The Future of Latinos in the United States:
Law, Opportunity, and Mobility
The Fellows CLE

The Future of Latinos in the Law, Opportunity

In February 2016 at the ABA Mid Year Meeting in San Diego, the Fellows of the American Bar Foundation (ABF) presented a research seminar entitled “The Future of Latinos in the United States: Law, Opportunity and Mobility,” whose purpose was to introduce a new ABF project by the same name (FLP). The project aims to explore four key issues facing the growing Latino population in the United States—education, immigration, political and civic participation, and economic opportunity—through research, teaching, and outreach. The initiative is co-directed by ABF Director Emeritus Robert L. Nelson and former UCLA Law School Dean, Rachel F. Moran.

Robert L. Nelson spoke about the FLP’s initial research efforts. After compiling “the most extensive bibliography on research on Latinos” in the United States yet undertaken, the researchers began a systematic canvassing and mapping of Latino-serving organizations in the nation, using geographic information systems software. They found that, while many areas of the country with high concentrations of Latinos also have high concentrations of organizations that serve them, there are also “large areas of the country that have high densities of Latino populations where there are virtually no organizations that serve them, including Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and parts of the Northwest.” This

Before speaking, both Robert Nelson and Dean Moran thanked the ABF as well as the many contributors to the William H. Neukom Fellows Research Chair in Diversity and Law, of which Moran is the first holder, and which provides critical seed funding for the project.
simple mapping exercise revealed a basic mismatch between needs and services that the researchers will explore more fully, with more formal analyses.

Because the Latino experience varies widely by region, with differing histories, demographics, national origins, and state and local policies, the FLP project will hold a series of roundtables around the country. The roundtables will bring academic researchers together with local policy makers, activists, foundation officers, attorneys and other stakeholders to discuss each region’s particular issues and opportunities. The roundtables will be held in the Midwest (at the ABF offices in Chicago), The West (Stanford University), The Southeast (Miami, Florida), The Northeast (Yale University), and the Southwest (Texas), with a final national summit to be held in Washington, D.C. or at the American Bar Foundation, Nelson said.

Rachel F. Moran recounted how the FLP project came to be. “We were concerned because despite rapid growth in the Latino population, we couldn’t find much in the way of research and law and policy work to support the full incorporation and integration and inclusion of this important constituency,” she said. At the same time, California Supreme Court Associate Justice Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar, who is also an ABF Board Member and Life Fellow, urged the ABF to undertake research in this critical area.

The project is structured around three pillars, Moran explained: research; teaching and leadership development; and outreach and dissemination. The ABF, with its particular strength in high-quality, sustained interdisciplinary empirical research on law and society is an ideal home for the project, Moran commented. Teaching and leadership training are particularly important in reaching younger members of the Latino community, according to Moran. “We know that the Latino population is disproportionately youthful,” she said. “We need to reach that cohort of young people, many of whom are already exercising leadership roles, so that they feel fully empowered to exercise their voice and their influence.” The project’s final pillar of outreach and dissemination will be particularly important in informing the broader public, Moran said. “We know there’s a lot of misunderstanding out
there about the Latino community, and we wanted to make sure that we disseminate our findings to a larger public. That way, the current debates about topics like immigration or political mobilization or education or employment opportunity will be informed by rigorous research so that there’s a full understanding of what’s at stake.

As she followed the case, Moran wondered where the amicus briefs had come from, and “what sort of infrastructure was out there in the clinical world to support engagement with the Latino community.” As a law school dean, Moran was particularly interested in how law schools were participating. She discovered that professors or centers at only three law schools in the nation had filed amicus briefs in the case. No law school Supreme Court clinics had been involved, and there was “no evidence of cooperation between centers or clinics and the Latino community in putting together these briefs,” Moran said. Based on a preliminary inquiry, she also found no consistent patterns of law school clinic involvement in lower court cases of interest to the Latino community either—those involving issues such as voting, education, and immigration.

This gap revealed both the need and the potential for a network of law school clinics that could advocate for Latinos. Moran proposed the establishment of such a network, “to connect the clinics, to help the clinics connect to Latino communities and important organizations that are, right now, carrying the ball for the community—a growing community where the access to justice gap is just getting bigger.” As a first step, the FLP project will host a planning summit for the clinical network, to be held in November 2016, at UCLA, Moran explained.

The next speaker, Luz Herrera, Assistant Dean for Clinical Education, Experiential Learning, and Public Service at UCLA Law School, expanded upon the promise and potential of the clinical network. “To actually begin to outline a path for implementation of a national network that could plug in different constituencies in the Latino community where there are resources, I think, is an important start to developing an infrastructure that has been very much lacking within the Latino community nationally,” she said. The project also has the potential to benefit young Latino law students interested in serving their communities by showing them career models: “for someone who’s interested in going to law school to say there’s a network of people locally that might connect to national...
As lawyers, we often think about the legal issues and the legal framework, but all of those legal frameworks operate within communities and they operate within contexts that really require other professionals to intervene.

Philanthropy is a powerful tool for social change, Gonzales said, but it is flawed and limited in its ability to serve Latinos. “Historically, communities of color have been underrepresented in philanthropy and underserved by philanthropic dollars...today, less than two percent of all foundation funding is directed to Latino organizations and activities,” she said.

Gonzales outlined two ways to increase foundation funding for Latinos. First, Latinos need to be better represented on foundation boards. Currently, just six to eight percent of foundation trustees and two percent of grant making CEOs are Latino, she noted. Therefore, foundations need to make inclusion of Latinos in major decision-making roles a priority, Gonzales said. This is especially important, as more and more Latinos are making charitable donations; the power of Latino charitable dollars is growing.

The second strategy Gonzales identified to assist Latinos is “identity-based philanthropy.” “A movement of identity based philanthropy has arisen in recent years to really enable this community to empower themselves around these issues through the resources that exist and through traditions of giving that exist culturally,” she said. “There are now over 40 Latino funds nationwide, collectively giving nearly $39 million annually.” Gonzales noted that she always encourages attorneys to become involved in philanthropy. Her own organization, the California Bar Foundation, is the only state bar foundation “investing exclusively in increasing diversity, equity and inclusion in the legal profession.” The California Bar Foundation is looking for ways to partner “to mobilize resources from other bar foundations nationwide and other foundations that have an equity lens to their work,” she stated.

Thomas A. Saenz, President and General Counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), laid out a case for the importance of the FLP project beyond the growth of the Latino population and its unmet legal needs. As Saenz said, “the
legal system in the United States continues to struggle and has, over at least 60 plus years, with the Latino community and its legal needs. Not just in terms of serving those needs, but the system itself, the adjudication system, in addressing those needs, which is to say the Latino community has today, as it has for many decades, a unique experience that is critical to the future development of the law jurisprudentially.”

Saenz cited the 1954 case of \textit{Hernandez v. Texas} as an example of the particular challenges Latinos face in asserting their rights. \textit{Hernandez v. Texas} had to do with the exclusion of Latinos from juries, a common occurrence at the time in Texas and the Southwest in general. While African Americans had, twenty years previously, won a Supreme Court case, \textit{Norris v. Alabama}, so that “challengers of jury exclusion [did] not have to prove discriminatory intent” but could rely on a “prima fascia case of unconstitutional jury exclusion if there was a long pattern of exclusion of African Americans in from juries in a particular location,” Mexican Americans in Texas were not able to take advantage of this ruling. In other cases, the State of Texas had argued successfully that \textit{Norris v. Alabama} did not apply to Mexican Americans because in the decades since that ruling Mexican Americans had been defined by the State as of the white race. Therefore, exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries could not be part of a pattern of racial discrimination. In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that exclusion of Latinos from juries did, indeed, fit a pattern of racial discrimination, making \textit{Hernandez v. Texas} the first major civil rights victory for Latinos.

Saenz discussed how, in recent decades, “discrimination against Latinos is undertaken under the guise of discrimination on other issues that are concededly relevant in the legal realm.” As he explained, “discrimination and discriminatory law-making targeting the Latino community [is often] undertaken under the guise of citizenship discrimination, language discrimination, immigration status-based discrimination.” Crucially, “discrimination undertaken on those bases cannot easily be challenged using traditional civil rights law,” Saenz said. Consequently, the Latino community has had to struggle to try to adjust civil rights law and doctrine to apply to those situations, with some success. But this also means that in the Latino community “there has had to be an effort to develop other areas of law, not traditionally viewed as relating to civil rights and discrimination, to challenge these laws,” Saenz said.

For example, Arizona’s 2010 law SB1070 would have required local police to question motorists they stopped regarding their citizenship status. MALDEF and other groups challenged the law in court, Saenz said, but not on the seemingly obvious basis of discrimination under the Equal Protection Clause. Rather, SB1070 was challenged based on the doctrine of Federal Supremacy and Protection, which had been used successfully in California in the 1990s in challenging Proposition 187. Legal advocates there “converted” what had originally been a doctrine used by businesses to avoid state laws that conflicted with federal laws into a way to deal with a civil rights problem. Latino advocates had been forced to do this because Proposition 187 “was a popularly enacted initiative, so even if there was strong evidence of racial intent, it would be difficult to demonstrate that, with regard to an initiative passed by all of the voters of California, hard to show the racially discriminatory intent of a legislature that includes millions of voters in the State of California. So the Latino community was forced to develop the doctrine [of Federal Supremacy and Protection] as a civil rights doctrine,” Saenz said.

“I, therefore, believe that this initiative is necessary not only because of the growing demographics, but because, increasingly, this
ongoing experience means that the development of the law in this country will more and more be influenced by the experiences of the Latino community,” Saenz stated. “So if the ABA, if the American Bar Foundation, if law schools want to be at the forefront of the development of law in this country, we must undertake a serious and sustained effort to address the legal issues and the legal arguments in the Latino community. For that reason, as well as the demographics and unmet need that you already see, I congratulate the Foundation for undertaking this important work.”

The final panelist was R. Alexander Acosta, Chair of the ABA Commission on Hispanic Legal Rights & Responsibilities and Dean, College of Law, at Florida International University. Acosta focused his remarks on education, an issue that “undergirds many other issues” in the Latino community, he said. Florida International University College of Law graduates the highest percentage of Latinos of any ranked law school in the country, and is housed at a university that is almost 80 percent Latino, Acosta noted. Latino law students face many challenges, including a lack of role models, a lack of sophistication about the educational system, and a lack of knowledge about how to prepare for law school.

Cultural factors can influence Latino students as well, Acosta said. The centrality of family to many Latinos sometimes causes students or recent graduates to curtail career opportunities. Often students must drop out or suspend their studies in order to work to support the family, Acosta said. In addition, recent graduates sometimes hesitate to accept excellent jobs or clerkships if they require them to leave their family’s geographic area. The percentage of Latino law grads is actually declining, Acosta noted. “When you’re not advancing as a group, you’re retrogressing,” he said, which means “we need to start thinking about these issues.”

Acosta also spoke about challenges facing Latino students at the secondary school level. Latinos, who make up about 25 percent of public school students nationwide, are over-represented in the public school system relative to their numbers in the population, he said. Latino dropout rates are very high. In South Florida, historically, for example, 21 percent of all high school students—many of them Latino—drop out after ninth grade. Only 50 percent of entering freshmen end up graduating from public high school. Some join gangs, but Acosta said, prosecuting gang members is not the answer. For every two gang members that are convicted “you get four more” because so many young people are out of school. But, Acosta said, “the school to prison pipeline is just part of the problem...If you don’t solve the educational problem you are going to have all sorts of problems in terms of socioeconomic status...housing, and other issues. These are fundamental problems that need to be solved because they lead to all the secondary problems we’re talking about,” Acosta said.

Following the panelists’ remarks Manny Medrano moderated a lively audience discussion on the areas of education, immigration, political and civic participation, and economic opportunity in relation to the Latino community. As part of this discussion, former ABA President Stephen N. Zack shared his observations about the growth of the Cuban community in Miami, from its immigrant beginnings to its current political and economic strength. “I think the Miami experience is a helpful and hopeful experience,” he remarked. “When I came here in 1961 from Cuba...the new immigrants did not want to
The development of the law in this country will more and more be influenced by the experiences of the Latino community.

even be seen or heard, we just kind of wanted to duck under the school desk.” Three years out of law school, in 1974, Zack became an early member of the Cuban American Bar Association, with just thirteen other people; the association now counts over 2,000 members.

“The future of America is the future of Miami, and, actually, I should say the history of Miami, if you look at it. That’s what’s going to happen in this country because the sleeping giant is awakening,” Zack said. “We need to pressure the people who have the purse strings to do more for Hispanics.”

In closing, Zack spoke about his work founding the ABA Commission on Hispanic Legal Rights and Responsibilities (Hispanic Commission). The group started out in 2010, when Zack, the first Hispanic elected to the ABA Presidency, created it as his presidential initiative. There was significant resistance to the idea at the time, as some felt that the Hispanic community was too diffuse and not united enough to warrant a Commission. The Commission’s advocates held hearings all over the country and issued a report based on the hearings. In 2012, the ABA Board of Governors established the Hispanic Commission as an ongoing entity within the ABA Center for Racial and Ethnic Diversity. “We can never let people divide us,” Zack said. “We have to talk about what unites us and there’s so much that you just heard about [from the CLE speakers] that unites us. I think that the future is a given, but we have to make it happen faster.”
Rachel F. Moran

Rachel F. Moran is the William H. Neukom Fellows Research Chair in Diversity and Law at the American Bar Foundation and the Co-Director of “The Future of Latinos in the United States: Law, Opportunity, and Mobility” with Robert L. Nelson. Moran is also Dean Emerita and Michael J. Connell Distinguished Professor of Law at UCLA School of Law. Prior to her tenure at UCLA, Professor Moran was the Robert D. and Leslie-Kay Raven Professor of Law at UC Berkeley School of Law. From July 2008 to June 2010, Moran served as a founding faculty member of the UC Irvine Law School.

Moran received her A.B. in Psychology with Honors and with Distinction from Stanford University in 1978. She obtained her J.D. from Yale Law School in 1981, where she was an Editor of the Yale Law Journal. She has published extensively in the areas of race, ethnicity, educational opportunity, and the law.

In September 2011, Moran was appointed by President Obama to serve as a member of the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise. She was President of the Association of American Law Schools in 2009. She is a member of the American Law Institute as well as a Fellow of the American Bar Foundation, and she has served on the Executive Committee of the Association of American Law Schools. She sat on the Standing Committee of the Division of Public Education of the American Bar Association, and served on the Executive Board of the Berkeley Law Foundation. In May 2014, she was selected by American Bar Association (ABA) President James R. Silkenat to serve on the ABA Task Force on the Financing of Legal Education.

Robert L. Nelson

Robert L. Nelson, who holds the MacCrate Research Chair in the Legal Profession at the American Bar Foundation, is Co-Director of “The Future of Latinos in the United States: Law, Opportunity, and Mobility” with Dean Rachel Moran, and professor of sociology and law at Northwestern University. He is also the former director of the American Bar Foundation. He holds both a J.D. and Ph.D. in sociology, from Northwestern, and has held several positions of academic leadership throughout his career. He is a leading scholar in the fields of the legal profession and discrimination law. He has authored or edited six books and numerous articles, including Legalizing Gender Inequality, which won the prize for best book in sociology in 2001, and Urban Lawyers: The New Social Structure of the Bar, co-authored with John Heinz, Edward Laumann, and Rebecca Sandefur, which was published by the University of Chicago Press in 2005.

Nelson’s current research includes After the JD, a national study of the careers of lawyers, which is tracking the entering bar class of 2000 for the first 10 years of their careers (with several collaborators), and the Changing Dynamics of Employment Discrimination project, which examines a large national sample of federal court filings between 1988 to 2003 and has interviewed parties and their lawyers about their experiences in these cases (with Laura Beth Nielsen and Ryon Lancaster).
Luz Herrera

Luz Herrera is the Assistant Dean for Clinical Education, Experiential Learning, and Public Service at UCLA School of Law. She earned her A.B. in Political Science from Stanford University and her J.D. from Harvard Law School. In 2001, Herrera started her law practice, representing low- and moderate-income clients with civil legal needs in the areas of real estate, estate planning, and family law.

Before arriving at UCLA School of Law, Herrera was a Senior Clinical Fellow at Harvard Law School. She was also a visiting professor at Chapman Law School, where she taught courses in Corporations and Wills & Trusts, as well as a seminar on Access to Justice. In 2008, Herrera was appointed Associate Professor at Thomas Jefferson School of Law, where she taught Access to Civil Justice, Community Economic Development, Professional Responsibility, and Wills and Trusts. Herrera was also a Visiting Clinical Professor at the University of California, Irvine School of Law for 2013-14. There, Herrera supervised students in the Consumer Protection Clinic and the Community Economic Development Clinic, and managed special projects for the California Monitor—a program of the Office of the California Attorney General providing oversight of the National Mortgage Settlement implementation.

Herrera’s publications include “Training Lawyer-Entrepreneurs,” 89 Denver University Law Review 887 (2012) and “Encouraging the Development of ‘Low Bono’ Law Practices,” 14 University of Maryland Law Journal 1 (2014). She will join the faculty of the Texas A&M School of Law in the fall of 2016 as Associate Dean for Experiential Education.

Manny Medrano

Manny Medrano is an Emmy award-winning broadcast journalist and experienced trial attorney. He represents and advises clients in a broad range of civil litigation and criminal investigations and trials. Before founding Medrano & Carlton, Mr. Medrano was Of Counsel with Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal, and an associate with Cox Castle & Nicholson. Mr. Medrano also served as a federal prosecutor for ten years in the Los Angeles U.S. Attorney’s Office, where he was a trial attorney and supervisor of several sections. He served as Chief of the Asset Forfeiture Section, and Deputy Chief of the Criminal Complaints Unit.

Mr. Medrano is an Adjunct Professor of Law at the University of Southern California Law School, Loyola Law School, Pepperdine University School of Law and Southwestern University School of Law, where he has taught Evidence, Trial Advocacy, Ethics and Negotiation.

He is a cum laude graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School. He has distinguished himself as an Emmy and Golden Mike award-winning reporter/anchor for KTLA News and KNBC News in Los Angeles, and is a former member of the U.S. Supreme Court press corps, where he served as a Supreme Court/Legal Affairs correspondent for ABC News in Washington, D.C. He appears regularly as a legal commentator on network and local television and radio programs, including ABC, NBC, CNN, MSNBC, CNBC, E! Entertainment, and NPR. He is admitted to practice in federal and state courts throughout California, and in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

R. Alexander Acosta

R. Alexander Acosta became the second dean of the Florida International University School of Law in 2009. A native of Miami, Dean Acosta earned his undergraduate degree from Harvard College and his law degree from Harvard Law School. After serving as law clerk to Justice Samuel A. Alito, Jr., then a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, Dean Acosta practiced law at the firm of Kirkland & Ellis and taught law at the George Mason School of Law.

Dean Acosta has served in three presidentially-appointed, senate-confirmed positions. He was a member of the National Labor Relations Board, where he participated in or authored more than 125 opinions. He went on to be the first Hispanic to hold the rank of Assistant Attorney General. Most recently, Dean Acosta served as the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida, and was the longest serving U.S. Attorney in the District since the 1970s.
Dean Acosta serves or has served on the Florida Innocence Commission, on the Florida Supreme Court’s Commission on Professionalism, on the Florida Supreme Court’s Access to Justice Commission, on the American Bar Association’s Commission for Hispanic Rights and Responsibilities, and on the American Bar Association’s Council for Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Education Pipeline. In 2013, the South Florida Hispanic Chamber of Commerce presented Dean Acosta with the Chairman’s Higher Education Award in recognition of his “outstanding achievements, leadership and determination throughout a lifetime of caring and giving back to the community.”

**Sonia Gonzales**

Since joining the California Bar Foundation (CBF) as its Executive Director, Sonia Gonzales has focused on leveraging the philanthropic power of California’s legal community to expand access to justice for the state’s most vulnerable populations. She has prioritized collaborative funding efforts to support the most pressing needs in legal services. As head of California’s only statewide legal foundation, Sonia leads a team dedicated to funding grants and scholarships to improve access to justice.

Ms. Gonzales gained broad legal, political, policy and management experience over the last decade working with both the grass-roots and the grass-tops from the private, public and not-for-profit sectors building and maintaining coalitions of support amongst a diverse array of lawyers, elected officials, advocacy organizations, grass-roots and community leaders, donors, volunteers and voters.

Prior to joining the CBF, Gonzales served as Managing Director for the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights and as Assistant Director for the ACLU of Northern California. Previously, she worked at Morrison & Foerster LLP and, as a law student, at the National ACLU Immigrants’ Rights Project. Before law school, she served on Capitol Hill as a political director for a major presidential campaign in 2004 and for the Democratic National Committee during the 2000 presidential election, and as a legislative assistant in the U.S. House of Representatives. She received her J.D. from UC Berkeley School of Law and her B.A. from Stanford University.

**Thomas A. Saenz**

In 2009, Thomas A. Saenz returned to Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) as President and General Counsel. Previously, as Counsel to Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, Saenz served on the four-person executive team to the mayor, where he provided legal and policy advice on major initiatives. During his four-year tenure with the City of Los Angeles, Saenz helped to lead the legislative effort to change the governance of the Los Angeles Unified School District, and served for two years as the lead liaison on labor negotiations, with a goal of addressing serious financial challenges in partnership with the City’s workers.

Saenz previously practiced civil rights litigation at MALDEF for 12 years, including four years as Vice President of Litigation. He was MALDEF’s lead counsel in the successful challenge to California’s anti-immigrant Proposition 187, and he led numerous civil rights cases in the areas of immigrants’ rights, education, employment, and voting rights.

Saenz currently serves as a member of the Los Angeles County Board of Education. He also serves as vice chair of the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda and as a vice chair of the Leadership Conference for Civil and Human Rights. He is steering committee co-chair of the California Civil Rights Coalition and chair of the board of the Campaign for College Opportunity. Saenz has served on the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, the American Bar Association Commission on Hispanic Legal Rights and Responsibilities, the U.S. Department of Education’s Equity and Excellence Commission, and the California Task Force on K–12 Civic Learning.

He received his B.A. from Yale University, and his law degree from Yale Law School. He served as a law clerk to the Honorable Harry L. Hupp of the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California and to the Honorable Stephen Reinhardt of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.