

Latino Rejection of the Trump Campaign

How Trump's Racialized Rhetoric Mobilized the Latino Electorate as Never Before

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga

The 2016 presidential election was an unprecedented event for minority groups, and especially for Latinos, who were a political target of candidate Donald Trump's campaign rhetoric. In fact, on June 16, 2015, when Trump announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination, he condemned Mexican and Latin American immigrants: "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best . . . They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists . . . It's coming from all over South and Latin America." Candidate Trump did not stop there, but went on to criticize other GOP candidates based on their family connections to immigrants from Latin America, such as Jeb Bush, whose wife is a naturalized US citizen from Mexico, and Ted Cruz, whose father was born in Cuba (Schleifer 2015; Smith 2015). But that was not all: Trump also slammed prominent Latino political figures such as Susana Martinez, the first Latina governor of a US state and former chair of the Republican Governors Association, and federal judge Gonzalo Curiel, the US-born son of Mexican immigrants who oversaw the lawsuit against Trump University (Kendall 2016; Parker and Martin 2016). To say that Trump made Latinos and immigrants a focal point for his negative campaign rhetoric is, if anything, an understatement.

Critics of Trump, including leaders of the Republican Party, showed concern about the divisiveness of his campaign and the impact this might have on the prospects for engaging the Latino electorate well beyond 2016. A day after endorsing Trump, Speaker of the House Paul Ryan said that Trump's diatribe against Judge Curiel was "the textbook definition of a racist comment"

(Steinhauer, Martin, and Herszenhorn 2016; see also Wright, Merica, and Acosta 2016). Similarly, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell criticized Trump for being “routinely engaged” in attacks against Hispanics (Schleifer 2016). With its consistently combative campaign discourse against Latinos and other minority groups, the Trump presidential campaign was an eccentric event in US politics (Damore 2016; Elmer and Todd 2016; Pantoja 2016; Slaughter 2016; VanSickle-Ward and Pantoja 2016).

Trump also targeted immigrants with his policy proposals. He called for banning Muslim immigrants from entering the country, tripling the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) deportation officers, creating a “new special deportation task force,” and building a wall the entire length of the Mexico-US border to deter illegal immigration and drug trafficking (Diamond 2016; Holpuch 2016). If implemented, these projects would target not just foreign nationals from certain regions of the world, but also US-born citizens with ties to people from the Middle East and Latin America.

In light of the inflammatory rhetoric and racialized policy proposals that pervaded the 2016 presidential campaign, we examine how Donald Trump’s campaign resonated with Latino voters. Our primary data source is the 2016 Election Eve Poll conducted by Latino Decisions, a political opinion research firm with which author Gabriel Sanchez is associated. We also looked at Latino Decisions polls conducted earlier in the campaign. Situating our analysis within the academic literature on how campaigns affect voting behavior, we show how the growing racialization of the Latino electorate across multiple past elections allowed Trump to take hostility toward Latinos to a new level. We find that despite having won the presidency with 304 electoral votes, Trump had the lowest level of support, 18

GABRIEL R. SANCHEZ is professor of political science at the University of New Mexico and a principal for the research and polling firm Latino Decisions. Sanchez received his PhD in political science from the University of Arizona, and his research explores the relationship between racial/ethnic identity and political engagement, Latino health policy, and minority legislative behavior. Sanchez has provided political commentary to several state, national, and international media outlets, including NBC Latino, *The New York Times*, *La Opinión*, *The Economist*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, and National Public Radio.

BARBARA GOMEZ-AGUINAGA is a PhD student in political science at the University of New Mexico and a Health Policy Doctoral Fellow at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Center for Health Policy at UNM, where she studies political and health disparities of minority groups in the United States. Gomez-Aguinaga served as research and legal assistant in organizations such as the Migration Policy Institute, the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, and the New Mexico Immigrant Law Center. Her research looks at the effects of descriptive representation, particularly among immigrants and women of color.

percent, among the Hispanic electorate of any candidate in any presidential election (as measured by all polls conducted with a reasonable sample of Latino voters). Additionally, the polls estimate that there was a significant increase in Latino turnout from 2012 to 2016, especially in battleground states such as Florida and Nevada, suggesting that Trump's negative messages mobilized the Latino electorate. The rise in turnout across key states and historically low support for the GOP nominee suggest that this election could be a watershed moment in Latino politics. Will the 2016 outcome affect the GOP's ability to secure Latino support for GOP candidates in down-ballot races in 2018 and presidential races in the future? These are questions we tackle in this essay.

Historical Impact of Racialized Rhetoric and Policies on Latino Voting Behavior

Throughout US history, some presidential and gubernatorial candidates have proposed racialized policies or used negative discourse against racial and ethnic groups during their campaigns, albeit for different purposes. In the presidential election of 1964, for example, Barry Goldwater aimed to appeal to conservative voters and members of far-right interest groups (Hammerback 1999). One of his policy positions was to openly reject the principles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was supported by 54 percent of the US public and opposed by 28 percent (UConn Communications 2014). "I reject . . . executive actions which seek to provide opportunities for some by restricting or limiting opportunities for others," Goldwater said (Krock 1964). In this way, Goldwater became the unofficial spokesman for the emerging conservative movement that opposed the Civil Rights Act (Hammerback 1999; Taylor 2016).

Besides being a critical event for conservatives, the Goldwater campaign marked a historical turning point for African American voters. In 1964 Goldwater received only 6 percent of the black vote, compared to 32 and 39 percent for the Republican presidential candidates in 1960 and 1956 respectively. This was the start of a continuing trend, as Republican presidential candidates have not been able to win more than 15 percent of the African American vote in presidential elections since 1964 (Bositis 2012). Experts claim that the Goldwater campaign was one of the most consequential in US history in terms of the way it shaped emerging voting blocks (Middendorf 2006; Perlstein 2009; Howell and Lopez 2011; Yosso and Garcia 2007).

Like African Americans, Latinos have also been the target of racialized policies. For example, in 1994, Republican lawmakers from California introduced Proposition 187, also known as the “Save Our State” (SOS) initiative. In addition to denying welfare benefits, education, and medical care to unauthorized immigrants, it aimed to facilitate their deportation by forcing state employees to report them to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for removal (Alvarez and Butterfield 2000; Lee and Ottati 2002; Lee, Ottati, and Hussain 2001; Michelson 2007; McIlwain and Caliendo 2011). Although 59 percent of California voters supported this initiative, Proposition 187 “resulted in significant backlash and political mobilization among California Latino voters,” many of whom participated in rallies and challenged the constitutionality of the bill (Barreto 2013). Experts have argued that the perceived anti-immigrant sentiment in California in the 1990s motivated immigrants to naturalize, not only to protect their rights but also to gain a vote in future elections (Barreto et al. 2009; Pantoja, Ramirez, and Segura 2001; McIlwain and Caliendo 2011; Nowrasteh 2016; Varsanyi 2008).

Proposition 187 has been considered “the progenitor of all contemporary grassroots local and state anti-immigration legislation” (Varsanyi 2008). Although the measure increased political participation among Latinos in California and pushed the state’s politics to the left, these types of racialized initiatives have unfortunately spread across the country, especially since the Great Recession of 2007–9, targeting immigrants and racial minorities (Barreto and Sanchez 2014; Davidson 2009; Gómez-Aguinaga 2016; Hershey 2009; O’Leary and Romero 2011; Ybarra, Sanchez, and Sanchez 2016). This larger anti-Latino political climate provided the context that allowed the Trump campaign to take extreme measures to racialize the Latino community.

Immigration policy and policy proposals have long been a major factor driving the Latino vote, particularly in the last few election cycles. In 2000, Republican George W. Bush obtained 30 percent of the Latino vote with a campaign that promised to reform the US immigration system by improving the processing time of immigration applications, encouraging family reunification for legal permanent residents, and increasing border enforcement (Schmitt 2001). Although Bush failed to enact immigration reform in his first term, he won 40 percent of the Latino vote in his 2004 re-election (Lopez and Taylor 2012). In 2008 Barack Obama, a Democrat, won 67 percent of the Latino vote, promising to enact immigration reform with a path to citizenship for unauthorized immigrants. Although he was

unable to achieve that goal, in 2012 President Obama introduced Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), an executive order that provided a two-year reprieve from deportation and a work authorization to young unauthorized immigrants (USCIS 2016). Experts contend that despite the unprecedented number of deportations under the Obama administration in its first term, DACA helped President Obama retain and increase his share of the Latino vote in 2012. In that election, 75 percent of Latino voters cast a vote for President Obama, and 58 percent of the overall Latino electorate said that DACA made them “more enthusiastic about voting for Obama,” particularly in swing states such as Colorado and Nevada (Barreto, Schaller, and Segura 2016).

In the 2012 presidential election, Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney gained one of the lowest shares of the Latino vote in the past 30 years, just 23 percent (ImpreMedia/Latino Decisions 2012). During the Republican primaries, Romney proposed a strategy of “self-deportation,” by which he meant making the lives of unauthorized immigrants so unbearable that they would decide to go back to their home countries (Charen 2012; Thrush 2012). While Romney did not openly support state-level restrictive immigration policies such as Arizona SB 1070 and Alabama HB 56, he had earlier referred to Arizona’s immigration policies as “a model” for the nation (Balz 2012). Some experts have argued that Romney’s tough stances on immigration represented a problem for Latino voters, who, according to GOP fundraiser Ana Navarro, “were disillusioned with Barack Obama, but they are absolutely terrified by the idea of Mitt Romney” (Hamby 2012; see also Charen 2012). Clearly, past campaigns have deployed race-based appeals centered on immigration policy. This history of racialization of Latinos and immigrants set the stage for Trump’s campaign, which used some of the most toxic anti-immigrant rhetoric the nation had ever heard.

Latino Attitudes and Voting Behavior in the 2016 Presidential Election

We draw heavily from the Latino Decisions 2016 Election Eve Poll, which is, simply stated, the best data available for analysis of Latino voting behavior in the 2016 election. Taken in the final days before the election (November 2–7), the poll surveyed a random sample of 5,600 “high-propensity” Latino voters who reported either having already voted early or being certain to vote in the 2016 presidential election. It obtained state-specific results in twelve states, in addition to a fifty-state weighted

national result (Latino Decisions 2016c). Interviews were conducted online or over the telephone (both cell phones and landlines), in English or Spanish, depending upon the respondent's preference. The responses yield exclusive information about the Latino electorate, including presidential and Senate candidate choices, priority issues, and evaluations of both major parties. The national sample has an overall margin of error of ± 1.8 percentage points. Florida has 800 completed interviews and has a margin of error of ± 3.5 percentage points. In addition to Florida, eleven states sampled individually—Arizona, California, Colorado, Illinois, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin—have at least 400 complete interviews each, with a margin of error of ± 4.9 percentage points. For the remaining thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia, an additional national sample of 300 respondents was collected.

We also make use of the 2016 Latino Victory Project–Republican National Convention (RNC) Reaction Poll, as well as some other Latino Decisions pre-election surveys, to examine Latinos' responses to the RNC and to Trump's campaign over the course of the election cycle. The Latino Victory Project–RNC Reaction Poll is an online national survey of 1,200 Latino registered voters, conducted in English or Spanish, between July 18 and 21, 2016 (concurrent with the Republican National Convention); it has a margin of error of ± 2.8 percentage points (Latino Decisions 2016b).

Using this extensive data collection by Latino Decisions, we examine how Latino voters viewed Trump at various points during the campaign season and identify factors that help explain Latino voting behavior on election day.

LATINO ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

In the Latino Victory Project–RNC Reaction Poll, 72 percent of the respondents said that they had watched or followed the Republican National Convention in July 2016. However, the vast majority of them expressed negative reactions, not only to presidential candidate Donald Trump but also to the Republican Party (Latino Decisions 2016b).

Notwithstanding his bigoted rhetoric against Latinos and Latin American immigrants during his campaign, Trump constantly stated that he loved Hispanics and that Hispanics loved him back (Guadalupe 2016; Parker 2016). The results of the Latino Victory Project–RNC Reaction Poll show that these statements were false, with 88 percent of respondents stating that they did not love the Republican presidential candidate. Additionally, 80

percent of Latinos said that they had unfavorable views of Donald Trump, and when asked what words described the Republican nominee, more than 80 percent of respondents said that Trump was racist, unstable, foolish, and dangerous, and that he was a bully and made America more divided. But that was not all. Latino registered voters also held negative views of the Republican Party as a result of Trump's rhetoric. For example, 75 percent of respondents agreed that Trump made the Republican Party more hostile to Latino voters, and 85 percent said that both Trump and Republicans had worsened their image with Latino voters. Additionally, 59 percent of respondents said that the RNC showed that the Republican Party was more hostile to Latino voters than before. When asked how they would describe the Republican Party, more than 70 percent of respondents said that Republicans were anti-immigrant, angry, dangerous, and old, and had a negative attitude.

The results of the Latino Victory Project–RNC Reaction Poll clearly show Latino rejection of Trump's rhetoric against Hispanics. Moreover, they point to an increasingly negative perception of the Republican Party, which did little to stop the vicious attacks against Latinos, immigrants, and other minority groups. As we explore in the next section, these feelings translated into voting behavior, giving Trump the lowest support from Latino voters ever recorded for a presidential candidate.

IMPACT OF THE TRUMP CAMPAIGN ON LATINO TURNOUT

Let us begin our discussion with the growth of the Latino electorate in 2016 and the increase in overall enthusiasm and turnout. Latinos voted in high numbers and they did so early, outpacing early voting numbers from 2012 in essentially all key battleground states. In Florida, Latinos improved their early vote numbers from 2012 by nearly 90 percent (Cohen 2016; Diaz 2016; Fraga and Schaffner 2016; Latino Decisions 2016a). Additionally, as shown in table 1, more Latinos in Texas, Nevada, and New Mexico voted in 2016 than in 2012, and in specific counties the Latino vote went through the roof (Ralston 2016; Schwartz and Hill 2017; Texas Secretary of State 2016). In the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, for example, heavily Latino counties saw turnout increases of 4 to 10 percent over 2012. Likewise, predominately Latino precincts across Miami and Osceola Counties in Florida showed large increases in voter participation of 6 to 16 points. In New Mexico, majority-Latino precincts in Las Cruces showed consistent increases in voter turnout in 2016 over 2012.

Table 1. Latino Share of Electorate and Latino Turnout, Selected Precincts/Counties in Three States, 2012 and 2016

Precinct	Latino share of electorate (%)	2012 Latino turnout (%)	2016 Latino turnout (%)	Turnout change (percentage points)
Florida				
MD 309	97	60	66	+6
MD 342	96	60	69	+9
MD 410	97	59	65	+6
MD 322	95	64	70	+6
MD 416	95	64	71	+7
MD 388	95	55	74	+16
KISS 210	78	64	70	+6
KISS 200	69	62	68	+6
KISS 314	69	56	64	+8
KISS 411	71	60	68	+8
New Mexico				
DA 93	86	49	59	+10
DA 97	96	42	50	+8
DA 13	99	40	49	+9
VAL 24	94	40	47	+7
SF 79	87	56	63	+7
SM 17	91	38	42	+4
Texas (counties)				
Starr	96	45	47	+2
Jim Hogg	94	44	54	+10
Maverick	94	38	44	+6
Hidalgo	86	46	49	+3
Cameron	89	48	53	+5
Brooks	92	46	46	+6

Sources: Latino Decisions 2016 Election Eve Poll; impreMedia/Latino Decisions 2012 Election Eve Poll.

Note: As the source polls were conducted prior to the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, “turnout” refers to the percentage of Latino registered voters who reported either having already voted early or being certain to vote in these elections.

Polling by Latino Decisions throughout the election season indicated that the high level of enthusiasm among Latinos was driven largely by a desire to keep Trump from winning the election, something scholars have referred to as the “Trump Bump” (Mascaro 2016; Sanchez 2016). For

example, in the America's Voice/Latino Decisions National and Battleground State Poll, conducted August 19–30, 2016, respondents who voted in 2012 were asked whether they were “more enthusiastic about voting” in 2016 and whether they felt it was “more important” to vote in 2016 than in 2012. A robust 76 percent of respondents said it was more important to vote in 2016, and 51 percent said they were more enthusiastic about voting this time around. When those respondents were asked why they were more enthusiastic or felt it was more important to vote, the modal category in both cases was to block or stop Trump: 51 percent gave this reason to explain the importance and 47 percent to explain their enthusiasm (Latino Decisions 2016a).

Moreover, an amazing 53 percent of Latino respondents to the 2016 Election Eve Poll said they voted early, either by mail or absentee ballot (24 percent) or at an early voting location (29 percent) (Latino Decisions 2016c). This corroborates the early vote numbers reported before election day (Martin 2016; Sanchez and Barreto 2016).

The volatile comments made by the GOP nominee throughout the campaign season appeared to energize the Latino electorate. The Election Eve Poll confirms these trends, as 55 percent of respondents stated that Trump was “hostile” toward Latinos or Hispanics, and another 29 percent said he “does not care too much” about Latinos (fig. 1). In 2012 just 18 percent viewed Romney as hostile to them, with the majority (56 percent) merely stating that Romney did not care about Latinos. Furthermore, on this question Trump was viewed more negatively than the Republican Party overall, as 30 percent of Latinos in the poll felt that the Republican Party was hostile toward Latinos during the 2016 campaign. It is clear that Trump was viewed very negatively by Latino voters, and that this led to high enthusiasm and a collective goal to keep him from becoming president.

LOW LATINO SUPPORT FOR TRUMP

The huge turnout of Latinos coincided with the most lopsided vote choice among Latinos ever recorded. The results of the Election Eve Poll of likely voters indicate that nationally, Hillary Clinton dominated Donald Trump with an astonishing 79 percent to 18 percent advantage, with another 3 percent opting for one of the third-party candidates (Latino Decisions 2016c). This 61 percent gap is the largest that Latino Decisions polls have ever recorded, outpacing the 2012 Obama advantage over Romney (Segura 2013). Clinton's 79 percent is the highest level of Latino support

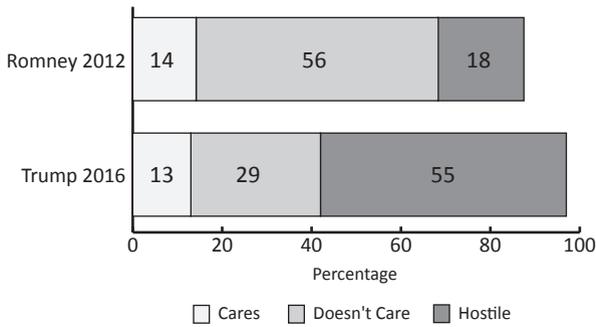


Figure 1. Latino Voters' Perceptions of Republican Candidates' Attitudes toward the Latino Community, 2012 and 2016

Sources: ImpreMedia/Latino Decisions 2012 Election Eve Poll; Latino Decisions 2016 Election Eve Poll.

Note: In 2012, respondents were asked: "Thinking about the 2012 campaign for president, would you say that Mitt Romney is someone who truly cares about the (Hispanic/Latino) community, that he doesn't care too much about (Hispanic/Latino)s, or that Romney is hostile towards (Hispanic/Latino)s?" In 2016, respondents were asked: "Thinking about the 2016 campaign, would you say that Donald Trump showed that he truly cares about Hispanic/Latino voters, that he does not care too much about Hispanic/Latinos, or that Donald Trump is hostile towards Hispanic/Latinos?" Percentages may not total 100 percent because nonspecific responses such as "don't know" were omitted.

for a presidential candidate ever recorded in Latino Decisions polls, and 18 percent for Trump was the lowest for any candidate.

When we look at variation across states, we see that Latino support for Clinton was as high as 88 percent in New York and well above 80 percent in every state except Florida. Even in Florida, where the two candidates were closest, there was a 36 percent gap, with Clinton at 67 percent and Trump at 31 percent.

As reflected in table 2, the only bright spot for Trump among Latino voters consisted of self-identified Republicans. As expected, partisanship is the factor with the greatest impact on presidential vote choice by Latinos during the 2016 election. There was essentially no crossover voting by self-identified Latino Democrats, as only 2 percent of them reported that they had voted or intended to vote for Trump. Conversely, 22 percent of self-identified Latino Republicans crossed over and supported Democratic nominee Clinton. Clinton also won the lion's share of Latino independent and "other" party respondents, with 65 percent favoring Clinton and 26 percent favoring Trump.

There was a small but meaningful gender gap in the vote choice of Latinos in the 2016 presidential election: only 12 percent of Latina

Table 2. Latino Party Identification and Vote Choice in the 2016 Presidential Election

	Vote for Hillary Clinton (%)	Vote for Donald Trump (%)	Clinton margin (percentage points)
All respondents	79	18	+61
Democrats	97	2	+95
Republicans	22	75	-53
Other	65	26	+39

Source: Latino Decisions 2016 Election Eve Poll.

Note: The survey was conducted November 2–7, 2016, with a sample of 5,600 high-propensity Latino voters who reported either having already voted or being certain to vote in the 2016 presidential election. Party identification is self-reported by respondents. Figures do not sum to 100 percent because third-party choices are not shown.

women voted for Trump, compared to 24 percent of Latino men (also see Monforti’s essay in this dossier). Education was one of the most discussed demographic factors in postelection analysis, with most of the focus on Trump’s support among low-educated whites. Although Latino support for Trump is low regardless of educational attainment, there is a 10 percent gap based on college education: 24 percent of college-educated Latinos voted for Trump, compared to 14 percent of Latinos without college education. Furthermore, and consistent with our suggestion that Trump’s campaign mobilized lower-propensity voters against him, only 11 percent of first-time voters cast their ballot for Trump, compared to 19 percent of Latinos who had voted in previous elections.

Generational status also had a pronounced effect on support for Trump, with only 13 percent of first-generation Latinos and 17 percent of second-generation Latinos voting for him; he won a more respectable 25 percent among the third generation. The generational status findings are reinforced by language, suggesting that the divisive comments Trump made about Mexican immigrants and immigration policy had a greater impact on support among Latinos who are closer to the immigrant experience themselves. While 21 percent of English-dominant Latino respondents voted for Trump, only 9 percent of respondents who completed the survey interview in Spanish cast their ballot for the Republican nominee. Finally, there were some notable differences in voting behavior by national origin. Latinos who trace their origin to the Dominican Republic were least supportive of Trump, with only 8 percent favoring him, while Cuban Americans were the most supportive, with 48 percent for Trump. Finally, 19 percent of

Puerto Rican respondents, 15 percent of Mexican American and Central American respondents, and 16 percent of South American respondents reported voting for Trump.

The high level of consistency found in the vote choice of high-propensity Latino voters over the full course of the election season reflects the fact that many Latino voters made up their minds quite early in the campaign. When respondents were asked in November 2016 which presidential candidate they would vote for, 21 percent said they had made this important decision over the summer, while 57 percent said they decided more than six months before. This reminds us that the clear distinction in immigration policy that emerged between Clinton and Trump very early in the campaign was critical in motivating many Latinos to decide their voting preference early as well.

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING THE LATINO COMMUNITY

The Latino Decisions Election Eve Poll also asked respondents directly, in an open-ended question, to name “the most important issues facing the [Latino/Hispanic] community that our politicians should address.” Respondents could name two issues as most important. The results reveal that immigration was the dominant issue on the minds of Latino voters as they cast ballots (Latino Decisions 2016c). More specifically, 39 percent of Latinos identified “immigration reform/deportations” as one of their top two issues, compared to 33 percent who chose “fix economy/jobs/unemployment.” As shown in figure 2, other top issues include education reform (15 percent), health care (13 percent), anti-immigrant or anti-Latino discrimination (10 percent), and stopping Donald Trump from becoming president (8 percent).

We have stressed that the prominent role of immigration in the minds of Latino voters is driven by their personal connection to the issue, and this poll confirms this trend, as 60 percent of high-propensity Latino voters of the 2016 election indicated that they have an undocumented immigrant in their personal network (Latino Decisions 2016c).

Immigration has been the dominant policy issue for Latino voters over the last two election cycles, and Trump’s insistence on building a border wall, along with his negative comments about Mexican immigrants, helped ensure that immigration would remain salient to Latinos in 2016. The high turnout among Latinos, coupled with the prominent role that immigration

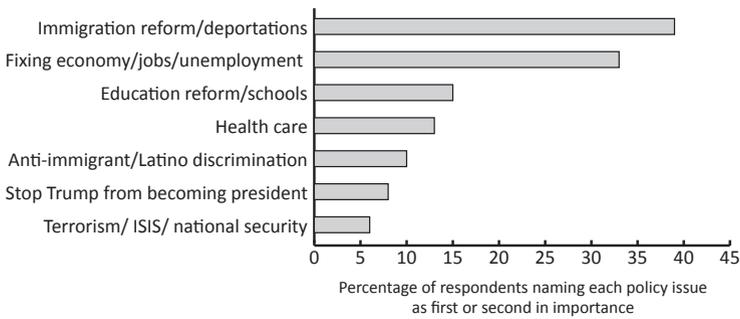


Figure 2. Most Important Issues Facing the Latino Community That Politicians Should Address

Source: Latino Decisions 2016 Election Eve Poll, weighted data.

Note: Respondents were asked the following question: “Thinking about the 2016 election, what are the most important issues facing the (Hispanic/Latino) community that our politicians should address?” This was an open-ended question in which respondents could name one or two policy issues.

policy played in both turnout and vote choice, strongly suggests that Latino voters will not be happy with the 2016 election outcome.

Looking Ahead: Trump’s Long-Term Impact on the Latino Electorate

It is clear from our data that Latinos outperformed expectations as a cohesive voting bloc against Trump in 2016 (Bennett and Lauter 2016; Enten 2016; Flaccus, Lush, and Irvine 2016). But unfortunately for them and for Clinton supporters at large, their votes simply did not matter enough to swing the election in the direction they desired. The literature on the racialization of the Latino population through hostile campaign rhetoric and punitive immigration policy platforms suggests that Trump should not have done well among this electorate. The Latino Decisions Election Eve Poll data bears this out, finding that the GOP nominee had the lowest level of Latino support ever recorded for a presidential candidate. Moreover, Latinos turned out with high enthusiasm, driven by a desire to keep Trump from winning. It is clear that Latinos thoroughly rejected the Trump campaign of hateful and divisive comments directed toward Latinos, immigrants, and other marginalized communities.

Does 2016 represent a high mark for Latino voter engagement, or was the election a milestone in a continuing trend toward increased Latino turnout in presidential races? Will Latino voters continue to reject

Republican candidates and trend strongly Democratic? The answers will hinge largely on whether President Trump attempts to repair a clearly damaged relationship with the Latino electorate during his first term in office. If the Trump administration and the GOP more broadly continue to alienate Latinos, this could mobilize more eligible Latinos to register and vote, and continue to push them toward the Democratic Party. With just one Latino in Trump's cabinet as of June 2017, a turn toward punitive immigration enforcement policies, and no letup in divisive rhetoric on the part of the administration, we see no reason to expect that the president will help rekindle a relationship between the GOP and Latino voters that could bolster the party's long-term success.

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