
En el proyecto "The Color of Money", vemos como los latinos y otras minorías raciales/étnicas son sistemáticamente excluidos del sistema político, simplemente porque es menos probable que ellos tengan medidas para dar las contribuciones de campañas que son el aceite que engrasa la máquina de las elecciones.

Uno de cada ocho norteamericanos es latino. Los latinos, como otras comunidades, se caracterizan tanto por la diversidad como por la homogeneidad. Hay familias mexicano-americanas y puertorriqueñas que han estado en este país por generaciones y otras que han llegado recientemente, exiliados cubanos que llegaron después de la revolución de su isla, refugiados de guerra de los países centro-americanos, e inmigrantes económicos de la Republica Dominicana. La reciente tendencia muestra que masas de los nuevos inmigrantes vienen de los países andinos de Sudamérica, probablemente consecuencia de la guerra de los Estados Unidos contra las drogas.

A pesar de sus diversos países de origen, los latinos en los Estados Unidos comparten una experiencia común de exclusión systemática en lo político, económico, y social. El índice de pobreza para los hispanos es del 21.4 por ciento, mientras que para la mayoría blanca es del 8 por ciento. Es menos probable que los latinos tengan acceso al seguro médico, y sufren de un índice mas alto de enfermedades que se pueden prevenir, tal como la diabetis, las enfermedades cardiovasculares, la tuberculosis, y el cáncer del seno y cervical. La discriminación contra los latinos persiste en el trabajo y en el alojamiento. Es menos probable que los niños latinos tengan acceso a la educación de calidad.

Este país siempre ha ofrecido una respuesta para los mal servidos: Participen. Voten. Que oigan su voz. Y con cada año que pasa, la comunidad latina se vuelve más organizada, más poderosa, en los negocios de nuestra nación.

Pero las voces de la comunidad latina se amplificarían, si tuviéramos una verdadera, amplia reforma de finanzas de campaña. Una reforma de campaña de Dinero Limpio nivelara el panorama, reduciendo la importancia de las donaciones particulares de dinero en las elecciones. Los candidatos que estén de acuerdo con atenerse a los límites de gasto y que cumplen con las difíciles condiciones calificativas, recaudando una gran cantidad de pequeñas contribuciones de los votantes del distrito, recibirán financiación pública para dirigir su campaña. Esto hace posible para un candidato dirigir una campaña viable para un puesto sin tener que depender de contributores ricos.

La reforma de campaña "Clean Elections" (Elecciones Limpias y Transparentes) no resolvería todos los problemas del electorado latino, pero ayudaría a hacer el sistema más justo, más cometidos a sus necesidades.

Antonio Gonzalez, Octubre del 2003

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This report is a companion to www.colorofmoney.org, our newly launched interactive website. Users can search for detailed information on campaign contributions, race, ethnicity, and income in their own communities, looking up information about their state, metropolitan area, and zip code. See the Web Preview section at the end of this report for tips on how to conduct this research. We will periodically update the Color of Money website and issue reports with new analyses on how campaign contributions affect communities of color. We will show how our current campaign finance system has consequences that affect people's lives, from the wages they earn and the taxes they pay, to the quality of the schools their children attend and the air they breathe.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Campaign money—not votes—is now the currency of our democracy, determining who is able to run a viable campaign for office, who usually wins, and who has the ear of elected officials. This study examines federal contribution data for the 2002 and 2000 election cycles by zip code, side-by-side with 2000 U.S. Census data on race and ethnicity. The unfortunate conclusion is that, in a political system in which you have to pay to play, people of color are largely excluded from the game. This report confirms similar patterns to those detailed in our 1998 Color of Money report, which examined federal campaign contributions made in the 1996 elections, contrasted with 1990 U.S. Census data.

We examined more than \$2 billion in individual contributions (of more than \$200, referred throughout the report as "\$200+") to federal candidates, parties, and Political Action Committees (PACs), attributable to more than 25,000 zip codes nationwide over the course of two election cycles, 2000 and 2002. We compared these data with U.S. 2000 Census information on race, ethnicity and income of people ages 18 and over by zip code.

While campaigns, parties, and PACs are required to provide details on the names and addresses of donors of more than \$200, they are not required to list the race or ethnicity of these donors. Therefore, to conduct this analysis, we use zip codes as the bridge between information on campaign contributors and U.S. Census data on race and ethnicity. This methodology has certain limitations. We are not able to pinpoint precisely how much money comes from a particular racial or ethnic group. Nevertheless, the geographical element is informative, demonstrating a pattern of exclusion from the political money game in neighborhoods where the population is predominantly people of color.

It must be noted here that there are many complexities in determining how to present information about racial and ethnic minority populations, which are extremely diverse. While "black" and "Asian" are considered racial categories by the U.S. Census, "Hispanic" or "Latino" is not. Rather, "Hispanic" or "Latino" refers to ethnicity, and people who are Hispanic or Latino can be of any race. These issues are discussed more thoroughly in the methodology section of this report.

We include statistics on wealth and poverty because these are a significant determinant of campaign contributions. The neighborhoods that contribute the most campaign cash are also largely predominantly non-Hispanic white—but they are also among the nation's wealthiest. This comes as no huge surprise—decades of discrimination against people of color in this country has contributed to an uneven distribution of wealth that favors the white majority.

OUR ANALYSIS SHOWS:

- Neighborhoods comprised mostly of people of color are severely underrepresented in the campaign finance system. Given that money typically determines who wins political races, this means that these neighborhoods are effectively disenfranchised. Indeed, nine out of ten individual federal campaign dollars come from majority non-Hispanic white neighborhoods. Yet nearly one out of three adult Americans is a person of color.

- Nearly ninety percent of the more than \$2 billion contributed by individuals in the two recent federal elections comes from zip codes that are majority non-Hispanic white. In comparison, just 1.8% of campaign funds come from predominantly Latino zip codes, 2.8% from predominantly African American zip codes, and .6% from predominantly Asian Pacific American neighborhoods.

- The top contributing zip code nationwide—10021, on Manhattan's exclusive Upper East Side—is the source of \$28.4 million for federal campaigns in the 2002 and 2000 elections, and is home to 91,514 people ages 18 and over, 86% of whom are non-Hispanic white. Nearly 40% of the households have incomes of \$100,000 or more. This one zip code contributes more campaign cash than:

-- the 532 zip codes nationwide with the largest percent of African American population, representing 7,654,609 people ages 18 and over, 84 times more people than live in 10021;

-- the 533 zip codes nationwide with the largest percent of Latino population, representing 9,355,643 people ages 18 and over, 102 times the number of people writing the zip code "10021" on the return flap of their envelopes;

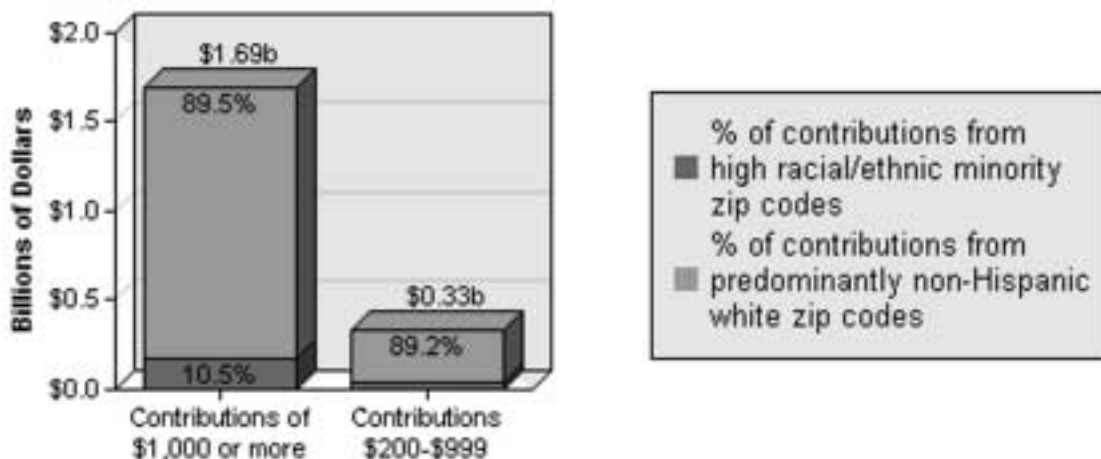
-- the 167 zip codes nationwide with the largest percent of Asian Pacific American population, representing 3,523,852 people ages 18 and over, 39 times the number of people who call 10021 home.

- The neighborhoods supplying most of the money for federal campaigns in this country are also among the nation's wealthiest. Nearly one out of two federal individual campaign dollars (\$200+)—\$991 million—comes from a person living in a wealthy zip code, although just 12% of the adult population lives in these neighborhoods. Meanwhile, just 5.9% of individual campaign dollars—\$118.8 million—comes from poor neighborhoods, although nearly 9% of adult Americans live in these communities. Another way to look at it: individuals living in wealthy neighborhoods supply eight dollars for every one dollar that people living in poor communities give to federal campaigns.

SIZE OF CONTRIBUTIONS

- Contributions of \$1,000 or more make up nearly \$1.7 billion of the individual contributions to federal campaigns (\$200+). Predominantly non-Hispanic white neighborhoods supplied about 90% of both large contributions of \$1,000 or more and of moderate contributions of \$200-\$999.

Total Federal Contributions by Size



TOP CONTRIBUTING STATES

- The top ten contributing states account for 59% of the individual federal campaign cash contributed in the two elections; the top 20 states, 81%. In all of these states, the pattern is sustained of most campaign cash coming from predominantly non-Hispanic white wealthy neighborhoods.

- **California** supplies more individual campaign cash (\$200+) to federal campaigns than any other state—\$273.1 million in the 2000 and 2002 election

cycles. (Five California metropolitan areas make the top 25 contributing metropolitan areas nationwide list¹: Los Angeles-Long Beach, San Francisco, San Jose, Orange County, and San Diego, as well as several top contributing zip codes nationwide, such as 90210, 90024, and 90067.) The state is immensely diverse. Nearly one out of two of the residents are people of color (28% of Californians are Latinos). Yet 85% of the cash comes from zip codes that are predominantly non-Hispanic white, while these areas contain 55% of the state's population. Two-thirds of the state's campaign cash comes from wealthy neighborhoods, though just about one out of four Californians live in these communities. In contrast, just eight percent of contributions come from poor neighborhoods.

- **New York** ranks second in individual federal contributions (\$200+)—\$205.7 million, 2000 and 2002 election cycles combined. The state is home to top contributing metropolitan areas New York City and Nassau-Suffolk, NY, not to mention the generous Manhattan zip codes of 10021, 10022, and 10028. Ninety-four percent of the campaign cash comes from predominantly non-Hispanic white zip codes, although only 71% of the population lives in these neighborhoods. Sixty-four percent of the state's population is non-Hispanic white. Wealthy neighborhoods supply 78% of the campaign cash, even though just 19% of New York state residents live in these neighborhoods. Two percent of the campaign cash comes from poor neighborhoods, home to 16% of the state's population.

- **Texas** ranks third in individual campaign contributions (\$200+)—\$152.1 million. Houston and Dallas are among the nation's top contributing metropolitan areas. Fifty-six percent of the population is non-Hispanic white. Yet 77 % of the campaign cash comes from predominantly non-Hispanic white neighborhoods, home to 64% of the state's population. Nearly half (43%) of the contributions come from wealthy neighborhoods, even though just 10% of the state's population lives in these neighborhoods. Six percent of the contributions come from poor communities, although 15% of the state's population lives in them.

- **Florida** is the source of \$112.1 million in individual federal contributions (\$200+). Miami and West Palm Beach-Boca Raton make the list of top contributing metropolitan areas nationwide, and Palm Beach zip code 33480 is one of the nation's most generous to federal campaigns. Eighty-three percent of the contributions come from non-Hispanic white neighborhoods, where 79% of the state's population resides. Sixty-eight percent of the state population is non-Hispanic white. Wealthy neighborhoods supply 37% of the campaign cash, though just seven percent of the state's population lives in these areas. Five percent of the money comes from poor communities, which are home to seven percent of the state's population.