

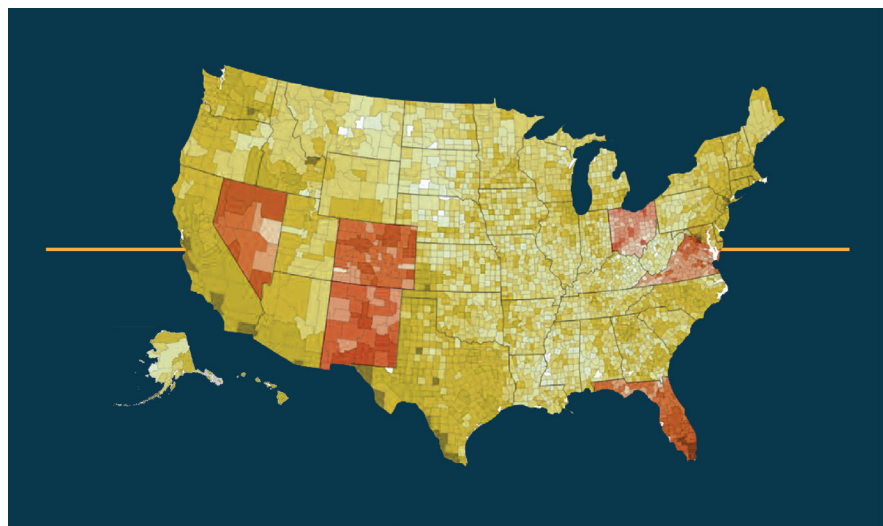
CLALS WORKING PAPER SERIES | NO. 13

Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum

The Role of the Latino Vote in the 2016 Elections

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MAY 2016



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The Center for Latin American and Latino Studies (CLALS) at American University, established in January 2010, is a campus-wide initiative advancing and disseminating state-of-the-art research. The Center's faculty affiliates and partners are at the forefront of efforts to understand economic development, democratic governance, cultural diversity and change, peace and diplomacy, health, education and environmental well-being. CLALS generates high-quality, timely analysis on these and other issues in partnership with researchers and practitioners from AU and beyond.

The Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies (CCPS) is an integrated teaching, research, and study program of the School of Public Affairs at American University, focusing on the United States Congress and the presidency and the interactions between them. Established in 1979, CCPS has a history of leading scholarly research and practical training. CCPS capitalizes on its Washington, D.C., location by bringing together public policy practitioners and academics to share their research, knowledge, and experiences in a series of advanced institutes, conferences, and workshops on applied politics.

American University's Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum (ALPAF)

Latinos represent the fastest growing population in the United States, increasing 43% between 2000 and 2010, and they are the leading edge of a demographic change transforming the U.S. into a “majority minority” country. As of 2014, 17% of the U.S. population, or 55 million people, identified as Latino. Their influence upon the direction of national politics, culture, economic trends, and a broad range of other issues, will only increase.

Recognizing the dynamic role of Latinos in U.S. public life, American University's Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum (ALPAF) seeks to convene academics, community advocates, policy experts, journalists, students, and other stakeholders, to address key questions and topics of concern for Latinos. Each year the Forum focuses on a significant public policy domain that is both impacted by and important to Latino communities in the U.S. ALPAF is also intended to better connect the findings of academic research with the efforts of different stakeholders and important policy and political debates around these topics.

ALPAF 2016: The Role of the Latino Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election

In February 2016, American University's Center for Latin American & Latino Studies (CLALS) and the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at the School of Public Affairs jointly sponsored the 2nd Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum, which considered the role of the Latino vote in the current presidential election cycle. Among the questions considered were: What effects might Republican discourse and positions during the primary process have on this growing block of voters and how might these affect the election? Are Democrats effectively building on or losing their historical advantage among Latinos? Are there other, perhaps unforeseen, factors that might come into play to help determine the impact of the Latino vote on the election? The half-day event featured panels of academics, political analysts, advocates, and other stakeholders. Video recordings of the panels, media coverage, related blog posts, and select presentations can be found on the ALPAF 2016 webpage: <http://www.american.edu/clals/alpaf.cfm>

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Introduction

Latinos¹ are the fastest growing ethnic minority group living in the United States today. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 removed immigration quotas and opened the door to a wave of immigrants from Latin America. From 6.3 million largely US-born citizens in 1960, the Latino population has grown to 55.3 million people – 17.4% of the total US population in 2014. The US Census Bureau estimates that by 2060, 119 million Latinos will reside in the United States and account for over a quarter of the population.²

Accordingly, Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group among eligible voters in the United States. An estimated 27.3 million Latinos – 11.3% of the potential US electorate – will be eligible to vote in the 2016 elections. Based strictly on voter turnout trends from presidential election years dating back to 2000, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund estimates that 13.1 million Latinos will cast ballots, which would mark a 17% increase in turnout and an 8.7% increase in the Latino share of the vote since the last presidential election in 2012.³

On February 29, 2016, American University’s Center for Latin American and Latino Studies and the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies jointly sponsored the Second Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum (ALPAF), which considered the potential impact of the Latino vote on the 2016 elections.⁴ Panel discussions were organized around three primary questions:

- What effect will Republican positions and rhetoric have on Latino voters?
- Are Democrats building upon or losing their historic advantage among Latino voters?
- Are there other “wild card” factors that might influence the impact of the Latino vote?

Participating scholars, practitioners and advocates who spoke at ALPAF 2016 identified a number of key points to keep in mind when considering the potential impact of the Latino vote on the 2016 elections, including:

¹ This paper uses “Latino” and “Hispanic” interchangeably, following the standard set by the US Census Bureau. “Eligible voter” refers to US citizens aged 18 or older.

² Renee Stepler and Anna Brown, “Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States,” April 19, 2016, Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/04/19/statistical-portrait-of-hispanics-in-the-united-states-key-charts>.

³ “2016 Latino Voter Turnout Projection,” NALEO Education Fund, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://www.naleo.org/election2016>.

⁴ “Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum 2016,” February 29, 2016, Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, <http://american.edu/clals/alpaf2016.cfm>. The full conference program is available as on appendix.

Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group among eligible voters in the United States. An estimated 27.3 million Latinos – 11.3% of the potential US electorate – will be eligible to vote in the 2016 elections.

- Latino voters are not a homogenous voting bloc. Not only can they trace their family heritage to various parts of Latin America, but they also reside throughout the United States. In 2016 they will be younger and better educated than past Hispanic electorates, and the issues they care about are issues that all US citizens care about. Indeed an increasing number of them are citizens by birth and, even for those who are naturalized rather than birth citizens, they think of themselves primarily as US citizens rather than as members of an immigrant community.
- Immigration is a significant wedge issue that at times has served to mobilize the Latino community in opposition to nativist, anti-immigration rhetoric and policies. Historically this has benefited the Democratic Party and disadvantaged the Republican Party. Given the shifting demographic makeup of the United States, ALPAF panelists were largely in agreement that to triumph in national elections the GOP must abandon the hostile rhetoric that has at times characterized its approach to immigration.
- Education, the economy, and health care are the day-to-day policy issues most concerning to Latinos, and their positions on these issues do not map strictly along conventional divides between conservative and liberal stances. While Democrats have generally done well among Latinos, ALPAF panelists noted that this segment of the electorate is concerned with issues that go well beyond immigration. On the Republican side, ALPAF panelists identified local and state elections as the most promising sites for developing a base of Latino support predicated on shared aspirations for economic opportunity and entrepreneurialism. It is in these sub-national electoral spaces that GOP candidates can eschew the national party's immigration issues and instead focus on concerns that may have a wider appeal within the Latino community.
- Turnout remains the top factor limiting Latinos' political influence. While the Republican Party is focused on enlisting minority candidates to demonstrate that the party has a place for Latinos, non-partisan and Democratic-leaning organizations are increasing their efforts to register voters. Turning out the youth vote is an especially important challenge given the surging number of Latino millennials, and a daunting one given the general indifference shown to politics by all millennials. Registration and turnout drives are utilizing mobile technologies and popular cultural venues as entryways to reach these young voters.

The 2016 Latino Electorate

In recent decades, the potential Latino electorate has increasingly taken on the characteristics of the second- and third-generation immigrants filling its ranks. New voters are US-born, US-educated, and more fluent in English than the generations who preceded them, and their interests, political awareness, and sense of civic responsibility often diverge from those of their elders. They are increasingly taking up residence outside of the geographically-narrow enclaves of their parents and grandparents, and while Latino communities are not yet pervasive throughout the United States, their political influence is slowly extending across the nation.

Voter Demographics

“Latino” or “Hispanic” connotes a singular identity and belies the complex makeup of the Latino community, beginning with a diversity of countries of origin. Generally speaking, Latinos in the United States can trace their heritage to every corner of Latin America. Those of Mexican ancestry accounted for a disproportionately high 64.1% of the total community as of 2013. Nearly a tenth of Latinos in the United States trace their heritage back to Puerto Rico, followed by Cubans and Salvadorans at 3.7% and Dominicans at 3.4%.⁵

Native births overtook immigration as the primary source of Latino population growth beginning in the early 2000s. The effects of this are apparent in the makeup of the Latino electorate today, which is increasingly young, US-born, and US-educated. The average age of US-born Latinos is only nineteen, and the growth in eligible Latino voters since 2012 is primarily due to the 3.2 million Latinos – the vast majority of whom are birthright citizens – who have aged into the electorate. Millennials make up 44% of eligible Latino voters, the largest such percentage among all racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. In addition to the millions of potential native-born voters who have come of age, another 1.2 million Latino immigrants have gained voting rights through naturalization since 2012; Puerto Ricans, who have immigrated to the United States in growing numbers as the Commonwealth’s economy spirals downward in recent years, account for another 130,000 new voters.⁶

As with past waves of immigrant groups to the United States, second- and third-generation Latinos are better educated and more fluent in English than their parents

Nearly a tenth of Latinos in the United States trace their heritage back to Puerto Rico, followed by Cubans and Salvadorans at 3.7% and Dominicans at 3.4%.

⁵ Gustavo López, “The Impact of Slowing Immigration: Foreign-Born Share Falls Among 14 Largest US Hispanic Origin Groups,” Pew Research Center, September 15, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/the-impact-of-slowing-immigration-foreign-born-share-falls-among-14-largest-us-hispanic-origin-groups>.

⁶ Jens Manuel Krogstad, et al. “Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016,” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2016, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/01/19/millennials-make-up-almost-half-of-latino-eligible-voters-in-2016/>; “Mapping the Latino Electorate by State,” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2016, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/interactives/mapping-the-latino-electorate-by-state>.

While the Latino population was once largely concentrated in the Southwest and a handful of urban centers (particularly Chicago, New York City, and Miami), recent decades have seen internal migration generating population clusters well beyond these narrow geographical boundaries.

and grandparents. While they continue to face higher high school dropout rates and lower college completion rates relative to other racial and ethnic groups, those trends are moving in a positive direction. Indeed, the 2016 Latino electorate will be more educated than ever before. Twice as many eligible Latino voters have completed at least some college education compared to those who have not completed high school; in 2000, those numbers were close to even.⁷ English proficiency among US-born Latinos has increased as well, from 71.9% in 1980 to 89.4% in 2014. Two years ago, Pew Hispanic also found that 68.4% of all Latinos reported speaking English “only” or “very well” at home.⁸ Additionally, the Latino electorate is slightly skewed toward female voters, with roughly one million more Latina women than men eligible to vote in the upcoming elections.⁹

While the Latino population was once largely concentrated in the Southwest and a handful of urban centers (particularly Chicago, New York City, and Miami), recent decades have seen internal migration generating population clusters well beyond these narrow geographical boundaries. To be sure, the bulk of Latinos remain concentrated in certain sections of the country; California and Texas, for example, are home to a combined 45% of Latino eligible voters. However, while high, that percentage represents those states’ lowest combined share of the Latino electorate since 1998.¹⁰

In 2011, there were 1,191 counties in the United States in which Latinos made up at least 5% of the population, up from 806 counties in 2000. During that eleven year period, the greatest percentage growth in Latino communities by state occurred primarily in the southeastern United States; Alabama saw the largest jump of any state with a 158% increase. However, the ten states with the fastest growing Latino communities in that period continue to rank far behind the most populous states in terms of total population, as none have Latino populations larger than one million.¹¹ 190,000 Latinos reside in Alabama, for example, and make up only 3.9% of its total population and 1.8% of its eligible voter population.¹²

⁷ Krogstad, et al. “Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016”; Jens Manuel Krogstad, “5 Facts About Latinos and Education,” May 26, 2015 Pew Research Center, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/05/26/5-facts-about-latinos-and-education>.

⁸ Jens Manuel Krogstad, Renee Stepler, and Mark Hugo Lopez, “English Proficiency on the Rise Among Latinos,” Pew Research Center, May 12, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/05/12/english-proficiency-on-the-rise-among-latinos>.

⁹ Krogstad, et al. “Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016.”

¹⁰ Krogstad, et al. “Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016.”

¹¹ “Explore Latino Population Growth, by County, 1980-2011,” Pew Research Center, August 29, 2013, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/08/29/u-s-hispanic-population-by-county-1980-2011>.

¹² Gustavo López and Renee Stepler, “Latinos in the 2016 Election: Alabama,” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2016, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/fact-sheets/2016-state-election-fact-sheets/latinos-in-the-2016-election-alabama>.

Within individual states, New Mexico has the highest percentage of Latino voters at 40.4% of its general electorate. Latinos represent over 20% of the electorate in Texas, California, and Arizona, and 10-20% of the electorate in another seven states with less concentrated geographic dispersion: Nevada and Colorado in the West; Florida in the Southeast; Illinois in the Midwest; and New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut in the Northeast.¹³ Latino eligible voters have topped 10% of the total potential electorate in Connecticut and Illinois just since 2012.¹⁴ If the growth rate of Latino eligible voters between 2012-2016 were to stay consistent, they would account for over 10% of the potential electorate in Rhode Island by the next presidential election cycle, and would be within a point and half of that in Hawaii, Massachusetts, and Idaho.

Voting Patterns

ALPAF panelists from across the political spectrum agreed that Latino voters in 2016 perceive themselves first and foremost as American citizens. The policy issues they care about most match those that preoccupy their fellow non-Latino citizens, such as access to education, employment, and health care. While not the top concern among Latinos, immigration is an important wedge issue that has historically driven voter turnout and political alignment at times when rhetoric and policy debates surrounding immigration issues are perceived to demean and threaten the Latino community. Historical trends suggests that the Republican Party may once again struggle to win over Latino voters, at least at the national level, as a result of the nativist, anti-immigrant rhetoric displayed by its leading presidential candidates. At the state and local level, however, GOP candidates have been able to focus on other issues relevant to their specific Latino constituents and downplay immigration, with modest gains to show for it. The Democratic Party, meanwhile, has done well historically with the Latino electorate, but ALPAF panelists warned that the party risks taking these votes for granted by failing to invest in community outreach and ignoring other concerns. Immigration may be an important wedge issue, but Latinos are not a one-issue voting bloc.

Party Affiliation

Latinos have voted Democratic in every presidential election dating back to 1960, and usually by wide margins. Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush received the largest proportion of Latino votes among Republican presidential candidates in 1984 (37%) and 2004 (40%) respectively.¹⁵ Bill Clinton won the

¹³ "Mapping the Latino Electorate by State."

¹⁴ "Mapping the 2012 Latino Electorate," Pew Research Center, October 1, 2012, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/10/01/mapping-the-2012-latino-electorate>.

¹⁵ Louis DeSipio, *Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1996), 31; Mark Hugo Lopez and Paul Taylor, "Latino Voters in the 2012 Election," Pew Research Center, November 7, 2012, <http://www.pewhispanic>.

While not the top concern among Latinos, immigration is an important wedge issue that has historically driven voter turnout and political alignment at times when rhetoric and policy debates surrounding immigration issues are perceived to have demeaned and threaten the Latino community.

A large part of the Republican Party's struggle with Latino voters is rooted in the party's relationship to its base – primarily white, working-class, and older voters in the South, Midwest, and West – and its struggle to maintain that support while at the same time adapting to demographic changes that will make the United States a truly multiracial, multiethnic nation over the next several decades.

largest proportion of Latino votes of any candidate during the 1996 election (72%), followed closely by Barack Obama, who received 71% of the Latino vote in 2014.¹⁶ Since at least 2000, Latinos have identified predominantly with the Democratic Party. The gap in party affiliation narrowed to 49% Democratic and 27% Republican in 2006, but widened during the Obama administration, as Democratic affiliation peaked at 70% in 2012.¹⁷

A large part of the Republican Party's struggle with Latino voters is rooted in the party's relationship to its base – primarily white, working-class, and older voters in the South, Midwest, and West – and its struggle to maintain that support while at the same time adapting to demographic changes that will make the United States a truly multiracial, multiethnic nation over the next several decades. The current iteration of the Party can trace its roots back to the 1964 presidential campaign of arch-conservative Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, who famously opposed civil rights legislation as overreach by the federal government. California Senator Richard Nixon won presidential elections in 1968 and 1972 thanks in part to a “southern strategy” that appealed to the so-called “silent majority” of white, working-class, social conservatives who abandoned the Democratic Party in droves as it shifted to the left on issues of race. While Ronald Reagan supported the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which balanced a path to citizenship with tougher restrictions on the employment of undocumented workers, he also often railed against “welfare queens,” an apocryphal minority group who lived off government services at the expense of hard-working (white) Americans. George W. Bush, the most popular president to date among Latino voters, took proactive steps to reach out to the Latino community and supported comprehensive immigration reform in 2007. Bush's efforts, however, ran into stiff opposition from the rising Tea Party wing of the Party, which vehemently opposed “amnesty” for “illegal immigrants” and instead supported enhanced border security and proactive immigration policing.

After Mitt Romney's terrible showing among minority voters in 2012, the Republican National Committee commissioned the Growth and Opportunity Project to analyze the party's electoral failings. Among other recommendations, the final report called for the party to adopt its policies and message to the reality of a growing Hispanic population in the United States. At a policy level, this would mean abandoning calls for the “self-deportation” of Latinos living illegally in the United States with support for comprehensive

[org/2012/11/07/latino-voters-in-the-2012-election](http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/11/07/latino-voters-in-the-2012-election).

¹⁶ Lopez and Taylor, “Latino Voters in the 2012 Election.”

¹⁷ Mark Hugo Lopez, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, and Jens Manuel Krogstad, “Latino Support for Democrats Falls, but Democratic Advantage Remains,” Pew Research Center, October 29, 2014, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/10/29/latino-support-for-democrats-falls-but-democratic-advantage-remains>.

immigration reform that included a path to citizenship. The Party's assessment signaled the need for a change in attitude: The Report concluded that "If Hispanic Americans hear that the GOP doesn't want them in the United States, they won't pay attention to our next sentence."¹⁸ While the party has seen some growth at the local level among women and minorities, thanks in part to the efforts of the GOP's Future Majority Project, the current crop of presidential candidates has doubled-down on border-security-first policy prescriptions and nativist rhetoric.

Despite historic patterns, any notion that Latinos will inherently vote Democratic is presumptuous, particularly at the state and local level where candidates can focus on policy issues other than immigration. From 2011-2014, Latino affiliation with the Republican Party rose from 20% to 27% while Democratic affiliation fell back to 63%.¹⁹ In the 2014 midterms, Democrats won Latino support in congressional races 62% to 36%, but Republicans did well with Latinos in several key elections. In Georgia's Senate and gubernatorial races, for example, Republican candidates won 42% and 47% of the Latino vote respectively. Similarly in Texas, Republican Senate and gubernatorial aspirants won 48% and 44% of the Latino vote respectively.²⁰

A significant piece of the GOP's strategy to foster Latino support has been its efforts to build a base of minority office-holders from the ground up. The number of Latinos serving in elected positions nationwide sat at 6,084 prior to the 2014 election, up 25% from a decade prior. As of 2015, there were 302 Latino officials in the legislatures of 32 states, of whom 62 (21%) were Republicans. In the 114th US Congress, two of the three Latino Senators and 7 of 29 Latino Representatives were Republicans. Both numbers marked a slight increase in Latino GOP officeholders. Latino Democrats lost three lower house seats in state legislatures in 2014 while Republicans gained eleven; in the US Congress, Latino Democrats lost one seat while Republicans gained two. Twelve Latinos hold top positions in state governments, of whom eight are Republicans. This included two Latino governors: Brian Sandoval of Nevada and Susana Martinez of New Mexico.²¹ A Latino Decision poll in January 2016 found that half of Latinos approved of Governor Martinez's job performance.²²

¹⁸ Growth & Opportunity Project, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://goproject.gop.com>.

¹⁹ Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Krogstad, "Latino Support for Democrats Falls, but Democratic Advantage Remains."

²⁰ Jens Manuel Krogstad and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Hispanic Voters in the 2014 Election," Pew Research Center, November 7, 2014, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/11/07/hispanic-voters-in-the-2014-election>.

²¹ "At A Glance," NALEO Education Fund, accessed April 21, 2016, http://www.naleo.org/at_a_glance.

²² Gabriel Sanchez, "New Findings in LD State of New Mexico Poll," Latino Decisions, January 22, 2016, <http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2016/01/22/new-findings-in-ld-state-of-new-mexico-poll>.

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The Issues

While immigration dominates national media coverage of the Latino community, the community's interests, like its makeup, are not monolithic. Registered voters polled in the Pew Research Center's National Survey of Latinos from 2004-2012 most often identified education as an "extremely important" issue (55% in 2012), which is likely tied to the low median age of the community on the whole. The economy and jobs have closely followed education as a top concern since the onset of the economic recession that began in 2007 (54% in 2012), with health care coming in a close third (50% in 2012). By comparison, roughly one-third of registered Latinos named immigration as an "extremely important issue" in that same period (34% in 2012).²³

Although one strain of Republican thinking about the Latino community is steeped in nativist suspicion and hostility, another identifies Latinos as a winnable voting bloc based on their putative adherence to social conservatism and entrepreneurialism. As a presidential candidate in 1980, Ronald Reagan famously told advertising and marketing executive Lionel Sosa that winning Latino support would be easy because, "Hispanics are Republicans, they just don't know it yet." In a 2013 Pew Research survey, just over half of Latinos supported making abortion illegal in all or most cases, compared to 40% of the general public.²⁴ A 2015 survey by the Friedman Foundation found that Latinos are strong supporters of both charter schools and school vouchers, more so than the general public.²⁵ These views, however, do not signal a wholly conservative outlook among Latinos. On the one hand, Pew's 2013 survey found that the majority of Latinos (79%) preferred a marriage where both spouses work and take care of the home and children, versus just 18% who preferred a patriarchal arrangement in which the husband works while the wife stays at home. On the other hand, however, Pew found that 67% of Latinos prefer a bigger government that provides more services over a smaller one that provides fewer services.²⁶ These findings are echoed in the 2014 book *Latino America*, in which political analysts Matt Barreto and Gary Segura push back against the notion that Latinos are Republicans who simply lack self-awareness. They note that Latinos are generally to the left of non-Hispanic whites on most public policy issues – pro-immigrant, supportive of affirmative action, and opposed to the death penalty. These scholars conclude that Latinos' strong support for self-reliance does not preclude their support for an active government as well.²⁷

²³ Jens Manuel Krogstad, "Top Issue for Hispanics? Hint: It's Not Immigration," Pew Research Center, June 2, 2014, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/02/top-issue-for-hispanics-hint-its-not-immigration>.

²⁴ "The Shifting Religious Identity of Latinos in the United States," Pew Research Center, May 7, 2014, <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/05/07/chapter-9-social-and-political-views>.

²⁵ Paul DiPerna, "Latino Perspective on K-12 Education & School Choice," Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, September 10, 2015, <http://www.edchoice.org/research/latino-perspectives-on-k-12-education-school-choice>.

²⁶ "The Shifting Religious Identity of Latinos in the United States."

²⁷ Matt Barreto and Gary Segura, "Ronald Reagan Was Wrong: Latino Ideology and Beliefs

When it comes to unauthorized immigration, Latino voters and the general electorate are divided over policy prescriptions. A summer 2013 poll conducted by Latino Decisions showed strong support in the Latino community (81%) for a comprehensive immigration reform that combined a path to citizenship with increased border security.²⁸ In 2014, 74% of Latino voters stated that they supported a path to citizenship for undocumented workers in the United States, while 21% supported deportation. This marked a slight shift in favor of the latter since 2012, when those numbers were 77-18. In contrast, the general electorate has shown a greater and growing preference for deportation. In 2014, 57% of the general electorate supported a path to citizenship, down from 65% in 2012; meanwhile 38% supported deportation, up 10 percentage points since 2012.²⁹

While immigration may not be the top concern among Latinos, it can be a significant wedge issue that drives Latino voters to the polls at election time. In a recent *Electoral Studies* article, Matt Barreto and Loren Collingwood argue that immigration was a “salient feature” in Latino voting behavior in 2012, and that Barack Obama’s support for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) was significant in mobilizing Latino support in his favor.³⁰ In contrast, Mitt Romney received a smaller percentage of the Latino vote than George W. Bush and John McCain. This can likely be attributed to Romney’s pledge to repeal DACA, his self-deportation immigration policy, and his opposition to the Affordable Care Act, which Latinos generally supported.³¹

Barreto and Collingwood attribute this strategy’s origins to the successful Senate campaigns of Harry Reid (D-NV) and Michael Bennet (D-CO). Bennet had co-sponsored the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act after his appointment to a vacant seat in 2009, while Reid, as Senate Majority Leader, had fought to bring it to a floor vote. Blocked by Senate Republicans and challenged at home by a committed anti-immigration electoral opponent in Sharron Angle, Reid stood behind the DREAM Act and conducted extensive outreach in the Latino community. On election day, 90% of Latino voters – 12% of the Nevada electorate – voted for Reid and help him secure a five-point victory over Angle.³²

about Government,” chap. 4 in *Latino America: How America’s Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2014): 33-51

²⁸ David Damore, “10 Reasons Why Immigration Politics Will Affect the Latino Vote,” Latino Decisions, February 16, 2016, <http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2016/02/16/10-reasons-why-immigration-politics-will-affect-the-latino-vote>.

²⁹ Lopez and Taylor, “Latino Voters in the 2012 Election”; Krogstad and Lopez, “Hispanic Voters in the 2014 Election.”

³⁰ Matt A. Barreto and Loren Collingwood, “Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012: How immigration became a mobilizing issue,” *Electoral Studies* 40 (2015): 490-99.

³¹ Loren Collingwood, “How Campaigns Can Mobilize Latino Voters: What Worked Best in 2012,” Latino Decisions, February 29, 2016, <http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2016/02/29/how-campaigns-mobilize-latino-voters>.

³² Barreto and Collingwood, “Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012,” 492-94.

While immigration may not be the top concern among Latinos, it can be a significant wedge issue that drives Latino voters to the polls at election time.

Anti-immigrant policies can have long-term effects on party alignment as well, as California demonstrates. In 1994, over a decade's worth of GOP inroads into the Latino community were reversed with the passage of Proposition 187. A ballot proposition supported by Republican Governor Pete Wilson, Prop. 187 prohibited undocumented workers from accessing public services, including public education, and required local law enforcement to report arrestee immigration violations to the Immigration and Nationalization Service. In 1996, Californian voters approved Prop. 209, which banned affirmative action in public institutions, and in 1998 they passed Prop. 227, which limited bilingual education in the public school system. These propositions coincided with a period of substantial growth in California's Latino population, and from 1994-2004, over one million Latinos became eligible to vote between 1994-2004. In the 1996 and 2000 elections, Latinos most likely to turnout to vote were those who had registered after the passage of Prop. 187. In the long-term Latino voters in California also became more Democratic, with 75% voting Democratic two years after Prop. 187 (compared to 65% two years prior).³³

Immigration likely continues to be a wedge issue for the Latino electorate, despite their prioritization of other concerns, because it remains a personal one closely connected to the community as a whole. In addition to the millions of first generation immigrants in Latino families, significant numbers of Latinos report knowing undocumented workers firsthand. In its 2014 election poll, 58% of Latino voters told Latino Decisions that they personally knew an undocumented worker, and one-third of registered voters one year prior reported having a family member who was an undocumented worker. Barreto and Segura suggest that those numbers could be even higher.³⁴ Thus for a sizeable portion of potential Latino voters, attack on immigrants are personal. When anti-immigrant rhetoric spills over into attacks against the Latino community at large, the response is often one of community solidarity and civic activism.

Registration and Turnout

While the growing share of Latinos among the general electorate will influence electoral outcomes in the long term, the impact of the Latino vote has historically been hampered by low turnout rates. 2012 marked a record year in the absolute number of Latino voters – 11.2 million – but that represented only 48% of Latino eligible voters. In comparison, over 60% of eligible white and black voters

³³ Barreto and Segura, *Latino America*, 176-83; John A. García, *Latino Politics in America: Community, Culture, and Interests*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012), 170-71.

³⁴ Damore, "10 Reasons Why Immigration Politics Will Affect the Latino Vote." Barreto and Segura suggest it may be closer to two-thirds of Latinos who personally know an undocumented worker and half who have an undocumented family member. Barreto and Segura, *Latino America*, 173-74.

cast ballots.³⁵ 2014 saw a record year in absolute numbers for a midterm election – 6.8 million Latino voters – but that marked a turnout rate of just 27% of Latino eligible voters, the lowest such percentage in a midterm for Latinos and fourteen points behind the national turnout rate. Latino registered voters who did not cast a vote in 2014 reported similar reasons relative to other ethnics groups – primarily conflicting schedules, followed by a feeling that their vote was irrelevant.³⁶

Several factors likely contribute to the low voter turnout rate. First, young voters make up the largest share of the potential Latino electorate, and the youth vote in the United States tends to trail all other age groups regardless of ethnicity or race. Dating back to at least 1996, voting rates among all eligible voters aged 18-29 have been the lowest relative to all other age brackets.³⁷ Latino millennials have followed suit; only 36.9% voted in 2012, the lowest percentage among other Hispanic age brackets and in comparison to white (55%) and black (47.5%) millennials. In the 2014 midterms, only 15.2% of millennial Latinos voted, down from 17.6% in the 2010 midterms.³⁸

Secondly, long-term efforts by the major political parties to build a base of support among Latino voters have been lackluster. Just under half of respondents to the Latino Decisions Election Eve Poll in 2014 reported feeling that the Democratic Party “truly cares” about their concerns while 42% reported feeling that the Republican Party does not “care much.” Those same respondents also reported that concern for issues affecting the Latino community slightly outpaced partisan loyalty as the main factor driving turnout.³⁹ In a spring 2016 poll conducted by the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) of 250 community organizers involved in nonpartisan voter outreach, respondents were critical of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Most reported that neither party “truly cared” about Latinos. Just over half felt that the Democratic Party took Latino voters for granted, while 56% of respondents described the Republican Party as “sometimes hostile towards Latinos.”⁴⁰

In February 2016, the National Latino Civic Engagement Table – a collaboration between eight national Latino civic organizations – announced a “strategic voter

Long-term efforts by the major political parties to build a base of support among Latino voters have been lackluster.

³⁵ Mark Hugo Lopez and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, “Inside the 2012 Latino Electorate,” Pew Research Center, June 3, 2013, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/03/inside-the-2012-latino-electorate>.

³⁶ Krogstad, et al. “Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016.”

³⁷ Thom File, “Young-Adult Voting: An Analysis of Presidential Elections, 1964-2012,” US Census Bureau, April 2014, <https://www.census.gov/prod/2014pubs/p20-573.pdf>.

³⁸ Krogstad, et al. “Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016.”

³⁹ David F. Damore, “An Overview of Latino Influence in the 2014 Elections,” Latino Decisions, January 26, 2015, <http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2015/01/26/an-overview-of-latino-influence-in-the-2014-elections>.

⁴⁰ “Poll of Community Influencers Highlights Priorities and Mood of Latino Voters in Primary Season,” National Council of La Raza, March 11, 2016, <http://www.nclr.org/about-us/media/press/releases/Community-Influencers-Poll>.

engagement partnership” designed to foster Latino registration and turnout.⁴¹ These organizations and other have launched a variety of campaigns to engage with voters:

- The National Council of La Raza has teamed with the digital media company Mitú to launch a voter registration app, Latinos Vote.⁴² In addition, the NCLR recently announced that it would initiate a major voter-registration drive in Florida, home to the third-largest Latino population in the United States. Of 2.6 million potential voters in Florida, fewer than 1.8 million are registered.⁴³
- The civic media organization Voto Latino focuses on engaging with millennial voters, which is apparent in the English-language format of its media output and its efforts to reach youth voters through popular cultural forums and social media platforms. It recently released a new voter registration app, VoterPal, at the 2016 South By Southwest Festival in Austin, Texas.⁴⁴ It is also collaborating with Live Nation to register voters during 2016 concert tours by Latino artists such as Julieta Venegas and Maná in a campaign called the Brave Concert Series.⁴⁵
- Telemundo’s coverage of the 2016 election cycle under its #YoDecido campaign includes extensive television coverage of the election, a large web presence, and a series of public service announcements and voter registration drives designed to promote civic engagement.⁴⁶ Similarly, Univision has launched a multifaceted effort to turn out the vote through traditional media coverage, an online voter guide, town hall forums, phone banking, and registration efforts and public service advertisements scheduled to take place during the Copa America soccer tournament.⁴⁷
- Voter registration efforts are at work on the local level as well, as in the case of

⁴¹ Michael Oleaga, “Latino Civic Engagement Groups United to Mobilize Millions of Unregistered Latino Voters,” *Latino Post*, April 11, 2016, <http://www.latinpost.com/articles/115511/20160217/latino-civic-engagement-groups-unite-to-mobilize-millions-of-unregistered-latinos-voters.htm>. Member organizations include the NALEO Educational Fund, the NCLR, the Hispanic Federation, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, the Latino Victory Foundation, the League of United Latin American Citizens, and the Mi Familia Vota Education Fund.

⁴² <https://latinosvote2016.org>.

⁴³ Sergio Bustos, “National Group Launches Voter-Registration Drive in Florida,” *Miami Herald*, April 7, 2016.

⁴⁴ “Voto Latino Launches VoterPal,” Voto Latino, March 16, 2016, <http://votolatino.org/press-release/voto-latino-launches-voterpal>.

⁴⁵ “The Brave Concert Series,” Voto Latino, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://votolatino.org/event/the-brave-project>.

⁴⁶ “Telemundo Unveils Comprehensive Multiplatform Elections Coverage Plan,” October 1, 2015, *Business Wire*, <http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20151001006929/en>.

⁴⁷ Nick Corasaniti, “Univision Aims to Make Hispanic Voting Bloc Even More Formidable,” *The New York Times*, February 22, 2016.

Hispanas Organizadas de Lake and Ashtabula, based in northeast Ohio; a coalition of local and national organizations in Colorado; and the League of United Latino American Citizens, a national group whose Iowa chapter encouraged over ten thousand voters to participate in the Iowa Presidential Caucuses.⁴⁸

- The Republican Party's Future Majority Project is once again attempting to boost support for the party through the diversification of its candidate base. In 2015-16 it plans to spend \$7 million recruiting 250 new women and minority state-level candidates.⁴⁹
- Finally, an estimated 3.9 million Latinos are permanent residents of the United States eligible for citizenship and the voting rights that entails. Efforts are ongoing at the local and national level to assist with the naturalization process in time for the fall election.⁵⁰

A potentially important factor working against voter turnout efforts is the slate of voter identification laws currently on the books (and, in some cases, in the courts) around the country. From 2008-2015, thirty-four states implemented new voter identification laws. Of those, eleven states follow strict rules that require specific forms of identification; voters without the required identification can only cast provisional ballots and must take steps afterward to ensure their ballot is counted. Of those eleven states, nine require voters to have photo identification. Texas, with the second largest Latino eligible voter population in the country, has some of the strictest voter identification laws; Arizona, with the fifth largest, does not require photo identification but does follow strict rules.⁵¹

Studies on the initial impact of these voter identification laws suggest that, as their critics have warned was their intent, they have lowered turnout among potential voters, and in particular among minority voters. A recent working paper from the

A potentially important factor working against voter turnout efforts is the slate of voter identification laws currently on the books (and, in some cases, in the courts) around the country.

⁴⁸ Janet Hernandez, "HOLA Ohio Registers Latino Voters Ahead of the Primary Election," National Council of La Raza, February 18, 2016, <http://blog.nclr.org/2016/02/18/hola-ohio-registers-latino-voters-ahead-of-the-primary-election>; Christine Alonzo, "Getting Latinos Out to Vote in Colorado," National Council of La Raza, March 1, 2016, <http://blog.nclr.org/2016/03/01/getting-latino-out-to-vote-in-colorado>; Michael Oleaga, "Iowa Caucus Results 2016: Latino Outreach Attracts Over 10,000 Latino Caucusgoers," *Latino Post*, February 2, 2016, <http://www.latinpost.com/articles/112847/20160202/iowa-caucus-results-2016-latino-outreach-attracts-over-10-000-latino-caucusgoers.htm>.

⁴⁹ "RSLC Re-Launches Future Majority Project for 2015-2016," Republican State Leadership Committee, June 16, 2015, <http://rslc.gop/blog/2015/06/16/rslc-re-launches-future-majority-project-for-2015-2016>.

⁵⁰ Suzanne Gamboa, "New National Campaign Urges Legal Residents to Nationalize, Vote," *NBC News*, December 10, 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/new-national-campaign-urges-legal-residents-naturalize-vote-n477916>.

⁵¹ Wendy Underhill, "Voter Identification Requirements | Voter ID Laws," National Conference of State Legislatures, April 11, 2016, <http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/voter-id.aspx>.

University of California San Diego, which looked at elections from 2008-2012, found that Latino turnout was 10.3 percent lower in states with strict photo identification requirements than Latino turnout elsewhere. The authors also found that the participation gap between eligible Latino and white voters doubled in states with strict photo identification requirements, from 5.3 percent to 11.9 percent.⁵²

The 2016 Presidential Campaign

Latino Voters and Battleground States

Among the likely battleground states in the forthcoming presidential election, Latinos make up a significant portion of the potential electorate in only Florida, Nevada, and Colorado (18.1%, 17.2%, and 14.5% respectively). In six other tossup states, Latinos account for 5% or less of the potential electorate. 34 Senate seats will be up for grabs in 2016 as well. Of the five races expected to be close, Latinos make up significantly large swaths of the potential electorate in Florida, Nevada, and Illinois (10.5%), while they make up less than 5% in Wisconsin and New Hampshire. In the four states with tossup elections for governor, Latinos make up less than 5% of the potential electorate.⁵³ While the Latino population may be small in some swing states, a concentrated vote in favor of one party or the other could make a difference in a close election. This is especially true for the presidential election given the winner-take-all nature of the electoral college system, and indeed those six tossup states with small Latino electorates -- Iowa, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin -- are worth 71 electoral votes, more than a quarter of the 270 electoral votes needed to secure the presidency.

Florida is the largest prize among the tossup presidential states with 29 electoral votes. While the Latino population has historically leaned Republican, anchored by the Cuban community in Miami-Dade County, Barack Obama won the Latino vote and the state in both 2008 and 2012. Party registration trends show Florida Latinos shifting toward the Democratic Party and away from the Republicans. From 2006-2016, the number of Latinos who identified as Democrats increased 85%, surpassing the number who identified as Republican for the first time in 2008. The number of Latinos who do not affiliate with any party rose significantly in that period as well (95%), surpassing identified Republicans in 2012. The number of identified Republicans increased only 16% in that same period.

This shift in voting preferences is attributable in large part to shifting demographics within the overall Florida Latino community, and among Cuban-Americans in particular. The Cuban population in South Florida grew sharply after Fidel Castro took power, and as late as 2006, a majority of Cubans identified with the Republican

⁵² Zoltan Hajnal, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson, "Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Voters" (working paper, University of California, San Diego, 2015), <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page5/documents/voterIDhajnaletal.pdf>.

⁵³ Krogstad, et al. "Millennials Make Up Almost Half of Latino Eligible Voters in 2016."

Party. Several factors have changed the makeup of the Cuban-American community in Florida however, including the US-born Cubans who have aged into the electorate and hold different political views than their parents and grandparents, and the influx of newer Cuban immigrants. More than half of Cuban Americans living in Florida arrived in the United States after 1990.⁵⁴ In addition, while the majority of Florida Latinos are of Cuban heritage (30.7%), the number of Puerto Ricans increased 110% from 2000–2014, making it the second largest Hispanic origin group in Florida at 28% of the state’s Latino population.⁵⁵

While Republicans could once make hay among Cuban expatriates with a tough policy on Cuba, public opinion at large and among Cuban Americans in Florida specifically has recently shifted away from the hard line. A December 2015 survey of Cuban Americans found that 56% approved of the normalization of relations initiated by Barack Obama and Raúl Castro one year prior, and 53% supported an end to the half-century-old trade embargo. Support for normalization broke sharply along generational lines: 77% of Cuban Americans ages 18–49 supported it, compared to less than half of those fifty and older. Among first generation immigrants, over half of those who arrived after 1980 approved of normalization, while over half who arrived before 1980 disapproved; among those born in the United States, 80% approved.⁵⁶

Presidential Candidates

If anti-immigration rhetoric is indeed a factor in driving Latino voter turnout and voting preferences, then the Republican Party will face an uphill struggle in 2016. The leading Republican candidate for president, Donald Trump, claimed when announcing his candidacy, “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”⁵⁷ While the specifics of Trump’s potential immigration policies remain amorphous, he has consistently supported

⁵⁴ Jens Manuel Krogstad, “After Decades of GOP Support, Cubans Shifting Toward the Democratic Party,” Pew Research Center, June 24, 2014, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/24/after-decades-of-gop-support-cubans-shifting-toward-the-democratic-party>.

⁵⁵ Gustavo López and Renee Stepler, “Latinos in the 2016 Election: Florida,” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2016, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/fact-sheets/2016-state-election-fact-sheets/latinos-in-the-2016-election-florida>; Jens Manuel Krogstad, “In a Shift Away from New York, More Puerto Ricans Head to Florida,” Pew Research Center, October 30, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/10/30/in-a-shift-away-from-new-york-more-puerto-ricans-head-to-florida>.

⁵⁶ Bendixen and Amandi International, “Survey of Cuban Americans: One Year After the Normalization of United States–Cuba Relations,” December 17, 2015, https://gallery.mailchimp.com/cca9d22481c8984661080308b/files/B_A_Poll_of_Cuban_Americans_12_17_15_FINAL.pdf.

⁵⁷ Michelle Ye Hee Lee, “Donald Trump’s False Comments Connecting Mexican Immigrants and Crime,” *Washington Post*, July 8, 2015.

Support from Trump’s candidacy and the failure of his remarks to turn off supporters have shown that a vibrant strain of anti-immigrant hostility continues to exist in the United States.

the construction of a concrete wall along the US-Mexican border, one he insists should be paid for by Mexico. Senator Ted Cruz, Trump's closest remaining competitor for the nomination, has been adamant about his opposition to a pathway to citizenship for undocumented workers in the United States. Moreover, Cruz and right-wing media figures used candidate Marco Rubio's collaboration in drafting the 2013 comprehensive immigration reform bill to characterize him as a proponent of amnesty for undocumented workers.⁵⁸

Support from Trump's candidacy and the failure of his remarks to turn off supporters have shown that a vibrant strain of anti-immigrant hostility continues to exist in the United States. Indeed among Trump supporters, 69% say immigrants do more to burden than strengthen the country, as compared to the 57% of all voters who feel the opposite.⁵⁹ The prevalence of anti-immigrant rhetoric among leading Republican national figures has had a dramatic effect on Latino perceptions of the Republican Party: in a 2015 Latino Decisions poll, 45% of Latinos identified the Republican Party as "hostile toward Latinos," up from 18% in 2012.⁶⁰

The Democratic Party may have a prime opportunity to highlight the difference between its support for comprehensive immigration reform and the dominant anti-immigrant strain in the current iteration of the Republican Party. To be sure, the Obama administration has deported more undocumented immigrants than any previous administration, something that has not gone unnoticed by the Latino community. Nonetheless, the administration has also taken executive action after Congressional failure to pass immigration reform, most notably in the form of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA). These two measures were enjoined before they could be implemented, and they are currently on the Supreme Court docket for 2016. Oral argument on the case, *United States v. Texas*, took place on April 18, with a decision to be handed down in June, just as the party primaries will be wrapping up. Both Democratic candidates, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Senator Bernie Sanders, have come out in support of President Obama's executive actions and a pathway to citizenship for undocumented workers.⁶¹ The leading GOP aspirants have been united in opposing this outcome, which they associate with amnesty for lawbreakers.

⁵⁸ Sean Sullivan, "Rubio's Past Support for Immigration Reform Haunts Him on the Campaign Trail," *Washington Post*, December 26, 2015.

⁵⁹ "Campaign Exposes Fissures Over Issues, Values and How Life Has Changed in the US," Pew Research Center, March 31, 2016, <http://www.people-press.org/2016/03/31/2-views-on-immigration-diversity-social-issues>.

⁶⁰ "New Poll: Hostile Talk Hurts GOP with Latino Voters," Latino Decision, November 16, 2015, <http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2015/11/16/new-poll-hostile-talk-hurts-gop-with-latino-voters>.

⁶¹ Greg Sargent, "Bernie Sanders Just Made a Very Big Promise on Immigration," *Washington Post*, February 12, 2016.

Conclusion

The impact of the Latino vote in the 2016 election is likely to vary in national, state, and local elections. Turnout will of course be a significant factor, as will the distribution of voter turnout – whether in battleground states or elsewhere. The current climate of Republican politics does not bode well for the party in the forthcoming presidential election, but GOP Congressional, state, and local candidates may do better, in particular if they can emphasize issues like job growth and school choice and downplay the national party’s anti-immigrant positions. Indeed, if the Republican Party hopes to gain ground on Democrats, it is these elections that offer the most promise. The national party seems determined to continue sacrificing potential minority support for the preservation of their traditional base of support; if there is any hope for the party to change its tone in the coming decades, it appears that such change will have to come from the bottom-up. Democrats have historically done well among Latinos, but they will need to do more than simply attack Republican positions on immigration if they hope to receive such support in the future. The Latino community is far more than just a community of immigrants or a one-issue voting bloc, and only through a more consistent engagement on a variety of policy issues will Democrats be able to preserve their support in the long-term. In a sense, this is true all around: both parties have been slow to adapt to the growth of the Latino population in the United States and its widespread concerns, instead coming to it in fits and starts. Whereas the limited size of the community once made indifference politically feasible, such an approach is no longer possible. Latinos will play a significant role in the future of US politics, and both parties would be wise to take greater initiative in adapting to this reality.

Appendix: Forum Agenda

American University's 2nd Annual Latino Public Affairs Forum: The Role of the Latino Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election

Monday, February 29th, 2016

Abramson Family Founders Room, AU School of International Service

Panel 1: The Republican Primaries

Topic: What is the Republican strategy with respect to Hispanics? What effects might Republican discourse and positions during the primary process have on the Hispanic vote and how might this affect the election? Can the Republican candidate increase the Party's historically small proportion of Hispanic voters?

Panelists:

Glen Bolger, Public Opinion Strategies

David Karol, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland

Neri Martinez, Republican State Leadership Committee

Moderator:

James Thurber, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University

Panel 2: The Democrats and the Latino Advantage

Topic: Are Democrats effectively building on or losing their historical advantage among Latinos? What party positions and policies are losers or winners with Latino voters and how might Latino support for the Democratic candidate or relative lack thereof affect the election?

Panelists:

Matt Barreto, Department of Political Science, UCLA and Latino Decisions

Maria Urbina, VP of Politics & National Campaigns, Voto Latino

Clarissa Martínez-de-Castro, Deputy VP of Research, Advocacy & Legislation, National Council of La Raza

Moderator:

Matthew Wright, Department of Government, American University

Panel 3: Swing States and Wildcards

Topic: What other, perhaps unforeseen, factors might come into play to help determine the impact of the Latino vote or to influence the Latino vote in the upcoming election (e.g. the immigration of Puerto Ricans to Florida, changing US-Cuba relations, current citizen enrollment efforts, key swing state battlegrounds, among other factors)?

Panelists:

Mark Hugo Lopez, Director of Hispanic Research, Pew Research Center

Luis Fortuño, former Governor of Puerto Rico, Steptoe & Johnson LLP

William LeoGrande, Department of Government, American University

Moderator:

Eric Hershberg, Center for Latin American & Latino Studies, American University

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Héctor Silva Ávalos
- No. 5 Groundwork for Inclusive Development: Responses to Emergent Challenges for Latin American and Caribbean Economies
Alejandro Foxley
- No. 6 Transportistas y lavadores: El control territorial como argumento de poder en El Salvador
Héctor Silva Ávalos
- No. 7 Unaccompanied Migrant Children from Central America: Context, Causes, and Responses
Dennis Stinchcomb and Eric Hershberg
- No. 8 Violence and Community Capabilities: Insights for Building Safe and Inclusive Cities in Central America
Eric Hershberg, Juan Pablo Pérez Sáinz, Larissa Brioso, Rodolfo Calderón Umaña, Margarita Montoya, Karla Salazar, Mario Zetino, and Daniel E. Esser
- No. 9 “Let Us Care for Everyone’s Home”: The Catholic Church’s Role in Keeping Gold Mining out of El Salvador
Rachel Nadelman
- No. 10 Capital Start-Ups: What We Know and Need to Know about Latino Entrepreneurship in the DC-Metro Region
Barbara Bird and Michael Danielson
- No. 11 What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America
Daniel H. Levine
- No. 12 Una mirada crítica a la legislación laboral en Cuba: del “Periodo Especial” y la “Batalla de Ideas” a la “Actualización del Modelo”
Gabriela Radfar



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