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The Great Realignment:

Investigating the American Hispanic and Latino Vote

by

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ABSTRACT

Why are Hispanics realigning with the Republican party? As recent as the 2022 midterm election, trends have found that more Hispanics are voting with the Republican party. Dating as far back as the 1972 presidential election, the Republican party has never garnered more than 44% of the Hispanic vote (2004). The 2004 presidential election contest was an outlier as the mean acquired by the party is 31.6% The lowest being 21% and the second highest 39%. Data used from Pew Research, fourteen presidential election exit polls, and two midterm election exit polls allowed for the study of the Hispanic voting bloc. Contrary to what has often been assumed, the Hispanic voting bloc is not a monolithic vote. When broken down by nation of origin, Americans with heritage in different Hispanic countries vote differently from others. This is heavily influenced by why they or their ancestors immigrated to the United States and the history of their own country.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor, professor, mentor, and friend: Dr. Gary L. Rose. Dr. Rose has been instrumental in my success at Sacred Heart University. It was under his advisement that I decided to write my undergraduate thesis. When no one believed in me, he did. Dr. Rose had been a mentor, leader, and educator in the sphere of politics for over 45 years. He has taught at Sacred Heart University for 41 years. I am proud to have been one of his students and to have served as his research assistant this year.

Next, I would like to thank Ms. Tracey Mauro for her unwavering support. When I needed a quiet place to work or an academic journal printed, because believe it or not this 21-year-old is very anti-tech, she was there. Thank you, Tracey, for all your help, wouldn't have been possible without you!

In the creation of this thesis, I read 4 book cover to cover, the entries used in my literature review, the items in my bibliography, and those "casual" reading items on the topic. I would have needed an additional year to just organize the information I was reading and the notes I took into excel sheets and graphs. I was lucky enough to have the support of two incredible undergraduate students. Freshman Gracie Patriarco and Sophomore Maeve Cahill served as my research assistants. These assistants would categorize my findings into excel files for me to then analyze and take a fine-tooth comb through each data set. Graphs were also created by Gracie.

Finally, I would like to thank John C. Rodriguez, Esq., J.D. and Mayor Carlos Rendo, Esq., J.D. for their additions in the creation of the foreword of this thesis. Their lived experiences and knowledge help to put the cherry on top before getting into the meat and potatoes of this study.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Alejandro Jose Ramos is Senior Political Science major at Sacred Heart University.

Although his primary major is Political Science, he also has a secondary major in Spanish and a minor in Journalism. In the field of political science, he has focused on American government, its institutions, and voting patterns among Hispanics. Being a first generation American, Alejandro has seen a political change within his very family. When taking a course on American political parties his attraction to the topic of Hispanic realignment grew. With his Spanish major, Alejandro completed an independent study where he explored Latin immigration to the United States. The papers were titled RAZONES DE LA EMIGRACIÓN LATINA (Reasons for Latino Emigration), FACTORES DE ATRACCIÓN DE LOS ASENTAMIENTOS LATINOS EN NUEVA JERSEY (Pull Factors for Latino Settlements in New Jersey), and REFORMA MIGRATORIA (Migration Reform). With his work in both majors, he has gained a better understanding of Hispanics in the United States.

Alejandro has been politically active since the age of 14. By the age of 18, he had risen through the ranks of local, county level, statewide, and even national political organizations where he gained the understanding of how our electoral system functions. In January 2021, Alejandro was appointed by Cliffside Park New Jersey Mayor, Thomas Calabrese, as Liaison to the Hispanic Community.

Alejandro will be heading to Cornell University to pursue a Master of Public Administration (MPA) on a full academic fellowship with a concentration of Government, Politics, and Policy. At Cornell, he plans on gaining an enhanced understanding of how to best serve communities and studying educational policy.

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FOREWORD

My Name is John Rodriguez. I am an attorney at the firm of Bramnick, Rodriguez, Grabas, Arnold & Mangan. I live in Cliffside Park, New Jersey with my wife and 3 kids. I was born in Havana Cuba in 1967. My family emigrated to the United States in 1971. My parents never learned to speak English. They didn't have to because we grew up in a mostly Hispanic, predominantly Cuban environment in Elizabeth, New Jersey. They were fortunate to find employment pretty quickly upon arriving in New Jersey. They worked in factories until they retired in their late 60's. We were fortunate to have come to America at a time when Unions were strong. Unions allowed them to have job security, decent middle-class wages and benefits. Looking back now, I am thankful for the Union movement and what it did for my family. However, that did not make us democrats. As most Cubans, we were staunch anticommunists and, as such, we were proud Republicans. Family gatherings would often involve political discourse consisting of Republicans are great and democrats are Communists. It was seared into my political consciousness. I remember attending political rallies for Ronald Reagan during his 1984 re-election campaign. I thought I would be a Republican for life. I thought wrong.

I began to question my loyalties to the GOP during the 1992 Republican National Convention. One of the speakers was Pat Buchannan. His speech that night has gone down in political history as the "culture wars speech." Mr. Buchanan railed against immigrants, minorities, women, gays and everyone else who was not like him. He made no mention of communism because, of course, the Soviet Union had collapsed. It was clear to me that the GOP needed a new enemy. Unfortunately, that new enemy was us. Nevertheless, I continued to vote for Republicans. I voted for George H. W. Bush in 1992. I voted for Bob Dole in 1996. In fact,

I almost voted for George W. Bush in 2000. However, by that point it became clear to me that the GOP and I were no longer a good fit. I like to say that I did not leave the GOP, it left me.

I am now a Liberal democrat. I doubt that I will ever vote for another Republican, save one, but that is a story for another day. The last 40 years have shown me that many of the fundamental principles of the GOP are a smoke screen. They say that their economic policy is pro-growth, but the growth has gone overwhelmingly to the top 1%. The middle class has struggled since Reagan. The top 1% has been the beneficiary of a plan to redistribute wealth for too long. All the while claiming that democratic economic policies amount to income redistribution. It is comedic irony at its best. The GOP has fought to separate Americans. They attack civil liberties, voting rights, the environment, minorities, women and gays. All the while pandering to the most hateful and racists elements of America. Meanwhile Americans continue to be massacred by other Americans with guns and all they can say is "thoughts and prayers." Ronald Reagan would be ashamed of today's GOP.

The premise of this thesis is that the Hispanic vote is becoming more republican. That would not surprise me. The Hispanic vote is not, and has never been, controlled by one party. The Hispanic vote is multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and subject to the same economic and demographic factors as any other voting bloc. As stated previously, Cubans have been predominantly Republican. Although second generation Cubans are nor as conservative as their parent's. Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and Mexicans have been predominantly Democratic. However, they too are subject to changes in voting loyalties. Cultural issues can have an effect on this heavily Catholic constituency. Loyalties will always shift back and forth based on economic and cultural trends. The Hispanic vote may be trending more conservative in the last few election cycles, but I do not think that trend is set in stone. It will shift with the

political winds. It will gravitate towards larger-than-life political figures, and it will react to changes in the economy. Just like every other demographic group.

— John C. Rodriguez, Esq., J.D.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

The trends of Hispanic and Latino voters have been studied from both points of view. Some believe that the Hispanic vote in the United States is a strong monolith bloc that will vote with the Democratic party, others believe that Hispanics are both not a monolith and that many are realigning with the Republican Party. I believe the latter. Through this literature review we will look at literature that takes a look at both sides and help us understand certain phenomena. In the introduction, we covered the histories of Hispanics in the US and the Republican Party, Hispanic voting patterns, how Hispanics influence elections and what influences them to vote, and Hispanics running for office.

1.1 WHY WOULD HISPANICS VOTE FOR TRUMP?

Why Would Hispanics Vote for Trump? Explaining the Controversy of the 2016 Election Quinn Galbraith and Adam Callister

This piece of literature titled *Why Would Hispanics Vote for Trump? Explaining the Controversy of the 2016 Election*¹ poses many great questions. Galbraith and Callister conducted a survey and found that 74% of Hispanic Trump voters were in favor of deporting all illegal immigrants. In their studies they also found that the top three issues to Hispanic voters were the economy, health care, and education. For these Americans of Hispanic descent, immigration did not make the list.

¹ Galbraith, Quinn, and Adam Callister. 2020. "Why Would Hispanics Vote for Trump? Explaining the Controversy of the 2016 Election." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 77-94. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0739986319899738.

Both on the campaign trail and during his time as president, Trump said many controversial things hitting on many of today's sensitive topics. In his very first of many divisive statements, Trump made comments about Hispanics in his announcement speech stating that:

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.²

You would expect a comment like this to turn off virtually every Hispanic voter with such an insult but in fact if you look at the data presented in *Chapter 1 Subsection 7 in Figure 2* the results show the opposite. The phenomenon in question is how President Trump in the 2016 election received a percent higher with the Hispanic vote compared to Mitt Romney in 2012. Not to mention him increasing the percentage yield from 28% to 32% from the 2016 to the 2020 election.

1.2 HISPANIC VOTE MATTERS

Hispanic Vote Matters

Maria L. Fornella

The inquiry done by Maria Fornella in her analysis titled *Hispanic Vote Matters*³ is important to look at when we are discussing such topic. Fornella touches upon the power that Hispanics have in the US but specifically in swing states or battle ground states regarding the 2012 election. Many of these explored topics can still be used and applied today. In the 2008 election Hispanics came out by the masses to support Obama, from 2008 to the 2010 census⁴ the Hispanic populations grew. Voting age Hispanic populations grew by 19% in Virginia, 20% in

² Time. 2015. Here's Donald Trump's Presidential Announcement Speech. June 16. https://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/.

³ Fornella, Maria. 2011. "Hispanic Vote Matters." Letras Internacionales 144-5.

⁴ United States Census Bureau. 2022. 2020 Census. November 29. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/2020/2020-census-main.html.

Nevada, 40% in North Carolina and by 13% in Florida. At the time, Florida was a key state to win and was won twice by Obama (2008 & 2012) and was later flipped by Trump. It's 13% increase in voting age Latinos added 250,000 new voters. In the 2008 election, Obama won 67% of the Hispanic vote. Fornella goes on to mention that Obama's approval rating amongst Hispanics went down, something that Republican candidates could have capitalized on but instead because of attacks made from within the party they felt as though they needed to go to the far right on issues of immigration. John McCain became a punching bag for many conservatives because he had been a supporter of immigration reform and introduced comprehensive immigration reform with Edward Kennedy. In recent elections, we have seen that the issue of immigration and border security has been a policy that has riled up the further leaning conservative and the fringe groups.

In *Chapter 1 Subsection 8*, Hispanics running for office is discussed. Fornella discusses the 2010 midterm elections resulting in 30 Latinos being elected just to the US House of Representatives. In most of these cases democratic candidates won the Hispanic vote there were three exclusionary cases, Florida Senator Marco Rubio, New Mexico Governor Susana Martinez, and Nevada Governor Brian Sandoval. With those elections, it appeared as though the GOP could start the fill crack that the Democrats were failing to acknowledge.

In that very cycle, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid was close to losing his seat to a tea party candidate before he decided to mobilize the Latino base in his state of Nevada. He made one promise that changed the trajectory of the election and that was to bring the DREAM Act to the floor of the Senate.

The first version of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was introduced in 2001. In part because of the publicity around that bill, young undocumented immigrants have been referred to as "Dreamers." Over the last 20 years, at

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⁵ Figure 2, page 36

least 11 versions of the Dream Act have been introduced in Congress. While the various versions of the bill have contained some key differences, they all would have provided a pathway to legal status for undocumented people who came to this country as children. Some versions have garnered as many as 48 co-sponsors in the U.S. Senate and 152 in the House of Representatives. Despite bipartisan support for each iteration of the bill, none have become law. To date, the 2010 bill came closest to full passage when it passed the House but fell just five votes short of the 60 needed to proceed in the Senate.⁶

To date, the DREAM Act has not been passed and signed into law despite its many introductions. Democratic Senator of Illinois Dick Durbin, Chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Republican Senator of North Carolina Lindsey Graham, Ranking Member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, have introduced the Dream Act of 2023. Each time it has been reintroduces it has been presenting in different iterations, under the same premise. This latest bill provides different provisions that previous versions of it may not have held. What should be noted is that this is a bipartisan bill. For the 2023 introduction a democrat and republican have come together to get this goal accomplished. As we know, with Americas current polarized nature we don't see that with bills of this magnitude very often. Makes one imagine if our constantly bickering representatives can work together, then maybe so should we.

Whoever reaches out and strongly insists on rational immigration reform, thereby reassuring Hispanics that they too can have their share of the American dream, will greatly enhance his or her chances of winning a large percentage of the Hispanic vote and with it, the White House.⁸ (Fonella 2011)

As discussed in *Chapter 1 Subsection 10*, there are many changes that the GOP can adopt that might cause Hispanics to flock to the party. Simple platform changes and toning down the rhetoric would be beneficial to the GOP's electability efforts within Hispanics communities.

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⁶ American Immigration Council. 2021. "The Dream Act, DACA, and Other Policies Designed to Protect Dreamers." American Immigration Council. March.

https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/the dream act an overview.pdf.

⁷ U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 2023. Durbin, Graham Introduce the Dream Act. February 10. https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/dem/releases/durbin-graham-introduce-the-dream-act.

⁸ Fornella, Maria. 2011. "Hispanic Vote Matters." Letras Internacionales 144-5.

1.3 THE CHANGING INFLUENCE OF THE HISPANIC VOTE

The Changing Influence Of the Hispanic Vote

Manuel Chávez Márquez

Manuel Chávez Márquez analysis titled *The Changing Influence Of the Hispanic Vote*⁹ is informational in the sense of taking a look at the 2004 presidential election (Bush v. Kerry). Márquez makes not of many trending topics in more recent Hispanic politics that can be analyzed through a lens of 2023. It is mentioned that presidential candidates have pandered to the Hispanic vote in the past, the influence of the vote and how in reality the Hispanic vote is more mainstream than people may believe.

Hispanic voters entered the political mainstream in the 2004 election as a significant political force that showed not only numbers but swift decisions. The traditional assumption that His- panics were a loyal hard vote for the Democratic Party was thwarted in this year's election. As a result, Latinos have achieved special recognition in this election. ¹⁰ (Márquez n.d.)

From his analysis, we could see how many more were opening up to the idea of the importance of the Hispanic vote. Although many might think that this is an idea of the past and something that occurred in 2004, others may say that it's not too off base of what we see today. One can even argue that the Hispanic vote is taken for granted by the Democrats just like the African American vote is. These voters are valued and giving attention to once every four years just to secure their vote for the White House. With the increase of population of Hispanics and their children in the United States there ought to be more attention paid to them. Márquez says that Latinos achieved special recognition in the 2004 election, but I think the parallel can be drawn to the 2016 election where an unprecedented number of Hispanics came out in support of

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⁹ Márquez, Manuel Chávez. n.d. "The Changing Influence Of the Hispanic Vote." Accessed March 27, 2023. https://ru.micisan.unam.mx/bitstream/handle/123456789/18528/VOM-0070-0097.pdf?sequence=1.
¹⁰ Ibid

then candidate Donald Trump. Is each party going to continue to be surprised when Hispanics come out overwhelmingly for the republican candidate or will candidates become more attentive to the needs and desires of this population in the United States.

Historically candidates have pandered to this coalition in order to secure the vote, Márquez mentions that if a presidential candidate wanted to win their vote, they needed to do more than just throw some Spanish phrases into campaign speeches. Examples have been seen most recently in the 2020 election as well as in the current Biden White House. Biden visited Florida in an attempt to rally the Hispanic vote behind him. The event was meant to celebrate Hispanic heritage month. He walked on stage told the attendees to hold on while he pulled out his phone. He played the song "Despacito" by Luis Fonsi which was extremely popular at the time. ¹¹

Biden... this time the First Lady had a major flub when speaking to Californian farmers. As she spoke to these migrant farmers, the first lady made reference to César Chávez and a popular phrase he used in his time. In an attempt to say "Si se puede" (Yes, we can!) Jill said "Si se Pwuad-way". ¹² After her remarks, she was met with a soft applause by the crowd.

In 2022, Jill Biden compared Hispanics to breakfast tacos. She received severe backlash from Hispanic associations, politicians, and common folks.

The National Association of Hispanic Journalists responded in a post to its Twitter account that "we are not tacos." "Using breakfast tacos to try to demonstrate the uniqueness of Latinos in San Antonio demonstrates a lack of cultural knowledge and sensitivity to the diversity of Latinos in the region," the association wrote in its statement. "NAHJ encourages Dr. Biden and her speech writing team to take the time in the future to better understand the complexities of our people and communities." "Our heritage as

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¹¹ Jacobs, Emily. 2020. Joe Biden plays 'Despacito' at event in Florida to rally Latino support. September 16. https://nypost.com/2020/09/16/biden-plays-despacito-at-event-in-florida-to-rally-latino-support/.

¹² Jacobs, Emily. 2021. Jill Biden butchers Spanish pronunciation during speech to California farmers. April 1. https://nypost.com/2021/04/01/jill-biden-flubs-her-spanish-in-speech-to-california-farmers/.

Latinos is shaped by a variety of diasporas, cultures and food traditions, and should not be reduced to a stereotype." ¹³ (Hawkins 2022)

After this comparison prominent members of the Hispanic community started to change their profile pictures to tacos in protest. An apology came from the First Lady's communications team.

In this election. Bush was able to dodge the waves of his own party's ultra-conservative members. Also, one thing that Bush was able to ignore was the anti-immigration right. Unlike, present day candidates, Bush did this well. In this election, the candidates spend \$12 million in targeted ads for Hispanics. This was a three-fold increase from the 2000 presidential election. The amount spent in 2004 is equivalent to roughly 20 million after inflation today. Interestingly, information of the 2020 presidential election in terms of targeted Hispanic spending was unavailable. It would be interesting to see a report of compiled data from every presidential and midterm election since the 1996 presidential.

1.4 2004: LATINO POLITICS AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

THE 2004 NATIONAL SURVEY OF LATINOS: POLITICS AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

The Pew Hispanic Center

The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation

The 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation¹⁴ will take a closer look at numbers from this 2004 national survey. This survey was conducted over the course of 49 days and 2,288 Latino adults were surveyed.

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¹³ Hawkins, Ari. 2022. Jill Biden apologizes for comparing Hispanic people to 'breakfast tacos'. July 12. https://www.politico.com/news/2022/07/12/jill-biden-apologizes-for-comparing-hispanic-people-to-breakfast-tacos-00045306.

¹⁴ Pew Hispanic Center & The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. 2004. The 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation. Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation.

- 45% registered Latinos Democrats, 20% Republicans, 21% Independents, 8% "something else", 5% do not know what their party affiliation is.
- Nation (% of Latino electorate): Cuba (6%) 17% Democrats 52% Republican 9%
 Independent; Mexican (60%) 47% Democrats 18% Republican –22% Independent;
 Puerto Rican (15%) 50% Democrats 17% Republican –15% Independent
- Ranking Issues, percent of registered Latinos who say each will be extremely important with their vote for president this year: education 54%, the economy and jobs 51%, health care and Medicare 51%, U.S. campaign against terrorism 45%, the war in Iraq 40%, crime 40%, social security 39%, moral values 36%, taxes 33%, the federal budget deficit 30%, and immigration 27%
- Immigration: 60% say that undocumented or illegal immigrants help the economy by providing low-cost labor however 31% say that these immigrants hurt the economy by driving down wages.
- Immigration: 46 % say that The United States should keep the number of Latin
 Americans allowed to come and work in this country legally the same, 30% say they should increase this number, 16% say that the number of Latin Americans allowed to work in this country legally should be reduced
- Immigration: 74% of registered Latinos say that they would prefer that all immigration who come to the United States legally should have a chance to live here permanently and eventually become U.S. citizens however 22% would prefer that immigrants come to the United States through a temporary workers program which allows them to stay here for a number of years but then requires them to go back to their country of origin.

- Democrats 73%, Republicans 71%, and Independents 72% favor a system that ensured future immigrants permanent legal status and the opportunity to become citizens.
- Abortion: ~50% say that abortion should be legal, 17% legal in all cases, 32% legal in most cases.
- Abortion: 44% say that abortion should be illegal, 23% illegal in all cases, 21% illegal in most cases.
- Same-Sex Marriage: ~45% Would favor a constitutional amendment that would define
 marriage as a union between one man and one woman thereby prohibiting legally
 sanctioned marriages for same sex couples. 48% would oppose this type of amendment.
 - o Democrats 40% favor the constitutional amendment; Republicans 34% oppose it.
 - Evangelical Christians 56%, Protestants 52%, Roman Catholics 44% would support the amendment.
 - In a survey conducted by Gallup found that 51% of Americans favored the constitutional amendment and 45% opposed it.
- Reported Volunteer Activity¹⁵: In the past year have you volunteered your time to any... church or religious groups, school or tutoring programs, neighborhood, business, or community group, organization representing their particular nationality, ethnic, or racial group; 63% registered Latinos, 43% not registered citizens, 44% non-citizens.

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¹⁵ Pew Hispanic Center & The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. 2004. The 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation. Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation. CHART 36

- The Potential for Growth¹⁶: The percent of Latinos who say they are... citizens 58% 42% not citizens. Citizen breakdown 43% are registered to vote, 14% not registered,
 1% doesn't know.
- Perceived Influence of Political Activity¹⁷: Citizens can have influence at all levels of government by voting and engaging in other political activities; registered Latino citizens 81% agree & 16% disagree; unregistered Latino citizens 65% agree & 27% disagree.
- Perceptions of What an Immigrant Must Do To Say They Are a Part Of American Society¹⁸: The percent of all Latinos who say an immigrant has to do each of the following to say they are a part of American society: 79% Believe in the U.S. Constitution, 65% Vote in U.S. Elections, 55% Speak English, 54% Be a U.S. Citizen.

Above, we can see the issues important to Hispanics and Latinos, their image of themselves within the context of America, and their political affiliations. Many of these issues can be seen throughout the analysis that follows in chapter two as well as in chapter three when looking at the conducted survey.

¹⁶ Pew Hispanic Center & The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. 2004. The 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Politics and Civic Participation. Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation. CHART 38

¹⁷ Ibid CHART 40

¹⁸ Ibid CHART 44

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1.5 HISPANICS AND THE 2008 ELECTION: A SWING VOTE?

Hispanic and the 2008 Election: A Swing Vote?

Pew Hispanic Center

Paul Taylor & Richard Fry

In the Hispanic and the 2008 Election: A Swing Vote? ¹⁹ report, many of the same details as in 1.4 can be found. This survey was conducted over the course of 37 days (before the 2008 presidential), 2,003 Hispanics were sampled.

- 57% of Hispanic registered voters now call themselves Democrats or say they lean to the
 Democratic Party, while 23% align with the Republican Party meaning there is now a
 34-percentage point gap in partisan affiliation among registered Latinos.
- 44% Hispanic registered voters say the Democrats rather than the Republicans are the party with more concern for Latinos and 8% say the opposite. However, a large slice of Latino registered voters (41%) say there is no difference between the parties.

The survey also asked about preferences in the Democratic and Republican nomination contests. It found:

- Hispanics heavily favor Hillary Clinton for the Democratic Party nomination. The New
 York Senator is supported by 59% of Latinos who are registered voters and align with the
 Democratic Party. Illinois Sen. Barack Obama draws 15%; New Mexico Gov. Bill
 Richardson draws 8% and former North Carolina Sen. John Edwards 4%.
- On the Republican side, former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani is supported by 35% of Latino registered voters who align with the GOP, followed by former Sen. Fred

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¹⁹ Taylor, Paul, and Richard Fry. 2007. Hispanic and the 2008 Election: A Swing Vote? Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.

- Thompson of Tennessee with 13%; Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) with 10%; and former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney with 4%.
- When comparing this report to the 1.4 report these numbers show the aftermath of the
 Bush administration. 41% Latino registered voters say the policies of the Bush
 administration have been harmful to Latinos, while just 16% say they have been helpful.
 Another third say they have had no particular effect.
- With less than a year to go until the 2008 presidential election, 22% of registered Latino voters say they are paying very close attention to the campaign, 38% say they are paying some attention and 39% say they are paying little or no attention.
- In this survey many of the 2008 important issues to Hispanics are similar to 2004; 94% consider education as either extremely important or very important. Next comes health care 91%, the economy and jobs 91%, crime 84%, immigration 79%, and the war in Iraq 70%.
- Census data, as of 2007, indicate that an estimated 18.2 million Hispanics were eligible to vote. At the time of the 2004 presidential election, an estimated 16.1 million Hispanics were eligible.
- 7.6 million Hispanics reported voting in the 2004 election, for a 47% turn out rate.
 Like the previous report, many of these details are important to be able to study the
 Hispanic vote. Specifically, this data serves useful in order to compare the data points from year to year. In the 2008 election Hispanics had a turn out rate of 49.9%. ²⁰

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²⁰ Lopez, Mark Hugo, and Paul Taylor. 2009. Dissecting the 2008 Electorate: Most Diverse in U.S. History. Electoral Study, Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2009/04/30/dissecting-the-2008-electorate-most-diverse-in-us-history/.

1.6 LOCAL DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND US PRESIDENTIAL VOTING

Local Demographic Changes and US Presidential Voting, 2012 to 2016 Seth J Hill, Daniel J Hopkins, & Gregory A Huber

In the literature titled *Local Demographic Changes and US Presidential Voting*²¹ by Hill Et al. the authors make the case that demographic changes that are happening at the local level affect national politics and how these changes can upend politics as we know it.

Recent elections in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and elsewhere have brought this question to the foreground, as candidates and parties have found success while amplifying concerns about immigration and demographic change. Some scholars contend that growing ethnic and racial diversity has the potential to upend traditional political divisions over economic issues by realigning voting patterns on the basis of ethnicity, nativity, nationalism, and education.

This begs to ask, "why is the right winning elections when there's so much rhetoric against immigrants," we have seen it in all the countries listed above and in others as well. In Italy Giorgia Meloni was just elected to serve as Italy's Prime Minister, she has staunchly stood with keeping Italy... Italy. In 1.1 we discussed how even with Trump's rhetoric against Hispanics quite literally in his first speech in the race to the White House and how about really didn't affect him as many people thought it would. Many of these conservative leaders are outspoken in their opposition to immigrants.

When you look at the micro level of precincts you see changes from seven states: Florida, Georgia, Nevada, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Washington. Four of these states were crucial in the 2016 election and highly contested those states include Florida, Nevada, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. In the election Trump was able to flip four states that supported Barack Obama in 2012. When you see how Hispanics impacted the election two of these states have

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²¹ Hill, Seth J, Daniel J Hopkins, and Gregory A Huber. 2019. "Local Demographic Changes and US Presidential Voting, 2012 to 2016." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 116(50) 1 - 6.

sizable Hispanic populations, Florida and Nevada. One can question how especially in these states, anti-immigration rhetoric is winning. Let's face it Hispanics are the new face of the immigration movement here in the United States.

This study concluded that demographic change favoring trump showed a negative relationship between increasing Hispanic populations and heightened republican support.

1.7 POLITICAL MIGRANTS: HISPANIC VOTERS ON THE MOVE

Political Migrants: Hispanic Voters on the Move

"How America's largest minority is flipping conventional wisdom on its head" Jim Robb

In trying to understand the complexities of the Hispanic and Latino vote, four books were read; The Rise of The Latino Vote: A History by Benjamin Francis-Fallon, Figures of The Future: Latino Civil Rights and The Politics of Demographic Change by Michael Rodriguez-Muniz, The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump by Geraldo Cadava, and Political Migrants by Robb. Of these books, the most informational was this one due to it works on contemporary matters and graphics one was able to study. I acquired this book much later in the thesis writing process than I would have liked to. The data that this book presents is unprecedented compared to the research that I was already compiling. It answered many questions I had that I was too afraid to explore in the context of this thesis. Jim Robb and Rasmussen Reports deserve to be thanked for their exploratory work in what seems to be a very new and uncharted territory in the world of the Hispanic community's politics.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION

The Hispanic and Latino vote in the United States has become an increasingly important demographic in recent years. With a growing population and increasing political engagement, the Hispanic and Latino vote has the potential to significantly influence the outcome of national and local elections. In today's politics we typically associate these voters with the Democratic Party but what we tend to forget is how broad the terms 'Hispanic' and 'Latino' really are.

In practice, the Census Bureau most often uses the term "Hispanic," while Pew Research Center uses the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" interchangeably when describing this population. Some have drawn sharp distinctions between these two terms, saying for example that Hispanics are people from Spain or from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America (this excludes Brazil, where Portuguese is the official language), while Latinos are people from Latin America regardless of language (this includes Brazil but excludes Spain and Portugal). Despite this debate, the "Hispanic" and "Latino" labels are not universally embraced by the population that has been labeled, even as they are widely used.²²

In the 2020 Presidential election, Hispanic and Latino voters made up 13% of the electorate, with a majority voting for Joe Biden over Donald Trump. However, the Hispanic and Latino vote is not a monolithic bloc and consists of diverse communities with varying political views and priorities.

One of the key factors influencing the Hispanic and Latino vote is the issue of immigration. Many Hispanic and Latino voters have personal connections to immigration, either through their own experiences or those of family and friends. As a result, immigration policy is often a top priority for Hispanic and Latino voters, and candidates' positions on immigration can significantly impact their voting decisions.

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²² Lopez, Mark Hugo, Jens Manuel Krogstad, and Jeffrey S. Passel. 2022. Who is Hispanic? September 15. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/09/15/who-is-hispanic/.

However, the Hispanic and Latino vote also includes other important issues such as healthcare, education, and the economy. As the pandemic continues to impact the United States, healthcare has become an increasingly important issue for Hispanic and Latino voters. Access to affordable healthcare and COVID-19 relief are top priorities for many in this community.

In addition to policy issues, the Hispanic and Latino vote is also influenced by cultural and social factors. Candidates who can connect with Hispanic and Latino voters on a personal level, and who are seen as understanding the issues that matter to this community, are more likely to win their support.

Overall, the Hispanic and Latino vote in the United States is a complex and diverse demographic that is becoming increasingly important in national and local elections. As politicians continue to seek the support of this growing demographic, it is essential that they understand the priorities, concerns, and values of Hispanic and Latino voters in order to build lasting relationships and earn their trust and support.

Before understanding the way that Hispanics and Latinos are voting in the United States and how through research shows that they are realigning with the Republican Party one must understand that factors at play. The factors at play must be understood; the makeup based on nationality and other metrics. One must also understand the Republican Party in this day and age and what the party stands for and how that is attracting Hispanics and Latinos.

It will then be important to look at Hispanic voting patterns over the years focusing on presidential contests and studying the occasional midterm. Finally, one must acknowledge that more Hispanics and Latinos are running for office in the United States. Through that, one must understand why they are running with the party that they are choosing to affiliate with and why now.

2.1 HISPANICS AND LATINOS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Hispanics and Latinos make up a significant portion of the United States population, with an estimated 62.1 million people identifying as Hispanic or Latino in 2020, accounting for 18.7% of the total U.S. population. ²³ This group encompasses people from diverse backgrounds, including those who trace their roots to Mexico, Central and South America, the Caribbean, and Spain.

In section 1.1, we will explore the demographics of Hispanics and Latinos in the United States, including their socioeconomic status, education, language, and cultural practices. We will also discuss some of the challenges and opportunities facing this group and the efforts being made to address them.

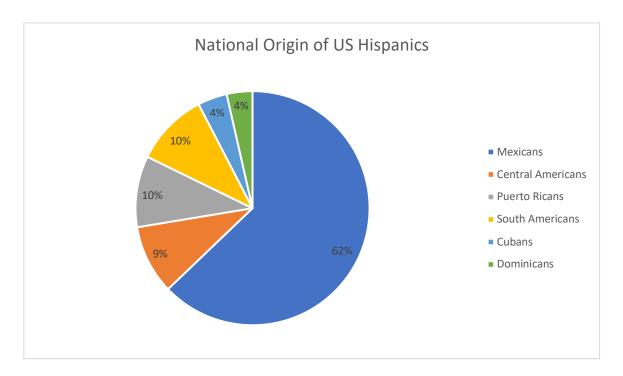
Demographics

The Hispanic and Latino population in the United States is growing rapidly. Between 2010 and 2020, the Hispanic and Latino population increased by 23%, compared to an overall population growth rate of 7.4%.²⁴ The majority of Hispanics and Latinos in the United States (62%) are of Mexican origin, followed by Puerto Ricans (9%), Salvadorans (4%), Cubans (4%), and Dominicans (3%).²⁵

²³ United States Census Bureau. 2022. 2020 Census. November 29. https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/2020/2020-census-main.html.

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Office of Minority Health HHS. 2023. Profile: Hispanic/Latino Americans. February 24. https://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/omh/browse.aspx?lvl=3&lvlid=64.



Hispanics and Latinos are also a young population, with a median age of 30 years, compared to a median age of 38 years for the overall U.S. population.²⁶ This youthfulness has important implications for the future of the United States, as the Hispanic and Latino population is projected to continue to grow and become an even larger share of the overall population.

Socioeconomic Status

Despite their growing numbers, Hispanics and Latinos in the United States face significant socioeconomic challenges. The poverty rate for Hispanics and Latinos in the United States was 15.7% in 2020, compared to an overall poverty rate of 9.2%.²⁷ Additionally, Hispanics and Latinos are more likely to be uninsured than non-Hispanic whites, with a higher rate of poverty and lack of access to health care being contributing factors. ²⁸

²⁶ Census Bureau, 2020 Census

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Artiga, Samantha, Latoya Hill, and Anthony Damico. 2022. Health Coverage by Race and Ethnicity, 2010-2021. December 20. https://www.kff.org/racial-equity-and-health-policy/issue-brief/health-coverage-by-race-and-ethnicity/.

Education

Education is another area where Hispanics and Latinos face challenges. In 2020, 20.5% of Hispanics and Latinos over the age of 25 had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 37.5% of non-Hispanic whites.²⁹ This gap in educational attainment has important implications for upward mobility and economic opportunity for Hispanics and Latinos.

Language and Culture

Language and culture are also important considerations when discussing Hispanics and Latinos in the United States. While the majority of Hispanics and Latinos speak English fluently, many also speak Spanish or another language at home.³⁰ This linguistic diversity can create challenges for individuals and families as they navigate education, healthcare, and other systems in the United States.

Cultural practices and values also vary widely among Hispanics and Latinos, reflecting the diversity of their backgrounds and experiences. Some common cultural practices include a strong emphasis on family, religion, and food, as well as celebrations of cultural holidays and traditions.

Religion

According to a Pew Research Center survey, around two-thirds of Hispanic adults identify as Catholic, while roughly 16% identify as evangelical Protestant and 6% identify as mainline Protestant.

Overall, Hispanic Catholics tend to lean more Democratic in their voting patterns, while Hispanic Protestants tend to lean more Republican. However, this is not a hard and fast rule, and there are many exceptions to this trend.

²⁹ Census Bureau, "2020 Census"

³⁰ Ibid

One factor that may play a role in shaping the voting patterns of Hispanic Catholics is the Church's teachings on social justice issues. The Catholic Church has traditionally been an advocate for social justice and has spoken out on issues such as immigration, healthcare, and poverty. This may resonate with many Hispanic Catholics, who may view the Democratic Party as more aligned with their values on these issues.

On the other hand, Hispanic Protestants may be more likely to prioritize issues such as religious liberty and opposition to abortion, which are often championed by Republican politicians. Some Hispanic Protestant denominations, such as the Assemblies of God, have also been active in conservative political activism and may have a more politically conservative orientation.

<u>Challenges and Opportunities</u>

The challenges facing Hispanics and Latinos in the United States are significant, but there are also opportunities for progress and improvement. Efforts are being made at the national, state, and local levels to address issues such as poverty, access to health care, and educational opportunities.

One example of a national effort to address these challenges is the Affordable Care Act, which has expanded health care coverage and reduced the uninsured rate among Hispanics and Latinos.³¹ Other initiatives, such as those aimed at improving educational opportunities and reducing poverty, are also underway. For example, the federal government has allocated funding to support early childhood education, college access programs, and job training initiatives that benefit Hispanics and Latinos.

³¹ Artiga, Hill, and Damico "Health Coverage by Race and Ethnicity, 2010-2021"

At the state and local levels, efforts are also being made to address the unique needs of Hispanic and Latino communities. These efforts include providing bilingual services, investing in affordable housing and community development, and promoting cultural awareness and sensitivity in education and health care settings.

Conclusion

The Hispanic and Latino population in the United States is a diverse and rapidly growing group that faces significant challenges, including poverty, limited access to health care, and educational disparities. However, there are also opportunities for progress and improvement, including national, state, and local initiatives aimed at addressing these challenges.

As the Hispanic and Latino population continues to grow and become an even larger share of the overall U.S. population, it is important that we continue to work to address these challenges and promote equity, inclusion, and opportunity for all Americans.

2.2 THE MONOLITIC VOTE...

The American Hispanic vote is not a monolithic voting bloc. The Hispanic community in the United States is diverse, with members hailing from various countries and cultural backgrounds, with differing political beliefs and priorities.

Attempting to classify the Hispanic vote as a single, homogenous group ignores the complexity of the community and risks perpetuating stereotypes. The diversity of the Hispanic community is reflected in its voting patterns. Hispanic voters have supported both Democratic and Republican candidates in past elections, and their voting behavior can vary widely based on factors such as geography, age, education, and socioeconomic status.

Chicana activist Denise Hernández speaks on how the Hispanic and Latino vote in the United States is not a monolith.

"We are not a monolith. We all come from different cultural, sociopolitical identities. Cubans have a completely different political identity in a large part than Mexican Americans do in Texas. I can only speak to being a Mexican American in Texas. But I know our politics are going to be way different than a Puerto Rican in New York," Hernández said.³²

For example, in the 2020 presidential election, Hispanic voters in Florida and Texas showed greater support for Donald Trump than they did in previous elections, while Hispanic voters in other regions overwhelmingly supported Joe Biden. Similarly, younger Hispanic voters tended to lean more Democratic, while older Hispanic voters were more likely to support Republicans.

There is also significant variation in the issues that Hispanic voters prioritize. While some may prioritize immigration reform, others may be more concerned with economic issues, education, or healthcare. These differing priorities mean that political candidates must engage with Hispanic voters as individuals, rather than simply assuming that they will vote as a single group.

In summary, the American Hispanic vote is not a monolithic voting bloc. The diversity of the community, both in terms of cultural background and political beliefs, means that political candidates must engage with Hispanic voters on a personal level and address the unique concerns and priorities of individual voters.

2.3 THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Republican Party is one of the two major political parties in the United States, alongside the Democratic Party. It was founded in 1854, with a focus on opposing the expansion of slavery into new states and territories.³³ The party was created by a coalition of former Whigs,

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³² Weis, Julia. 2020. Salud America! October 29. https://salud-america.org/denise-hernandez-finding-herself-by-unlearning-implicit-bias-and-embracing-her-chicana-heritage/.

³³ RNC. n.d. https://gop.com/about-our-party/. Accessed February 23, 2023. WHO WE ARE.

Free-Soilers, and other anti-slavery activists who sought to create a new political party to combat the influence of the pro-slavery Democratic Party.

The first Republican president was Abraham Lincoln, who won the 1860 election and served as president during the Civil War. Under Lincoln's leadership, the Union Army defeated the Confederate States of America, ending slavery and preserving the unity of the United States. Following the Civil War, the Republican Party became associated with policies of reconstruction and the protection of civil rights for African Americans.

Throughout its history, the Republican Party has undergone significant changes, evolving from a party focused on issues of abolition and civil rights to a more broad-based conservative party that advocates for limited government intervention in the economy and traditional social values.³⁴

The Republican Party's ideology is generally considered to be conservative or centerright. Republicans typically advocate for policies that promote individual freedom, free markets, and a strong national defense. They generally oppose government intervention in the economy, favoring lower taxes and less regulation.³⁵

On social issues, Republicans often support traditional values and are generally opposed to abortion and same-sex marriage. Republicans are also generally more skeptical of government social welfare programs, preferring private sector solutions and individual responsibility.

In recent years, the Republican Party has become increasingly divided between more traditional conservatives and a more populist faction associated with former President Donald

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³⁴ The Platform Committee. 2016. "RULES & RESOLUTIONS." The Republican National Committee. https://prodstatic.gop.com/media/Resolution_Platform.pdf?_ga=2.179781543.2032761989.1679802169-308708174.1679802169.

³⁵ Ibid

Trump. The populist faction tends to be more focused on issues of immigration and trade, advocating for more restrictive policies in these areas.

The Republican Party's platform has traditionally included support for smaller government, lower taxes, and a strong national defense. The party also typically advocates for a pro-business environment, with less regulation and more market-based solutions. On social issues, the Republican Party has generally supported traditional values.

The Republican Party has had many notable leaders throughout its history. Abraham Lincoln is considered one of the greatest presidents in American history and is credited with preserving the unity of the country during the Civil War and ending slavery with the Emancipation Proclamation.

Other notable Republican leaders include Theodore Roosevelt, who was a strong advocate for conservation and environmental protection, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, who served as president during the Cold War and oversaw significant economic growth.

More recently, the Republican Party has been led by figures such as Ronald Reagan, who is considered one of the most successful modern Republican presidents. During his presidency in the 1980s, Reagan implemented significant tax cuts and deregulation, which led to an economic boom.

In the 21st century, the Republican Party has been led by a number of different figures, including George W. Bush, who was president during the September 11 attacks, and Donald Trump, who was elected president in 2016.

The Republican Party has had significant electoral success throughout its history. In addition to Lincoln's presidency, Republicans have held the presidency for a total of 36 years

since the end of World War II. The party also currently holds a majority in the House of Representatives and 26 governorships.³⁶ is the minority party in the Senate.

Currently, the Republican Party is facing significant challenges, including a deep divide between traditional conservatives and the populist faction associated with former President Trump. This divide was highlighted by the contentious 2020 presidential election and the subsequent Capitol riot, which further polarized the party.

The Republican Party's future direction is unclear. Some members of the party have called for a return to traditional conservative principles, while others have advocated for a continued focus on the populist agenda championed by Trump.

The party also faces challenges in attracting younger and more diverse voters, as it has historically been seen as less inclusive and less representative of these groups.

Overall, the future of the Republican Party is uncertain, and it remains to be seen how the party will adapt to changing demographics and political realities in the coming years.

2.4 HISPANIC VOTING PATTERNS

The Hispanic population in the United States has been growing rapidly in recent years, and this demographic group is becoming increasingly important in American politics. Hispanics have diverse backgrounds, and their voting patterns can vary based on factors such as country of origin, age, and education level. However, there are some general trends that can be observed in Hispanic voting patterns. Section 1.3 will provide an overview of these trends and discuss some of the factors that influence Hispanic voting patterns in the United States.

Hispanics have been a part of the American political landscape for centuries. Spanish explorers and colonizers established settlements in what is now the southwestern United States in

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³⁶ Eagleton Institute of Politics. n.d. Fast Facts About America's Governors. Accessed March 13, 2023. https://governors.rutgers.edu/fast-facts-about-americas-governors/#.

the early 16th century. The territory of New Spain, which included much of what is now the western United States, was governed by Spain until the early 19th century. After Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, Mexicans became a significant presence in what is now the southwestern United States. The United States acquired much of this territory through the Mexican American War in the mid-19th century. Throughout this period, Hispanics played an important role in local and regional politics in the southwestern United States.

In the early 20th century, a wave of immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries began. This immigration was driven in part by the demand for labor in agriculture and other industries, and in part by political instability and economic hardship in Latin America. Today, Hispanics make up around 18% of the U.S. population, and their voting patterns can have a significant impact on national and local elections.

Hispanics in the United States tend to lean towards the Democratic Party. In the 2020 Presidential election, 65% of Hispanic voters supported Joe Biden, while 32% supported Donald Trump.³⁷ This upward trend has been consistent in previous elections as well. Although Republican nominee Donald Trump did not see a major increase, the election saw a four percent growth from the 2016 election. In the 2016 Presidential election, 66% of Hispanic voters supported Hillary Clinton, while 28% supported Donald Trump.³⁸

Immigration is a major issue for Hispanics in the United States, particularly for those who are undocumented or have family members who are. As a result, candidates' positions on immigration policy can heavily influence Hispanic voting patterns. In the 2020 Presidential election, Joe Biden promised to create a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants

³⁷ NBC. 2020. Decision 2020. November. https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-elections/exit-polls.

³⁸ NBC. 2016. Decision 2016: Presidential Results. November. https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016election/president/.

and to end the Trump administration's policies that separated families at the border. These policies likely contributed to his strong support among Hispanic voters.

Economic issues are also important to Hispanic voters. Hispanics in the United States are disproportionately affected by economic issues such as unemployment and poverty. Candidates who prioritize policies that address these issues may be more likely to win support from Hispanic voters. In the 2020 Presidential election, Joe Biden emphasized his plans to raise the minimum wage, expand access to healthcare, and provide economic relief to individuals and businesses affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. These policies likely contributed to his strong support among Hispanic voters.

Cultural and social issues can also influence Hispanic voting patterns. Hispanics in the United States come from diverse cultural backgrounds and may have different perspectives on issues such as abortion, LGBTQ rights, and gun control. Candidates' positions on these issues can also influence Hispanic voting patterns. For example, in the 2020 Presidential election, Joe Biden emphasized his support for LGBTQ rights and his commitment to protecting reproductive rights. These positions likely contributed to his strong support among Hispanic voters, particularly among younger and more educated Hispanic voters.

There are several factors that can influence Hispanic voting patterns in the United States.

One of the most important factors is country of origin. Hispanics in the United States come from diverse countries, and their political views and values can be influenced by their country of origin. For example, Cuban Americans tend to be more conservative than other Hispanic groups, in part because of their experiences with communism in Cuba. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans, who are U.S. citizens by birth, tend to vote more Democratic than other Hispanic groups.

Age is another factor that can influence Hispanic voting patterns. Younger Hispanics tend to be more liberal than older Hispanics, and they are more likely to support policies such as LGBTQ rights and environmental protections. This trend was evident in the 2020 Presidential election, where younger Hispanics were more likely to support Joe Biden than older Hispanics.

Education level can also influence Hispanic voting patterns. Hispanics with higher levels of education tend to be more liberal than those with lower levels of education. This trend was also evident in the 2020 Presidential election, where college-educated Hispanics were more likely to support Joe Biden than those without a college degree.

Finally, voter turnout is an important factor that can influence Hispanic voting patterns. Historically, voter turnout among Hispanics has been lower than among other groups. However, this trend has been changing in recent years. In the 2020 Presidential election, Hispanic voter turnout increased significantly, with an estimated 16.6 million Hispanics casting ballots. This increase in voter turnout could be attributed to a variety of factors, including the mobilization efforts of political campaigns and grassroots organizations.

Hispanic voting patterns in the United States are complex and diverse, and they are influenced by a variety of factors. While Hispanics tend to lean towards the Democratic Party, their political views and values can vary based on country of origin, age, education level, and other factors. Immigration policy, economic issues, and cultural and social issues are all important factors that can influence Hispanic voting patterns. As the Hispanic population in the United States continues to grow, it is likely that their political influence will also continue to grow.

2.5 WHAT INFLUENCES THE HISPANIC VOTE?

As the population grows, so does their political power. Hispanics/Latinos have the potential to significantly impact the outcomes of elections. In this paper, we will examine the factors that influence the Hispanic/Latino vote in the United States.

Demographics

The Hispanic/Latino population is diverse, with origins from countries such as Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Central and South America. This diversity influences the way this population votes. For example, Cubans tend to vote Republican, while Puerto Ricans and Mexicans tend to vote Democratic. This is because of differences in political and social views, as well as the history of the countries of origin. Additionally, age, gender, education, and income level also influence the Hispanic/Latino vote. For instance, young Hispanics/Latinos tend to vote Democrat, while older Hispanics/Latinos tend to vote Republican. Hispanic/Latino women tend to vote Democrat, while men tend to vote Republican. Higher education and income levels tend to lean towards the Democratic party, while lower education and income levels tend to lean towards the Republican party.

Political Parties and Candidates

Political parties and candidates play a significant role in the way Hispanics/Latinos vote.

The parties' policies and stances on issues such as immigration, healthcare, education, and the economy affect the way this population votes. In general, Hispanics/Latinos tend to favor the Democratic party's policies, which are seen as more inclusive and supportive of minority groups. However, this is not always the case, as some Hispanics/Latinos vote for the Republican party because of their views on issues such as abortion and religion.

In addition to the parties' policies, the candidates' race and ethnicity also play a role in the Hispanic/Latino vote. For example, Hispanic/Latino voters may be more likely to vote for a candidate who shares their ethnic background or speaks Spanish fluently. This was evident in the 2020 presidential election, where Joe Biden's choice of Kamala Harris, who is of Indian and Black descent, as his running mate, attracted many Hispanic/Latino voters.

Media and Campaign Advertising

Media and campaign advertising also influence the Hispanic/Latino vote. Candidates often use Spanish-language advertisements to target Hispanic/Latino voters. These advertisements address issues that are important to the community and are tailored to the Hispanic/Latino culture. Spanish-language radio and television stations, as well as social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, are used to reach this population. In addition to advertisements, the media coverage of candidates and their campaigns also plays a role in the Hispanic/Latino vote. This coverage can shape the way Hispanics/Latinos perceive a candidate and their policies.

Community and Family

The Hispanic/Latino population is heavily influenced by their communities and families. Hispanics/Latinos have close-knit families, and decisions regarding voting are often discussed and made within the family. Additionally, the community plays a significant role in the way Hispanics/Latinos vote. Hispanic/Latino communities often have community leaders who can influence the way their constituents vote. These leaders can also provide information on issues and candidates to help Hispanic/Latino voters make informed decisions.

Issues and Values

The issues and values that are important to the Hispanic/Latino community also play a role in the way they vote. Immigration is one of the most important issues to Hispanics/Latinos, and the parties' policies on immigration significantly affect the way they vote. Hispanics/Latinos tend to favor a more lenient immigration policy that offers a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. Other issues that are important to the Hispanic/Latino community include healthcare, education, and the economy. The parties' policies on these issues can also influence the way Hispanics/Latinos vote.

Moreover, the values that are important to the Hispanic/Latino community, such as family, religion, and community, also influence their voting behavior. The Democratic party's policies on social issues such as gay marriage and abortion may clash with the values of some Hispanic/Latino voters, leading them to vote Republican. Additionally, religion plays a significant role in the Hispanic/Latino community, with many identifying as Catholic. Candidates' religious beliefs and views on issues such as abortion can also influence the way Hispanics/Latinos vote.

In conclusion, the Hispanic/Latino vote in the United States is influenced by a variety of factors. Demographics, political parties and candidates, media and campaign advertising, community and family, and issues and values all play a role in shaping the way this population votes. As the Hispanic/Latino population continues to grow, their political power will also increase, making it even more important for candidates and political parties to understand the factors that influence their vote.

2.6 THE INFLUENCES OF THE HISPANIC VOTE

The Hispanic vote is an important demographic in the United States. Hispanics are the largest ethnic minority group in the country, making up approximately 18% of the population. Their political influence has grown in recent years as their population has increased, particularly in states with high Hispanic populations such as California, Texas, Florida, and New Mexico. In this essay, we will explore the influences of the Hispanic vote on US politics.

The Hispanic vote has traditionally leaned Democratic, with the majority of Hispanics identifying as Democrats or leaning Democratic. This is due in part to the Democratic Party's more liberal stances on issues such as immigration reform, social welfare, and racial justice.³⁹ Hispanics are also more likely to identify as progressive on issues such as climate change and LGBTQ+ rights. In the 2020 presidential election, Democratic candidate Joe Biden won the Hispanic vote by a significant margin, receiving 66% of the Hispanic vote compared to Republican incumbent Donald Trump's 32%.

However, in recent years, Republicans have made efforts to court the Hispanic vote by appealing to their values on issues such as family, religion, and economic opportunity.

Republicans have also focused on highlighting the successes of Hispanic candidates, such as Florida Governor Ron DeSantis and Texas Senator Ted Cruz, as a way to attract Hispanic voters. In the 2020 presidential election, Trump was able to increase his support among Hispanic voters, particularly in Florida, where he won a larger share of the Hispanic vote than he did in 2016. Trump's support among Hispanic voters was likely due to his focus on the economy, law and order, and his anti-socialist messaging.

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³⁹ The Democratic National Committee. n.d. PARTY PLATFORM. Accessed March 18, 2023. https://democrats.org/where-we-stand/party-platform/.

The influence of the Hispanic vote is not limited to presidential elections. Hispanics also have the potential to sway down-ballot races, such as congressional elections and state and local elections. In 2020, Hispanics played a crucial role in several key swing states, such as Arizona, Florida, and Texas. In Arizona, Biden won the state by just over 10,000 votes, and Hispanic voters made up a significant portion of his margin of victory.⁴⁰ In Florida, Trump won the state by a larger margin than in 2016, thanks in part to his increased support among Hispanic voters.⁴¹

The Hispanic vote is also important in shaping policies related to immigration and border security. Hispanics are more likely to support policies that provide a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants and that protect DACA recipients. The Hispanic vote can also influence policies related to education, healthcare, and environmental protection, among other issues.

In conclusion, the Hispanic vote is a critical demographic for both major political parties to consider and target in their campaigns. The influence of the Hispanic vote will likely continue to grow as the Hispanic population continues to increase in the United States. Both Democrats and Republicans will need to tailor their messaging and policies to appeal to Hispanic voters if they hope to win elections in the future. The Hispanic vote has the potential to shape the political landscape of the United States for years to come.

⁴⁰ Politico. 2021. Joe Biden won in Arizona, flipping a state Donald Trump won in 2016. January 6. https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/arizona/.

⁴¹ Politico. 2021. Donald Trump won in Florida. January 6. https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/florida/.

2.7 HOW HAVE HISPANICS VOTED IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS SINCE 1972

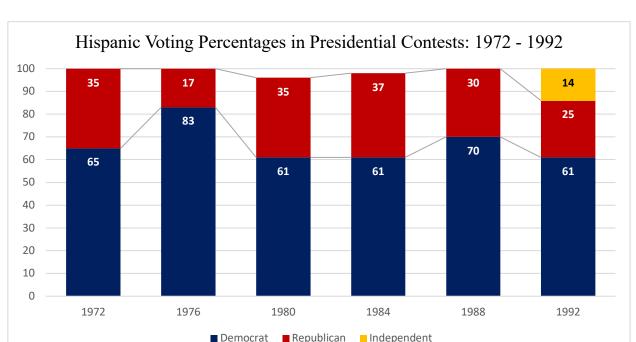
Hispanics have become an increasingly important voting bloc in presidential elections since the 1970s, and their voting patterns have shifted over time. Since the 1972 US presidential election, Hispanics have typically voted for the Democratic candidate. However, there has been variation in the level of support that Hispanic voters have given to each party's candidate in each election. To analyze exit polls, data from the American Enterprise Institute (AEI)⁴² and Cornell University's Roper Center for Public Opinion Research (RC)⁴³ were consulted. Here is an overview of how Hispanics have voted in presidential elections since 1972:

- 1972: Incumbent Republican Richard Nixon* received an estimated 35% of the Hispanic vote, while Democrat George McGovern received an estimated 65%.
- 1976: Democrat Jimmy Carter* received an estimated 83% of the Hispanic vote, while incumbent Republican Gerald Ford received an estimated 17%.
- 1980: Republican Ronald Reagan* received an estimated 35% of the Hispanic vote,
 while incumbent Democrat Jimmy Carter received an estimated 61%.
- 1984: Incumbent Republican Ronald Reagan* received an estimated 37% of the Hispanic vote, while Democrat Walter Mondale received an estimated 61%.
- 1988: Republican George H.W. Bush* received an estimated 30% of the Hispanic vote, while Democrat Michael Dukakis received an estimated 70%.
- 1992: Democrat Bill Clinton* received an estimated 61% of the Hispanic vote, while incumbent Republican George H.W. Bush received an estimated 25% and Independent Ross Perot received an estimated 14%.

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⁴² American Enterprise Institute. 2022. A HISTORY AND TRENDS OVER TIME, 1972–2020. January. https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/The-Exit-Polls.pdf?x91208.

⁴³ Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. n.d. How Groups Voted. Accessed March 19, 2023. https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/how groups voted.

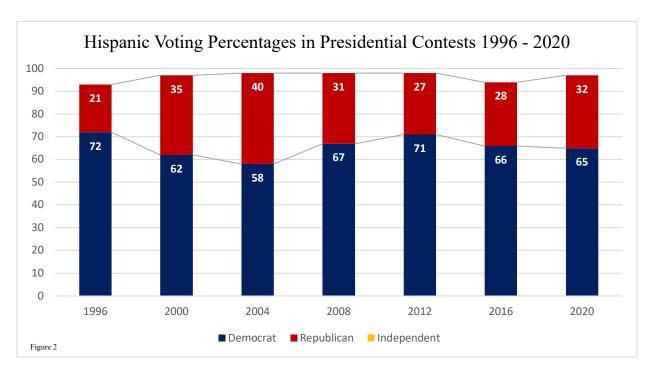


o "*" denotes the victor of the contest.

- 1996: Incumbent Democrat Bill Clinton* received an estimated 72% of the Hispanic vote, while Republican Bob Dole received an estimated 21%.
- 2000: Democrat Al Gore received an estimated 62% of the Hispanic vote, while Republican George W. Bush* received an estimated 35%.
- 2004: Democrat John Kerry received an estimated 58% of the Hispanic vote, while incumbent Republican George W. Bush* received an estimated 40%.
- 2008: Democrat Barack Obama* received an estimated 67% of the Hispanic vote, while Republican John McCain received an estimated 31%.
- 2012: Incumbent Democrat Barack Obama* received an estimated 71% of the Hispanic vote, while Republican Mitt Romney received an estimated 27%.
- 2016: Democrat Hillary Clinton received an estimated 66% of the Hispanic vote, while Republican Donald Trump* received an estimated 28%.

Figure 1

- 2020: Democrat Joe Biden* received an estimated 65% of the Hispanic vote, while incumbent Republican Donald Trump received an estimated 32%.
 - o "*" denotes the victor of the contest.



Overall Hispanics have tended to support the democratic candidate in most U.S. presidential elections since 1972. However, there have been some exceptions, in *figure 1* readers can identify that republicans did especially well with Hispanics in 1980 and 1984 both were Regan cycles. In *figure 2*, readers can see that George W. Bush did extremely well with Hispanics comparatively. It would also be relevant to look at Donald Trump's two elections. Trump not only did better than Mitt Romney, someone who was seen as a moderate, but did better despite all his rhetoric about Hispanics.

Ronald Regan

There were several factors that contributed to Ronald Reagan's relatively high level of support among Hispanic voters in the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections:

- Conservative values: Many Hispanics are socially conservative, and Reagan's emphasis
 on traditional family values, patriotism, and individual responsibility resonated with
 them.
- 2. Economic policies: Reagan's emphasis on free-market capitalism and his promise to create jobs and stimulate economic growth appealed to many Hispanics who were struggling with poverty and unemployment.
- 3. Immigration: Reagan was seen as more favorable to immigration than his opponent, Democrat Walter Mondale. In 1986, Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, which provided a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants and increased border security.
- 4. Anti-communism: Many Hispanics who had fled communist regimes in Latin America saw Reagan as a strong opponent of communism and socialism.
- 5. Hispanic outreach: The Republican Party and the Reagan campaign made a concerted effort to reach out to Hispanic voters, including hiring Hispanic staff members and conducting outreach events in Hispanic communities.

Overall, the combination of Reagan's conservative values, economic policies, support for immigration, anti-communist stance, and Hispanic outreach efforts helped him to win a significant share of the Hispanic vote in the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections.

George W. Bush

Hispanic voters gave significant support to George W. Bush in the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections for several reasons:

- Compassionate conservatism: Bush's campaign emphasized the idea of "compassionate conservatism," which sought to combine conservative values with policies aimed at helping disadvantaged groups, including Hispanics.
- Immigration reform: Bush was seen as more supportive of immigration reform than his
 opponent, Democrat Al Gore in 2000, and Democrat John Kerry in 2004. In 2001, Bush
 proposed a plan to grant legal status to undocumented immigrants and increase border
 security.
- 3. Bilingual education: Bush supported bilingual education programs, which were important to many Hispanic families.
- 4. Economic policies: Bush promised to create jobs and improve economic opportunities for all Americans, including Hispanics.
- 5. Personal connections: Bush had a record of working well with Hispanic leaders in Texas, where he served as governor before his presidential campaign. He was also married to a Mexican American, Laura Bush, and spoke Spanish, which helped him connect with Hispanic voters on a personal level.

Overall, the combination of Bush's compassionate conservatism, support for immigration reform, commitment to bilingual education, economic policies, and personal connections with Hispanic communities helped him to win a significant share of the Hispanic vote in the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections.

Donald Trump

It is important to note that while Donald Trump received a higher percentage of the Hispanic vote in 2020 than in 2016, the majority of Hispanic voters still voted for his opponent, Joe Biden. However, there were still some factors that contributed to Trump's increased support among Hispanic voters:

- 1. Economy: Trump's administration oversaw a strong economy, with low unemployment rates and wage growth that may have appealed to some Hispanic voters.
- 2. Social conservatism: Some Hispanic voters are socially conservative, and Trump's stance on issues such as abortion, religion, and traditional values may have resonated with them.
- 3. Anti-socialism: Trump's campaign portrayed Joe Biden and the Democratic Party as socialist and anti-American, which may have resonated with some Hispanic voters who fled socialist regimes in Latin America.
- 4. Immigration policies: While Trump's hardline stance on immigration was a controversial issue among many Hispanics, some may have supported his efforts to secure the border and reduce illegal immigration.
- 5. Personal connections: Some Hispanic voters may have been swayed by Trump's personal outreach efforts to the Hispanic community, including his support for Hispanic business owners and his campaign events in Hispanic communities.

It is important to note that while these factors may have contributed to Trump's increased support among some Hispanic voters, many Hispanic voters also strongly opposed Trump's policies and rhetoric on issues such as immigration, race, and foreign policy.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Galbraith, Quinn, and Adam Callister. 2020. "Why Would Hispanics Vote for Trump? Explaining the Controversy of the 2016 Election." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 77-94. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0739986319899738.

Readers can see, by comparing the three lists of former presidents, that the popularity of Regan, Bush, and Trump within Hispanic communities was very similar. Economic policy as well as immigration reform were on all three lists. One must note that although immigration reform was a plus for all three, Trump's hardline approach most likely hindered garnering event more support.

2.8 HISPANICS AND LATINOS RUN FOR OFFICE

In recent years, there has been a growing trend of Hispanic representation in elected and appointed offices in the United States.

According to a report by the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials⁴⁵ (NALEO) Educational Fund, the number of Hispanic statewide elected officials in the United States increased by 14% between 2016 and 2018. This includes positions such as governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and secretary of state.

In the 2020 elections, several Hispanic candidates ran for statewide office, including Alex Padilla, who became the first Hispanic U.S. Senator from California, and Ben Ray Luján, who was elected to the U.S. Senate from New Mexico. There were also several Hispanic candidates who ran for governor, lieutenant governor, and other statewide positions across the country.

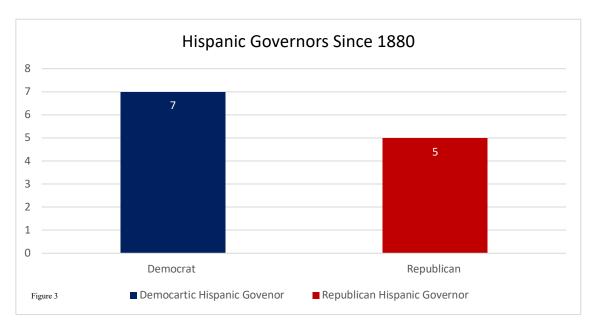
Overall, there does seem to be a trend of increasing Hispanic representation in statewide office in the United States, but the pace of this trend and the extent to which it continues may depend on various factors such as demographic shifts, political dynamics, and individual candidate qualifications and appeal.

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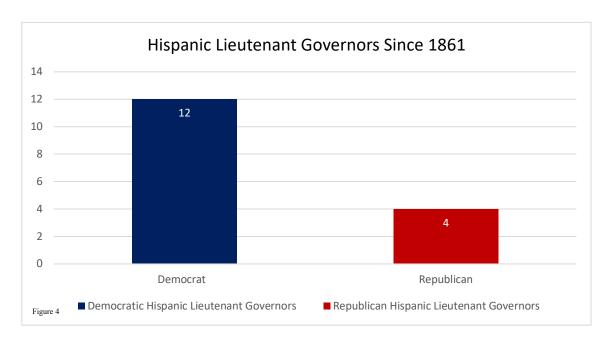
⁴⁵ National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund. n.d. National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). Accessed April 7, 2023. https://naleo.org.

Governors and Lieutenant Governors

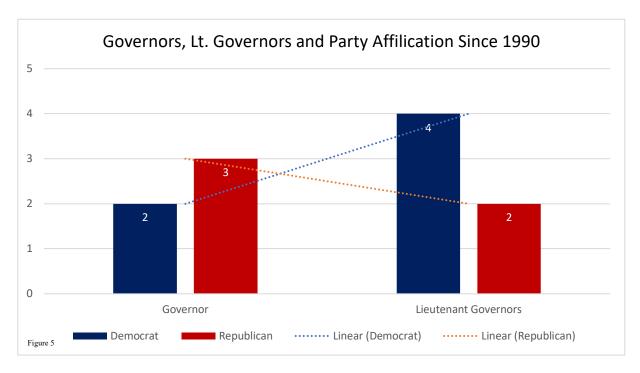
Historically, there have only been 12 Hispanic governors since 1880. In *figure 3*, one can see the break down by party affiliation.



In terms of Hispanic lieutenant governors, they have done slightly better historically with 16 holding the office since 1861. In *figure 4*, you can once again see the break down by party affiliation.



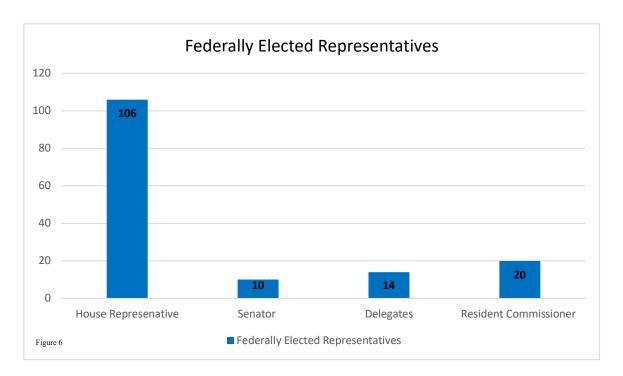
The following chart, *figure 5*, will show governors and lieutenant governors' and their affiliation since 1990. Make a comparison between this chart and the previous two. The contemporary data provides much different look at the data than the historical data points show.



One can make the same assumption regarding those running for office as are made for those voting. In more recent years we have seen Hispanics wanting to run for these executive roles within their state, although always not successful we have seen here but since 1990 there have been 11 Hispanic governors and lieutenant governors in the United States.

U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives

There has been in interesting trajectory regarding the party affiliation of federal representatives over the past couple of years. Since the very first elected federal Hispanic representative in 1821 there have been a total of 150. In the below figure, one can observe the spread of what positions these individuals have been elected to since the mid 1800s.



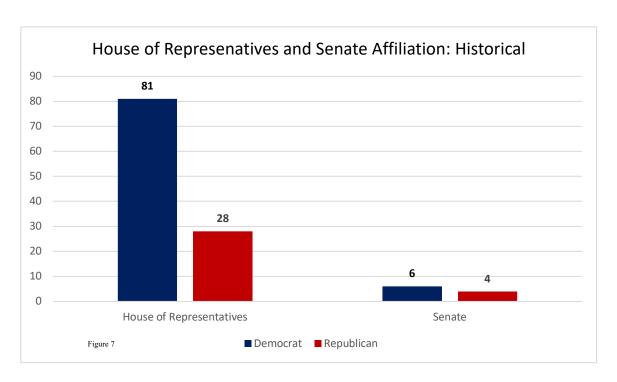
The Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico is a congressional Elected Official chosen by the People of Puerto Rico in each General Election to be their authorized representative before the Federal Government. The Resident Commissioner is a Member of Congress, with the right to participate in the proceedings of the U.S. House of Representatives, introduce legislation, and speak before the chamber on behalf of Puerto Rico's constituents. However: The Resident Commissioner may only vote in the Committees to which she or he belongs; the Resident Commissioner has no right to vote for the final passing of Bills (not even those related to Puerto Rico) nor for election of the Speaker or other officials; there is no apportionment of districts by population for this office, so the one single person in the office represents five times as many citizens as the average Member of the House. ⁴⁶

By looking at *figure 6*, one can see that a majority of elected members has been at the House of Representatives level. To see a precise look of party affiliation, *figure 7* provides a look at cumulative data on the House of Representatives and the Senate. ⁴⁷

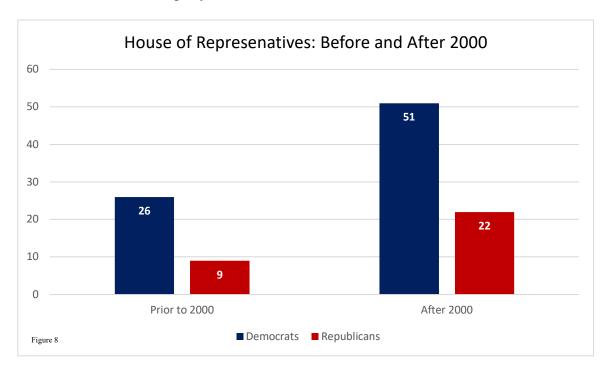
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⁴⁶ Congresswoman Jenniffer González-Colón. n.d. What is a Resident Commissioner? Accessed April 7, 2023. https://gonzalez-colon.house.gov/about/what-resident-commissioner.

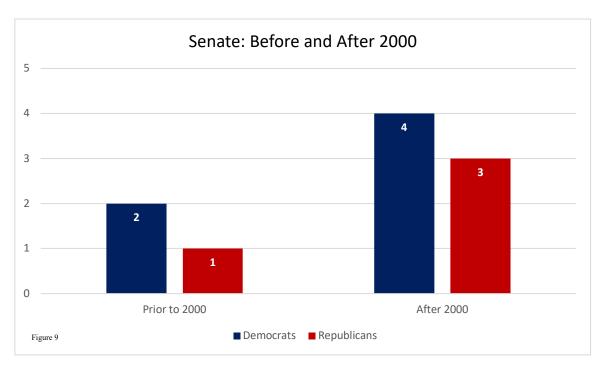
⁴⁷ Office of the Historian/Office of Art & Archives. 2023. Hispanic Americans in Congress. https://history.house.gov/People/Search?Term=Search&SearchIn=LastName&ShowNonMember=false&Office=&Leadership=&State=&Party=&ContinentalCongress=false&BlackAmericansInCongress=false&WomenInCongress=false&HispanicAmericansInCongress=false&HispanicAmericansIn.



When looking at cumulative data one would imagine that there is no way that Republicans in any way shape or form could catch up to Democrats but in *Figure 8* and *Figure 9*, we will be able to see party affiliation with the data break at 2000.



Prior to 2000 Republicans only made-up roughly 25% of the elected Hispanics in the House of Representatives. Since 2000, that number has increased to 31%. Although there is a slight change it's important to note this new make up within the members of Congress for the sake of this study.



In the Senate you could see a similar growth overtime. Prior to 2000 Republicans made-up 33% of the Hispanic senator population. Post 2000, Republicans now make 43% of the of the Hispanic senator population. When comparing pre and post 2000, Democrats doubled their number of seats while Republicans tripled them.

Overall, it seems as though Republicans are not only running for office, but they are winning elections. There has been steady growth of Republicans at the federal level over the past 20 years and it should be expected that this trend will continue. As the Hispanic and Latino population becomes denser in the United States more people will run as representatives of this coalition in the United States. An observation can also be made in *figure 5*, there have been more Republican governors that identify as Hispanic than there have been Democrats.

Why Run as a Republican?

Hispanic candidates, like any other candidate, may choose to run for office as a Republican for a variety of reasons. Here are some possible reasons why a Hispanic person may choose to run for office as a Republican:

- 1. Ideology: A Hispanic candidate may align more closely with Republican policies and values, such as smaller government, lower taxes, and a strong national defense.
- 2. Community issues: A Hispanic candidate may believe that the Republican party's policies and platform better address issues affecting their community, such as economic opportunity, education, and family values.
- 3. Personal background: A Hispanic candidate may have a personal background that aligns with Republican values, such as a history of entrepreneurship, military service, or faith-based leadership.
- 4. Party diversity: A Hispanic candidate may believe that the Republican party needs more diversity and representation from different communities, and therefore choose to run as a Republican to help broaden the party's appeal.
- 5. Partisan strategy: A Hispanic candidate may see running as a Republican as a strategic move in a particular race or region where the party has a better chance of winning, or where the political landscape favors Republican candidates.

It's important to note that party affiliation does not necessarily define a candidate's beliefs or identity. Hispanic candidates may have complex and multifaceted reasons for choosing to run as a Republican or a member of any other party, and their success in the election ultimately depends on their ability to connect with voters and convey their message effectively.

2.9 ARE HISPANICS BECOMING MORE CONSERVATIVE?

The Republican Party has been traditionally seen as the party of conservatism in the United States. However, over the past few decades, the party has faced challenges in attracting minority voters, particularly Hispanic Americans. Despite this, the Republican Party has made efforts to reach out to Hispanic voters, recognizing the growing importance of this demographic in American politics.

Hispanic Americans are the largest ethnic minority group in the United States, with a population of over 62 million. The Hispanic community is diverse, with roots from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. The majority of Hispanic Americans are Democrats, with over 60% of the population identifying as Democrats or leaning towards the party. However, there is a growing number of Hispanic Americans who are identifying as Republicans or leaning towards the party.

The Republican Party has recognized the importance of the Hispanic vote and has made efforts to appeal to this demographic. In the 2012 presidential election, the Republican Party nominated Cuban American Senator Marco Rubio as a potential vice-presidential candidate. The party has also focused on issues that are important to Hispanic Americans, such as immigration reform and the economy.

Despite these efforts, the Republican Party has faced challenges in attracting Hispanic voters. The party's stance on immigration has been a significant issue for many Hispanic Americans, with many feeling that the party's policies are anti-immigrant. Additionally, the party's focus on social issues, such as abortion and same-sex marriage, does not resonate with many Hispanic Americans, who tend to be more socially liberal.

This all culminates to one big question: Are Hispanics Becoming More Conservative?

The question of whether Hispanics are becoming more conservative is a complex one.

While there is evidence to suggest that a growing number of Hispanic Americans are identifying as Republicans or leaning towards the party, this does not necessarily mean that they are becoming more conservative.

One reason why Hispanic Americans may be identifying as Republicans is that the party's message is resonating with them on certain issues. For example, Hispanic Americans are more likely to be small business owners than the general population, and the Republican Party's emphasis on economic growth and small government may appeal to them. Additionally, Hispanic Americans tend to be more religious than the general population, and the party's emphasis on traditional values may appeal to them as well.

However, there are also reasons why Hispanic Americans may not be becoming more conservative. For example, the party's stance on immigration is a significant issue for many Hispanic Americans, and the party's position on this issue may push them away from the party. Additionally, the party's focus on social issues may also be a barrier for younger Hispanic Americans.

In conclusion, the relationship between the Republican Party and Hispanic Americans is complex. While the party has made efforts to appeal to this demographic, it has faced challenges in attracting Hispanic voters. The question of whether Hispanic Americans are becoming more conservative is also complex, with evidence suggesting that some are, but not necessarily all. The Republican Party will need to continue to make efforts to reach out to Hispanic Americans if it hopes to make gains with this important demographic in the future.

2.10 ANALYSIS: HOW COULD REPUBLICANS CAPTURE THE VOTE

I think that there have been many times historically and in contemporary times that the Hispanic vote could have been secured by the Republican Party. I do believe that we are starting to see a shift that might eventually lead into a trend. Trump had the support of the Hispanics in the 2016 election and grew his margins in the 2020 election. During his first term he had an amazing opportunity to really lock in that vote for years to come. He could have continued with his hardline stance on the border wall and anti-immigration to a degree, but he could have ensured a path to citizenship for everyone currently in the United States. He could have still been seen as the president of law and order but allowing people that are currently in the country that are here studying and working a path to secure their future. Many of these individuals already pay taxes and are giving back to their community in many ways. They tend to strongly volunteer within their communities whether it's at church or within organizations that represent their culture.

By throwing his weight behind the DREAM Act or creating a new program that could be more connected to him and his name as a republican this is a bloc that would have been secured. Since many of these Hispanics already believe in border security and conservative values you must package things better as a politician especially at the level of the presidency.

I also believe policy initiatives will be very important for the GOP moving forward.

Through many of the reports in chapter one, one can see that education tends to rank highly with voter issues within the Hispanic community. If for different tone is taken both within the sphere of immigration and education this vote may trend red. If more funding is provided by the current Republican House or in the next republican trifecta two school districts that need more support that are predominantly Hispanic, and more programs are created nationwide to help support first

generation students in achieving their educational aspirations you accomplished what everyone is sitting around questioning how to do.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Recommended Citation

Ramos, Alejandro. 2023. "The Great Realignment: Investigating the American Hispanic and Latino Vote." B.A. Thesis, Fairfield, Connecticut.

A Note on Terminology

The terms Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably in this report.

Introduction

Polling results on Hispanic and Latino affiliation and views in the 2023 Survey of Changes in Political Behavior of Hispanics. The survey was conducted among a representative sample of 250 Hispanic adults from December 13, 2022, to April 15, 2023. The overall analysis uses data collected to assess the changes within the Hispanic electorate.

This survey that was conducted over the course of four months had respondents in six states; Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Florida, California, and Texas. Respondents were asked to complete a quick survey provided to them in either of two languages: English and Spanish. In *Appendix A*, one can find all questions asked for the English survey.

The research approach used was quantitative as respondents were filling out a pre-created form that did not hold any open-ended questions. By using this numerical data, Analysis was able to be completed looking at many data points together. This also allowed for these data points to be compared against each other to see if there were any outliers in terms of respondents.

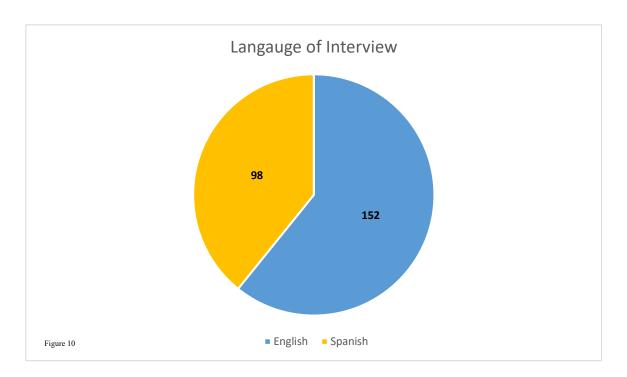
3.1 PARTICIPANTS

A wide range of diverse participants were used. Participants from every Hispanic country were used at least once in the survey process. A rather equal ratio of men to women completed the survey. 90% of be surveys were conducted in person while 10% of them were conducted via zoom. Although the form is self-sufficient and can be taken alone, it was decided that it would be best to have someone they are to accompany each individual participant as they take the survey.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The result of pertinent questions of the study conducted will be displayed in graphs with a descriptive body beneath.



The interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish. The option was given to participants so that they would feel most comfortable in answering the questions. Early on it was posed that it was important for people to really understand what questions were asking and if there was any type of language barrier that would cause a possible skew in the data. Out of 250 participants, 152 chose to respond in English whereas 98 chose to respond in Spanish.



To truly get representative data, it was important to do so in many states where the politics range. For example, when looking at New York Hispanics weren't only polled in New York City but also in suburbs throughout the state. It was interesting to choose two states that are traditionally more conservative versus the other four being traditionally more liberal and seeing the data that came out of each. The top three states were more liberal and yielded surprising results as we'll be able to see in the following graphic. From the 250 participants, 82 were from Connecticut, 72 from New Jersey, 40 from New York, 27 from Florida, 17 from California, and 12 from Texas.

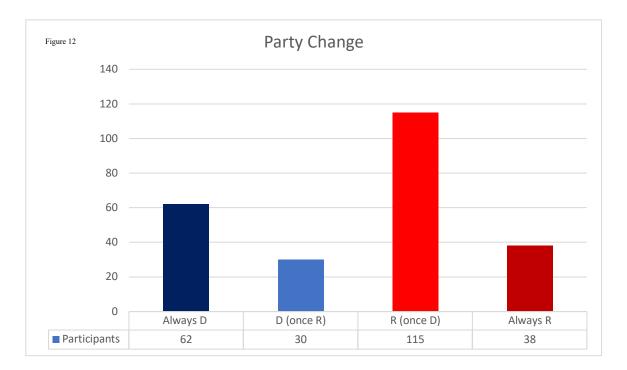
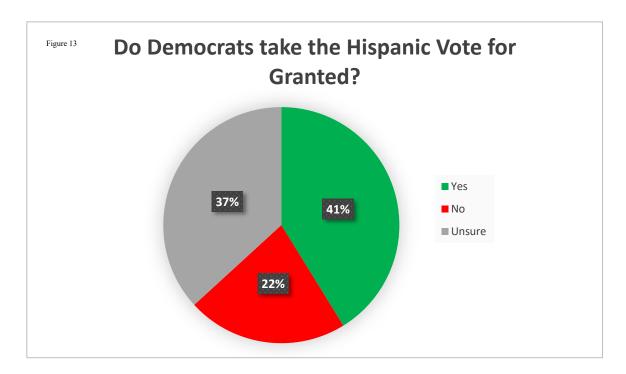
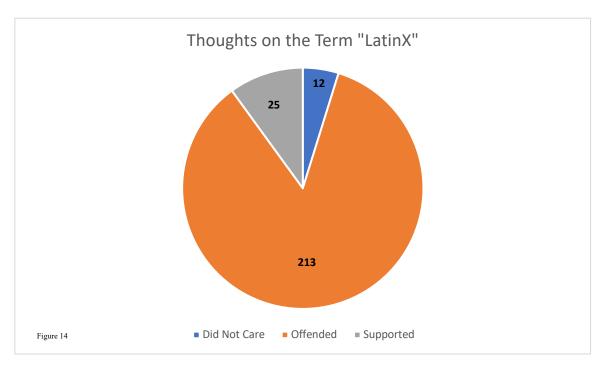


Figure 12 really gets into the core of the study. The entirety of this thesis can be simplified down to this question: Are Hispanics becoming more Conservative?

62 individuals claimed that they have always been Democrats whereas 38 saying they have always been Republicans. 30 responded that they were once Republicans and now identify as Democrats. On the opposing end, 115 individuals claimed that they were once Democrats and now identified as Republicans.



This question gauged thoughts of the Democrats. 41% of respondents believe that the party takes the Hispanic vote for granted whereas 37% were unsure and 22% did not believe so.



85% of participants thought of the term "LatinX" was offensive. 10% supported the idea and 5% did not care.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

After much research and data collection, it's hard to believe that the Hispanics in the United States are not becoming more conservative. We are beginning to see the start of a trend that will have lasting effects on American politics for years to come. As can be seen in figure 12, an astronomical number of participants were once Democrats and now identify with the Republican Party, 46%. An overwhelming majority thought of the term LatinX was offensive, and many went on to tell me how it was whitewashing their language and it was wrong to do. One went as far as saying, "these young woke liberals want to tell me that my gendered language is inappropriate or offensive to them. This is my culture, and I don't want anything changed take care of your own matters and leave mine alone." 41% of the respondents believe that the Democratic Party was taking the Hispanic vote for granted.

Issues that were important to these voters include the economy, crime and policing, legal immigration, gun policy, illegal immigration, and abortion. Listed in order of weight held in the survey. This list is very similar to other published research that was explored in the literature review.

Through the literature review and through many other sections of this thesis we were able to see that the Hispanic vote is not a monolith, contrary to popular belief and these perspectives on the vote are going to continue to change. Voters are going to stop voting for a party that does not represent them and their values. It was an upset to see Trump after all his rhetoric, gain even more support from Hispanics then previous elections.

If the Democrats don't begin to focus on what is important at heart for their voting constituents, they are going to lose them. Republicans need to take action on this trend and really

target these voters to take them into their party. A clear delineation needs to be made between the two parties and who is really going to have the best interests of these voters at mind.

I believe that by the year 2040, we will see a majority of the Hispanic population voting for the Republican Party in the United States. Pay attention to these voters and the trends and we will see a sweeping change occur.

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