcasts are *the* (used 654 times), *and* (446), and *to* (428). The three most frequently used words in the Spanish broadcast are *de* (1,103), *el* (476), and *que* (457). These kinds of differences seem to account for much of the difference in size of the overall corpora. That is, differences in frequencies between the two languages do not seem tied to differences in the need to use different numbers of nouns and adjectives.

<sup>9</sup> Other, more subtle, differences still are seen in the use of a “Why We Aare Democrats” flyer dating from 2008. As can be seen from the brochures posted here <<http://www.cadem.org/atf/cf/%7BBF9D7366-E5A7-41C3-8E3F-E06FB835FCCE%7D/WhyDems2007English.pdf>> and here <<http://www.cadem.org/atf/cf/%7BBF9D7366-E5A7-41C3-8E3F-E06FB835FCCE%7D/WhyDems2007Spanish.pdf>>. The pictures on the second page of the flyer change. Perhaps most noteworthy, the Spanish-language brochure adds a picture of a child and removes the picture of the African American as well as changing the photograph of the man associated with the slogan “Democrats are for more jobs and better jobs.” Clearly at least someone thought the visual message of the English-language leaflet would not be appropriate for a Spanish-language audience.