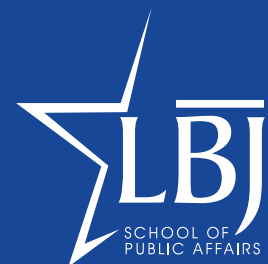


Understanding the Hispanic ote in 2008



Center for Politics
and Governance



Introduction

The Honorable Veronica Vargas Stidvent,
Director of the Center for Politics and Governance at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs

The Center for Politics and Governance at the LBJ School of Public Affairs is committed to improving the institutions of our political system. Our mission is to be the nexus of the theoretical and practical in the teaching of politics and political leadership – not simply how to master the existing system, but how to make it function more effectively to achieve better results. In achieving this mission, we have four objectives: 1) Integrate the study of politics, in both elections and governance, into the graduate professional education at The University of Texas at Austin; 2) Promote excellence in leadership and develop new leaders beyond the classroom through civic engagement, leadership development programs and community forums; 3) Become the premiere forum for ongoing discussions on significant issues and elevate the discourse beyond polarized talking points; and 4) Develop curricula and resources to help emerging leaders and policymakers understand the evolving role of Hispanic Americans in the political arena both in Texas and the nation.

The Center officially launched in September 2007 with our inaugural conference, “The Future is Now: the Impact of Hispanics on American Politics and Government.” At that time, it seemed unlikely that the Republican candidate who championed immigration reform would become that party’s presumptive candidate or that the Hispanic voter turnout in states like Texas could play a critical role in choosing the Democratic nominee. These scenarios were

difficult to predict, but they prove the continued relevance of the questions posed at our inception. What role will the growing Hispanic population play in American politics? Will that role have a lasting impact on policy development? Is it accurate to portray this demographic as being on the verge of realizing its economic and political potential? Is the “sleeping giant” a political myth? How should candidates and policymakers connect to the Hispanic population?

It is therefore fitting that we continue the conversation we began last fall by examining the Hispanic vote in the 2008 election cycle. It is always our goal to move beyond sound bites, to collect information and present reasoned analysis that furthers our understanding of the issues.

We are very grateful to the experts who have contributed to our discussion. They bring a wealth of experience and knowledge from the spectrum of policy and politics: government service, electoral politics, activism, and academia. Their papers, collected here, stimulate our thinking and continue the dialogue.

It is our hope that you will actively participate in this ongoing discussion and that the Center for Politics and Governance will help bridge ideas and actions to arrive at solutions for the way forward.

Best wishes,
Veronica Vargas Stidvent
Director

Latinos and the 2008 Election: Is the Momentum Building Toward the Finish Line?

Rosalind Gold, Senior Director for Policy Research and Advocacy, NALEO Education Fund

Executive Summary

With the 2008 general election less than seven months away, policymakers, political observers, the media and the public at large are showing an unprecedented interest in the potential of Latino voters to play a critical role in the election's outcome and the future political direction of the country. A number of events which have occurred since the last Presidential election have spurred renewed interest as to how Latinos will make their mark on Election 2008, including:

- Record Latino turnout in the 2004 Presidential election, and significant Latino gains in the U.S. Congress and state legislatures; and
- Other state and local political gains, including the widely publicized election of Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa in 2005.

With the advent of the 2008 Presidential election primary/caucus season, many policymakers, community leaders and advocates hoped that efforts to move state primaries earlier would result in Latinos and other under-represented voters having a more meaningful opportunity to affect the Presidential nomination process. Although precise data on Latino turnout in the primaries are not available, an analysis of exit poll data and other estimates suggest that Latino turnout reached record numbers in some states with significant Latino populations. These data also suggest that the Latino vote played a key role in the Florida Republican primary victory of Senator John McCain, and the California and Texas Democratic primary victories of Senator Hillary Clinton.

As the 2008 general election approaches, there are several factors that will affect Latino impact on the outcome of

the Presidential contest:

- The significant increase in Latinos seeking naturalization in 2006 and 2007 – the impact of these voters will depend on 1) whether the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services can process its backlog of naturalization cases so that applicants are eligible to vote in November 2008, and 2) the extent to which the newly-Latino naturalized have the relatively voter participation rates of Latino naturalized citizens nationwide;
- The effectiveness of Latino voter engagement and outreach efforts by candidates, political parties and non-profit organizations; and
- The extent to which the momentum of Latino mobilization around our nation's contentious political debate over the future of our immigration policy continues through the November 2008 Presidential election.

The outcome of the 2008 November election may be uncertain, but it is certain that Latinos will continue their journey toward full engagement in our nation's political life. The energy generated by the last two years of Latino mobilization provides the Latino community with an historic opportunity to significantly increase its impact in the political arena, not only on immigration policy, but on the broad range issues that concern all Americans, including education, the economy, and health care. Leaders, organizations, and Latino voters themselves must transform this energy into permanent political mobilization, bringing non-voters – and those who just reaching voting age – to the voting booth on Election Day.

Latinos and the 2008 Election: Is the Momentum Building Toward the Finish Line?

With the 2008 general election less than seven months away, policymakers, political observers, the media and the public at large are showing an unprecedented interest in the role of the Latino vote and the influence of the Latino electorate. Some view Latinos as a much sought-after electoral prize, some foresee the Latino potential to heavily influence the outcome of elections, and some recognize the Latino community's ability to steer the political direction of the country as a whole. In addition, the political mobilization of the Latino community since 2006 over the national debate on our nation's immigration policy has created a new momentum, but it is unclear whether it will translate into greater Latino turnout on Election Day in 2008. While this focus on the Latino voter is by no means new, a number of events which have occurred since the last Presidential election have spurred renewed interest and speculation as to how Latinos will make their mark on Election 2008.

The 2004 Presidential Election

As Latino participation has generally grown with each election since 1996, political candidates and parties have increased their efforts to reach Latino voters. The build-up to the 2004 general election, in which presidential candidates unveiled full-fledged campaigns to entice the Latino vote suggested that appealing to Latinos continues to be increasingly vital to a successful bid for a national office. Democratic Presidential primary candidates made unprecedented expenditures on Spanish-language media, and considerable sums of campaign resources by both President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry were allocated to court the Latino vote.

Voter turnout in Election 2004 also revealed the growing political presence of the Latino electorate. In November 2004, nearly 7.6 million Latinos cast a ballot across the nation – a 28% increase from the 2000 Presidential general election. While non-Latinos also voted in record numbers, the comparable increase from 2000 was only 13%. Additionally, Latinos made significant gains in public office with the election of Senator Ken Salazar in Colorado and Senator Mel Martinez in Florida – the first Latinos to serve their respective states in the U.S. Senate, and the first Latinos to serve in the U.S. Senate since 1977. Also in Colorado, former State Representative John Salazar was successful in his bid to represent Colorado's 3rd Congressional District, in doing so becoming Colorado's first Latino in the U.S. House of Representatives.

In state legislative lower houses, the number of Latino legislators increased from 161 to 171. Several states with smaller but burgeoning Latino populations – Connecticut, Michigan, and New Hampshire – each gained an additional Latino legislator, as did Arizona, California and New York. Two additional Latinos joined each of the state legislatures of Kansas, Utah, and Rhode Island.

“Latino Power:” Gains After 2004

In 2005, Latinos made one of the most noteworthy – and widely publicized – municipal political gains with the election of former California State Assembly Speaker and Los Angeles City Council Member Antonio Villaraigosa as mayor of Los Angeles. In his bid to serve as executive for the nation's second largest city – home to over 1.8 million Latinos – Mayor Villaraigosa defeated the incumbent Mayor Jim Hahn in a near landslide, garnering more than 58% of all votes cast. His success attracted tremendous publicity, not only because he is Los Angeles' first Latino mayor in more than a century, but also for his broad appeal beyond the Latino electorate. Mayor Villaraigosa's famous victory served as the feature article in *Newsweek* magazine on the political gains of Latinos across the nation – the cover featured the recently inaugurated Mayor behind the words “Latino Power” in large, bold type.

The growing political success of Latinos is not unique to the southwestern United States, but rather a nationwide phenomenon visible in all regions of the country. The final month of 2005 saw yet another milestone in Latino political progress, when New Jersey Governor John Corzine appointed then-U.S. Representative Bob Menendez to fulfill the remainder of his term as U.S. Senator (New Jersey's statewide offices are elected in “odd-numbered” years). Senator Menendez joined the U.S. Senate as only the sixth Latino to ever serve in the nation's upper house, and the first Latino to represent New Jersey in the Senate.

In November 2006, Senator Menendez was elected to serve his first full-term in the U.S. Senate. On the state level, there was a modest increase in the number of Latinos serving in state lower houses (from 178 to 180). This growth was primarily due to gains in states with “emerging” Latino populations, rather than in the traditional centers of Latino population. In the nine states with traditional Latino population concentrations (Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Texas), there was a total net loss of one seat in lower state houses. However, in the other states, there was a net gain of three seats.

The 2008 Election Primary Season

As the 2008 Presidential election primary/caucus season approached, many policymakers, community leaders and advocates hoped that efforts to move state primaries earlier would result in Latinos and other under-represented voters having a more meaningful opportunity to affect the Presidential nomination process. These proponents argued that under the primary/caucus schedule of 2004, voters in states such as New Hampshire and Iowa had an undue influence on the nomination process, and that these states did not reflect the diversity of the nation's population. For example, according to 2006 Census data, nine out every ten people in Iowa and New Hampshire are non-Hispanic White, 91% and 94% respectively. In contrast, California and Texas – the nation's two most populous states, whose 2004 primaries were held much later in the election season – are far more diverse. In both states, less than half of the population is non-Hispanic White – in California, only 43%, and in Texas only 48%.

For the Latino community, the changes in the primary/caucus schedule did in fact provide an opportunity for a significant share of the nation's Latino voters to participate in early primaries or caucuses. At least 62% of the Latino registered voters in the nation were from states which held their primaries or caucuses on February 5 ("Super Duper Tuesday") or earlier (Figure 1).

In an interesting political development, as a result of the competitiveness of the race for the Democratic Party Presidential nominee, the early primaries were not decisive, and later primary and caucus states emerged as critical to the Presidential nomination contest. Thus, Texas, with its March 4 primary, and the nation's second largest population of Latino registered voters, became a key battleground.

Figure 1: Latino Registered Voters in Selected "Early" 2008 Primary or Caucus States

State	Total Registered Voters	Latino Registered Voters	% Share of State Electorate	% Share of Total U.S. Latino Electorate
Arizona	2485000	354000	14.2%	3.8%
California	14193000	2455000	17.3%	26.4%
Colorado	2307000	204000	8.8%	2.2%
Florida	8219000	924000	11.2%	9.9%
Illinois	6437000	343000	5.3%	3.7%
New Jersey	4085000	331000	8.1%	3.6%
New Mexico	936000	316000	33.8%	3.4%
Nevada	965000	83000	8.6%	0.9%
New York	8624000	754000	8.7%	8.1%
Total	48251000	5764000	14.2%	62.0%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2004*.

Figure 2: Latino Voting Registration and Share of Election 2008 Primary Voters for Selected States

State	Latino Share of Registered Voters	Latino Share of Votes Cast	
		DEM	GOP
Arizona	13%	18%	7%
California	20%	30%	13%
Florida	14%	N/A	11%
Illinois	7%	16%	5%
Nevada	11%	15%	8%
New Jersey	9%	11%	4%
New Mexico	32%	35%	N/A
New York	11%	9%	4%
Texas	25%	32%	10%

Source: Voter Contact Services Voter Registration Data, CNN 2008 Exit Polls

As a result of the significant Latino presence in early primary states, the competitiveness of the Democratic Party nomination contest, and the growing political influence of the Latino electorate, Democratic candidates made unprecedented efforts to woo Latino voters. Both Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama actively pursued endorsements from Latino elected officials, and those officials campaigned throughout the nation for their candidates. Both candidates used Spanish-language media extensively in their campaigns, and deployed their field operations to target Latino voters. In the critical battleground of Texas, the Democratic contenders made personal appearances in several areas with large Latino communities, including Austin, Corpus Christi, El Paso, Houston, the Lower Rio Grande Valley, and San Antonio.

While precise figures on Latino turnout in the Election 2008 primary season are difficult to obtain, exit poll data and other estimates suggest that there may have been record Latino turnout in some states. Based on CNN exit poll data, in certain states where Latinos have traditionally affiliated

with the Democratic Party (such as Arizona, California, Illinois, and Texas), the Latino share of Democrats who voted in the state primary was significantly larger than their overall share of all registered voters (Figure 2). According to data from the New Democratic Network, Latino Democratic turnout in some states with large Latino populations grew substantially between the primaries of 2004 and 2008 (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Latino Turnout in Democratic Primaries, for Selected States, 2004 and 2008

State	Total Latino DEM Turnout			Latino Voters as Share of Total Turnout		
	2004	2008	Change	2004	2008	Change
Arizona	37846	77466	105%	17%	18%	1%
California	438152	1235119	182%	16%	29%	13%
Florida	64156	209990	227%	9%	12%	3%

Source: New Democratic Network

Additionally, exit poll data suggest that Latinos played a key role in the Republican primary victory of Senator John McCain in Florida and the Democratic primary victories of Senator Hillary Clinton in California and Texas.

Florida: In Florida, Senator McCain’s margin of victory over Governor Mitt Romney was 96,829 votes, or 5% of all of the Republican votes cast. According to network news exit polling, Governor Romney actually edged out Senator McCain among Florida Republican Whites, by 34% to 33%. In contrast, 54% of Florida Latino Republicans favored Senator McCain, compared to 24% for Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and 14% for Governor Romney.

California: In California, Senator Clinton received 51.5% of the Democratic vote compared to Senator Obama’s 43.2%. According to network news exit polls, among California White Democrats, Senator Clinton’s margin of victory over Senator Obama was much narrower – 46% to 45%. In contrast, California Latino Democrats favored Senator Clinton over Senator Obama by 67% to 32%.

Texas: In Texas, Senator Clinton’s margin of victory among all Democrats was even slimmer than her margin in California – she received 50.9% of the vote, compared to Senator Obama’s 47.4%. According to network news exit polls, Texas Latino Democrats favored Senator Clinton over Senator Obama by 66% to 32%.

The Latino Vote in the 2008 General Election

In light of the role played by Latino electorate during the 2008 primary season, it seems likely that both parties will actively woo Latino voters for the general election. There are several trends that will affect the impact of the Latino vote in November. First, since 2006, there has been a significant increase in the number of legal permanent residents seeking U.S. citizenship, many of whom are Latino. According to data from the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), in federal Fiscal Year (FY) 2006, 730,642 newcomers submitted naturalization applications. That number nearly doubled to 1.4 million in FY 2007.

The potential impact of the dramatic increase in Latino naturalization applications on

Election 2008 primarily depends on two factors. First, it is unclear how many of the Latinos who applied for U.S. citizenship in FY 2006 and 2007 will actually become naturalized in time to vote in November. The USCIS currently estimates that it

will take 13–15 months to complete the processing of naturalization cases filed since the summer of 2007, which could leave around 1 million applicants mired in the naturalization backlog and unable to vote in the Presidential contest.

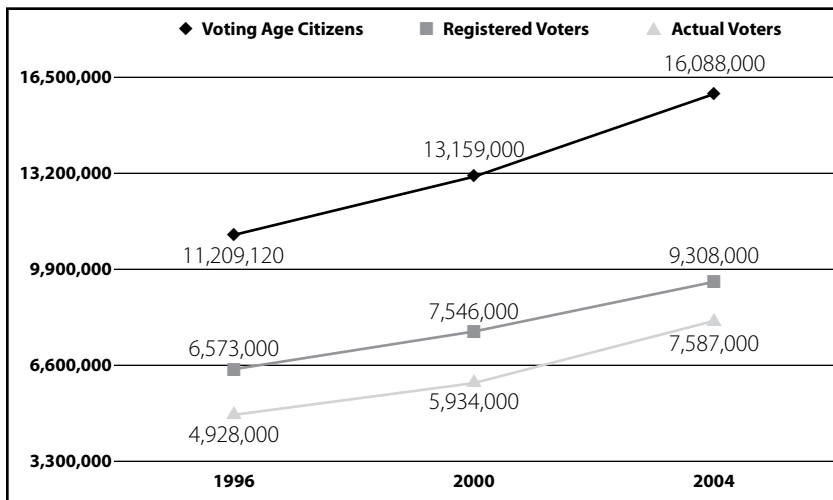
In addition, it will be interesting to see whether Latino naturalized citizens – including those who are voting for the first time in November 2008 – continue to have higher turnout rates than the Latino native-born, as they have in recent Presidential elections. For example, according to U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey (CPS) data, in November 2004, 54% of voting-age Latino naturalized citizens cast ballots, compared to 46% of the voting-age Latino native-born; in 2000, the comparable turnout rates were 50% for the Latino naturalized and 44% for the Latino native-born.

For all Latinos, both naturalized and native-born, the extent to which candidates, political parties and non-profit organizations mount effective voter engagement campaigns will be critical to achieving substantial growth in Latino turnout. In 2004 and the 2008 primary season, candidates and parties significantly increased their outreach to Latino voters through political advertising, and in their field operations. It is likely this trend will continue, with both parties developing strategies to target Latinos.

In the non-profit arena, our organization is part of an historic partnership to increase Latino civic participation – *ya es hora ¡Ve Y Vota!* (“It’s time – Go and Vote!”). Our partners in this non-partisan effort include Spanish-language media (Univision, ImpreMedia and Entravision). Our other national partners include Mi Familia Vota and the National Council of La Raza. Our efforts will include an unprecedented non-partisan Get Out The Vote (GOTV) field campaign, targeting Latino voters in 11 key states in the general election. In addition, we will continue to operate a toll-free bilingual hotline that Latinos can contact to obtain general information about voting, such as the location of their precinct, polling site hours, and voter registration procedures.

Effective Latino civic engagement and outreach efforts are particularly critical for Election 2008 because Latino voter

Figure 4: Latino Registration and Voting in Past Presidential Elections



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Voting and Registration in the Elections of November 1996 - 2004*.

participation rates continue to lag behind those of non-Latinos. According to CPS data, in November 2004, the Latino voter registration rate was 58% compared to 73% for non-Latinos; the Latino turnout rate of registered voters was 82% compared to 89% for non-Latinos.

Moreover, while the number of Latino voters has increased significantly in recent Presidential elections, the number of eligible Latinos continues to grow as well. According to CPS data, the number of Latinos who voted rose from 4.9 million in November 1996 to 7.6 million in November 2004, an increase of 54%. Between the same two elections, the number of Latinos eligible to cast ballots (voting-age U.S. citizens) also grew substantially – from 11.2 million to 16.1 million, an increase of 44% (Figure 4).

Finally, the last two years have seen the mass mobilization of Latinos in response to our nation’s contentious political debate about the future of our immigration policy. As starkly anti-immigrant rhetoric and legislation moved through the halls of Congress, Spring 2006 saw over one million Latinos move to the streets in organized protest against the potential legislation, culminating in a national day of boycott on May 1. In 2007, there was renewed Congressional debate, ending with a legislative stalemate over efforts to achieve comprehensive immigration reform. Our states and localities have also become battlegrounds

over immigration policy, with several states, counties and cities enacting anti-immigrant measures.

The mobilization of the Latino community during the current immigration debate is often likened to the mid-1990s, when the passage of California’s Proposition 187 and other anti-immigrant measures at the federal level a spurred a dramatic increase in Latino naturalization and political participation. The intensity of the current debate has already had an impact on Latino naturalizations in recent years; many of the Latino legal permanent residents seeking U.S. citizenship are motivated in part by the desire to make their voices heard in the

political process. However, it is unclear how – and how much – of the energy produced in reaction to this debate will translate into Latino political action during the 2008 Presidential election. Moreover, the potential growth of Latino political participation that may result from this watershed moment should be viewed in the context of the steady political gains made by Latinos in the last two decades. The mobilization of the Latino community around the immigration debate may serve as a catalyst for the continuing momentum of Latino political progress.

The outcome of the 2008 November election may be uncertain, but it is certain that Latinos will continue their journey toward full engagement in our nation’s political life. Latinos will continue to vote in greater numbers, and the number of Latinos elected to public office will continue to grow. The energy generated by the last two years of Latino mobilization provides the Latino community with an historic opportunity to significantly increase its impact in the political arena, not only on immigration policy, but on the broad range issues that concern all Americans, including education, the economy, and health care. Leaders, organizations, and Latino voters themselves must transform this energy into permanent political mobilization, bringing non-voters – and those who just reaching voting age – to the voting booth on Election Day.

Democratic Candidates Spent Millions of Dollars on Univision, Telemundo Stations this Year

Initial Findings: Spanish-Language Advertising in the 2008 Presidential Campaign

Adam J. Segal, Founder and Director, Hispanic Voter Project at Johns Hopkins University

The Democratic presidential candidates spent millions of dollars on Spanish-language television ads, likely setting records for individual and combined Democratic expenditures in a presidential primary season. By combining original research, interviews and news reports, the Hispanic Voter Project at Johns Hopkins University estimates that the Democratic presidential candidates spent more money – at least \$4 million – on Spanish-language television advertising this cycle, outpacing total spending in 2000 and total primary spending in 2004.¹

Three factors have likely contributed to increased spending on Spanish-language appeals: a front-loaded calendar and extended process featuring states with large Hispanic populations, a very competitive Democratic contest, as well as record candidate fundraising and overall spending. The two remaining Democratic candidates have continued to create and air Spanish-language ads as the Democratic primary contests have dragged on, with attention now turned to Pennsylvania and eventually Puerto Rico.

Meanwhile, Republican candidates also aired Spanish-language ads during the primaries and the likely party nominee's campaign has just released his first general election Spanish-language TV spot.

This information is the result of a research project that involved interviews with TV station managers, visits to TV stations to review the public political files, as well as Internet and news media research.

Early Start

The first Spanish-language advertisements of the 2008 presidential election cycle were launched in the summer of

2007. Illinois Senator Barack Obama's radio spots, which followed an effort by then-candidate and New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, went up on Spanish-language radio stations in Reno and Las Vegas, Nevada.² Nevada would be the earliest state with a large Hispanic population to hold a presidential caucus.

In December, New York Senator Hillary Clinton's campaign released a Spanish-language radio³ spot in Iowa and New Hampshire as well as a web video⁴ aimed at Hispanic voters and intended to generate media attention in later primary states.⁵

Not long after, Senator Obama's campaign promoted two TV spots created for the Nevada caucuses. The spots *Something is Happening*⁶ and *Hope*⁷ were also posted to the Obama website and to YouTube. The YouTube videos have been viewed more than 7,000 and 10,000 times respectively, according to the public site statistics for "views".

A Clinton TV spot, that started airing in Nevada in January, was titled *La voz de los que no tienen voz* (*The voice of the voiceless*).⁸

Not to be forgotten, Republican presidential candidates aired Spanish-language radio and TV ads during the primary season. Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney,⁹ former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani¹⁰ and Arizona Senator John McCain all aired these spots in Florida. The *CandidatoUSA* blog reported that Giuliani aired "Spanish-language radio and Spanish-language television ads in heavy rotation" in Miami.

Super Tuesday

Ira Teinowitz, a veteran reporter with *Ad Week*, was the first to report¹¹ that "the two candidates together spent nearly \$2



million on advertising in Spanish-speaking media” in California in advance of the Super Tuesday Democratic primary there. He also reported, first, that “TNS Media Intelligence’s Campaign Media Analysis Group reports that prior to Texas, a total of \$2.6 million had been spent on Hispanic media during the campaign in all states.”

In February, the Clinton campaign released a Spanish-language spot with former Housing Secretary and former San Antonio, Texas Mayor Henry Cisneros who urged

Hispanic voters to take advantage of early voting.¹²

Senator Clinton’s campaign spot *Nuestra Amiga* (*Our Friend*) ran in important Super Tuesday states Arizona, California, Connecticut and New York.¹³ That spot was posted to YouTube, where it has been viewed more than 15,000 times. The Clinton campaign issued a press release stating the spot would air in “13 markets all across Texas.”¹⁴ That month, the *Los Angeles Times* reported the Clinton campaign was spending millions of dollars on Spanish language ads. The paper reported consultant Sergio Bendixen crafted the messages.¹⁵

In California, the Obama campaign ran a TV spot *Gutierrez* featuring Chicago Congressman Luis Gutierrez and Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts.¹⁶ Obama’s Hope spot also reportedly ran in Los Angeles in advance of the primary there.¹⁷

In February, two Spanish-language spots created by an Obama supporter — who started the group Amigos de Obama — attracted national media attention.¹⁸ One spot “Viva Obama 2008” featured a Mexican mariachi band and has been viewed nearly 500,000 times on YouTube. An earlier web video and reggaeton song “Como se Dice” have been viewed around 130,000 times on YouTube.

Texas

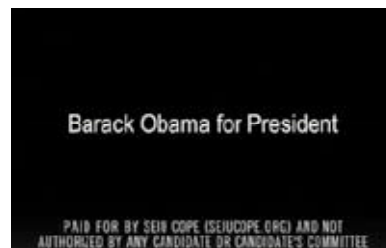
By many accounts, the most aggressive and spirited fight for the Hispanic vote occurred in Texas. Advertising in Texas got off to a fast start as soon as national attention turned to the state. In late February, Teinowitz reported an early blast of \$400,000 in Spanish-language paid media by the presidential candidates. And, this month, the Hispanic Voter Project was able to confirm more than \$1.8 million in total Spanish-language TV ad spending on Univision, Telemundo and TeleFutura stations in Texas, including an Obama campaign buy of nearly \$400,000 on Spanish-language stations in San Antonio.¹⁹ The Clinton campaign spent around \$730,000 and the Obama spent about \$970,000 in the state. In Texas the two Democrats also placed spots on Azteca America stations in at least five markets, according to a company spokesperson.

In Texas, the Obama campaign aired a spot titled *Como Padre*.²⁰ The spot was posted to the Obama website and to YouTube, where it has been viewed more than 4,000 times.²¹ The campaign also aired a Spanish-language radio ad in eight media markets across the state.²²

Also of interest, the Houston Chronicle’s David Barron reported the Obama campaign placed ads on LATV the bilingual Hispanic entertainment cable network, operated locally by Houston NBC station KPRC.²³

Independent Groups

Independent groups played a supportive role to the Obama campaign according to the JHU analysis. The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Committee on Political Education (COPE) was most active, airing over \$100,000 in pro-Obama TV ads in some major Texas media markets. UNITE HERE, another union, was active with radio ads that harshly attacked Clinton.²⁴ Thus far, there are no indications how these unions might invest in general election communications targeting Hispanic voters.



General Election

Senator John McCain’s campaign released its first general election TV spot aimed at Spanish-speaking Hispanic voters in New Mexico.²⁵ The spot, “624787” *Spanish*, attracted some national and international media attention. The ad, adapted from a general market commercial, is posted on YouTube and has been viewed more than 1,400 times.



With candidates in both parties committing their campaigns to Hispanic voter outreach at this early stage, the nation may see large-scale Spanish-language advertising in some of the key battleground states between now and the November election.

Figure 1: Presidential Primary Spanish TV Advertising in Texas, Feb./March 2008

City	Network	Clinton	Obama	SEIU COPE
San Antonio	Univision KWEX	87465	330000	36274
San Antonio	TeleFutura KNIC	4120	16970	0
San Antonio	Telemundo KVDA	37400	33200	0
Dallas/Ft. Worth	Univision KUVN	90630	29750	30481
Dallas/Ft. Worth	Telemundo KXTX	16110	10000	0
Houston	Univision KXCN	224880	190285	N/A
Houston	Telemundo KTMD	34035	37060	4500
McAllen	Univision KNVO	68280	97935	13320
McAllen	Telemundo KTLM	16755	27840	3505
Laredo	Univision KLDO	49995	69480	0
Laredo	TeleFutura KETF	255	945	0
Corpus Christi	Univision KORO	11762	18215	0
Corpus Christi	Telemundo KAJA	6720	7340	0
Austin	Univision KAKW	49705	0	16985
El Paso	Univision KINT	24500	82325	20950
El Paso	TeleFutura KTFN	6000	6465	0
El Paso	Telemundo KTDO	1350	9475	830
Subtotals		729962	967285	126845
Total Estimate		\$1,824,092		

Source: Hispanic Voter Project at Johns Hopkins University

About the Author: Adam J. Segal is the founder and director of the Hispanic Voter Project at Johns Hopkins University where he is a faculty lecturer in the Master's in Communication Program. He received his MA in Government from Johns Hopkins University and his BA in Political Science from The George Washington University. He is frequently sought out by national media organizations and has been interviewed by NBC Nightly News, CNN, MSNBC, NPR, Univision, Azteca America and CN8 among others. Segal is president of The 2050 Group a multicultural public relations and advertising agency in Washington, DC. The agency services non-profit and corporate clients. Segal may be reached by e-mail at adamjsegal@jhu.edu or by phone at (202) 422-4673.

Notes:

- 1 The JHU Hispanic Voter Project found just over \$3 million spent by Gore/DNC and Bush/RNC on Spanish-language TV advertising in the entire 2000 cycle. <http://advanced.jhu.edu/academic/government/hvp/HispanicReport.pdf> Previous HVP research may be found at <http://advanced.jhu.edu/government/hvp>
- 2 <http://www.lvrj.com/news/9169357.html>
- 3 <http://www.hillaryclinton.com/files/audio/hillaryiowa5esp.mp3>
- 4 <http://www.hillaryclinton.com/video/78.aspx>
- 5 http://www.statesman.com/blogs/content/shared-gen/blogs/austin/immigration/entries/2007/12/12/hillary_clinton_releases_spani.html
- 6 http://nevada.barackobama.com/page/content/nv_something_ad
- 7 http://nevada.barackobama.com/page/content/nv_hope_ad
- 8 <http://youtube.com/watch?v=wMI7tSiuDil&feature=related> http://www.nvdemscaucus.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=395&Itemid=31
- 9 <http://youtube.com/watch?v=xR7IYhto80>
- 10 <http://youtube.com/watch?v=cF1PmqzEAo4>
- 11 http://www.tvweek.com/news/2008/02/spanishlanguage_stations_benef.php
- 12 <http://www.hillaryclinton.com/news/release/view/?id=6075>
- 13 <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/01/29/clinton-aspires-to-be-an-amiga/>
- 14 <http://www.hillaryclinton.com/news/release/view/?id=5940>
- 15 <http://www.latimes.com/news/politics/la-na-latinos2feb02,1,5411075,full.story>
- 16 http://my.barackobama.com/page/content/ca_gutierrez_ad
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Understanding the Hispanic Vote in 2008

Dr. Jason Casellas, Assistant Professor of Government, University of Texas at Austin

In the last several presidential elections, presidential candidates have made efforts to reach out to the growing Latino population. President Bush's "Viva Bush!" campaigns in 2000 and 2004 helped him capture nearly 40 percent of the Latino vote in his second term re-election bid. Sen. John Kerry's (D-MA) "Unidos con Kerry" campaign was aimed at targeting Latino voters in key states such as New Mexico and Florida. Indeed, this battleground state included significant Latino electorates, and in the case of New Mexico, was ultimately decided by about 7,000 votes. New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson (D) ran for president in 2008 but ultimately did not gain traction in Iowa and New Hampshire. Richardson had served in Bill Clinton's cabinet in several capacities, and counted him as a friend (they even watched the Super Bowl together). In March, however, Richardson endorsed Sen. Barack Obama (D-IL) fueling consternation and disbelief among the Clintons and their surrogates. In fact, Clinton confidante James Carville likened Richardson to Judas Iscariot, the apostle who betrayed Jesus for thirty pieces of silver.

Latino voters once again became the object of media interest in the Democratic primary, which features Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) and Obama. Because of the unprecedented nature of the first serious woman and African-American candidate competing for votes, many have speculated about which direction Latino voters would pursue given these two options. Some argue that Latinos are unwilling to support female candidates because of the "machismo" in the community, while others have argued that Latinos would be unwilling to support African-American candidates. We must be careful about making these broad claims, as some data below will show

how these simplistic analyses are not always so simple.

In recent Democratic primaries in Texas and California, Latino voters did help Sen. Clinton win the popular vote. In both states, according to exit polls, Sen. Clinton captured nearly 2/3 of the Latino vote. In particular, Latinas were slightly more likely to vote for Clinton than their male counterparts. Just as Sen. Clinton has performed better among older voters, the same is true for older Latinos. In particular, nearly 80 percent of Latino voters over 65 voted for Sen. Clinton in Texas and California. While Sen. Clinton won in both states among Latinos below thirty years of age, the margin was much narrower. This indicates that Latinos exhibit the same trends as the electorate writ large in terms of age and gender. In Texas, however, the "two-step" primary and caucus system helped Obama capture more delegates because he won the caucuses, which occurred later in the evening. In California, pollsters had predicted a tighter race between Obama and Clinton, yet Latino voters provided a convincing margin of victory for Sen. Clinton's campaign. Because Democratic primary rules in California did not involve a "winner-takes-all" system of allocating delegates, the delegate count has remained fairly close with Obama holding an overall delegate lead.

On the Republican side, Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) clinched the nomination after winning Florida's winner take all primary, in which Cuban Americans strongly supported his bid. Because of McCain's more liberal position on immigration, some have speculated that he might be able to match President Bush's performance among Latinos in 2004 or even exceed it, especially if the Democratic infighting continues in its current form. Had Gov. Mitt Romney or a candidate with a more restrictive tone on

immigration emerged, it arguably would have been more difficult for Republicans to match the support President Bush attained in his re-election bid. In that sense, Republicans are in a better position electorally among Latino voters, yet at the same time, the Republican “brand name” has taken a severe hit in places like California, where many of the harsh anti-immigrant rhetoric has been perceived as anti-Latino rather than anti-immigrant per se. This, coupled with overall discontent concerning the war in

Iraq and economic fears, should make 2008 a Democratic year. Sen. McCain might be able to overcome these obstacles to the extent that he can distance himself from the Bush Administration and capitalize on the Democratic infighting and potential weaknesses of both Sens. Clinton and Obama. In a year marking the unprecedented, we should not be surprised at any unforeseen developments between now and November

Synopsis of 2008 Election Observations

The Honorable Richard Peña Raymond, Texas State Representative

An early supporter of Senator Hillary Clinton for President, I campaigned throughout the state for her candidacy, concentrating my involvement in South Texas. I also campaigned in Nevada during its caucuses earlier this year. (I am running for re-election, did not face a primary election opponent and have only a Libertarian opponent in November.)

The Texas Democratic Party this year enjoyed a historic turnout of almost two million voters across the state – keeping apace with voter interest generating record turnouts throughout the country. Webb County and South Texas were no exception. The unsettled race for the Democratic presidential nomination had no apparent impact on local races except for producing high voter participation rates.

Replicating the interests in the issues resonating in other parts of the country, voters in Texas responded to the rising cost of gasoline; immigration; lack of health insurance; the war in Iraq and the problems related to sub-prime lending. The unpopularity of President Bush drove voter interest. The people would be glad if the general election was sooner than November and a new President inaugurated long before January 20, 2009.

Voters in my area are convinced Democrats can again win statewide races, win back a majority in the Texas House of Representatives and make gains in the Texas Senate – even though the Republican presidential nominee has won Texas in every election beginning in 1980. I agree with these assessments.

Were voters across the board to engage as heavily in November as they did in March and if voter performance among traditional Democratic constituency groups remains high – accompanied by swing voters moving to support Democratic candidates – the results in Texas might surprise the experts.

Few question that Senator John McCain and the Republican Party will spend much time, effort or resources in Texas. I expect even less of an effort in South Texas. The unanswered question is whether the Texas Democratic Party, supported by the Democratic National Committee, can take advantage of increased voter participation in 2008 to build for 2010 and 2012.

I will be very active helping Texas Democrats move in the direction of ending ruinous Republican rule that has so harmed Texas, the nation and the world.

How the Media, Pundits, and Politicians Get the Latino Vote Wrong and Why Do They Continue to Do So?

Andy Hernandez, Executive Director of the Wesley Center for Family and Neighborhood Development

There are two opposing forces at work in the newsroom. One seeks to provide information to the public, reporting the facts as they are. The other seeks to gain ratings and market share to maximize profit, irrespective of the facts. The latter, often the prevailing force, has discovered that more people tune in when news stories focus on conflict and tensions. More often than not, the conflict narrative is hailed when reporting on the Latino vote even if it means distorting the facts, leaving the public woefully misinformed.

In reporting on the 1994 vote in California on proposition 187 prohibiting undocumented immigrants to receive state public health and education services, the *Los Angeles Times* reported in its lead story that Latinos had voted in favor of it. The problem with this story was that the *LA Times'* own exit poll showed that 77% of Latinos voted against it. More than a decade later, national political commentators are still claiming that Latinos voted in favor of proposition 187. So was born one narrative that is persistent today – native born Latinos are hostile to undocumented immigrants. This narrative persists in spite of pervasive evidence to the contrary.

KVOA News 4 in Phoenix, Arizona, featured an on-line story with the headline, “Latinos Divided on Immigration Issue.” This conclusion was supported by a 2005 national survey of Latinos conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center. The body of the story went on to say, “Though 88% of foreign-born Latinos favored allowing illegal immigrants to earn citizenship, a smaller number of U.S. born Latinos, 78%, said illegal immigrants should be allowed to do so.” Generally when one thinks of a group as being divided, one assumes that half the group is taking a position that the

other half opposes. In this case, a majority of both foreign-born and native-born Latinos favored allowing immigrants to earn citizenship. There was a small difference within the group, but it's not one which could be accurately reported as a divide. A difference does not make for a divide.

The fact of the matter is that the news media chooses to invoke the conflict narrative when reporting on the Latino vote even if it misleads the public and perpetuates inaccuracies and falsehoods. This has been the case for numerous aspects of the Latino vote, from the issue of immigration to the 2008 presidential primary to Bush's 2004 performance.

Immigration and the Latino Vote

The media has developed numerous conflict narratives about the Hispanic community around the issue of immigration. Report after report suggests immigration as a divisive issue for Latinos or as the primary decisive issue in elections. Let's examine each of these closer.

Exploring the Latino Immigration Divide

The news media continually reports immigration as a divisive issue among native born and foreign born Latinos voters. There is only scant evidence to suggest that these groups differ on immigration policy. The Pew Hispanic Center's 2007 National Survey of Latinos found the following:

- Sixty-four percent of native born Latinos said illegal immigrants helped the economy. A two to one margin over those who felt it hurt the economy.
- Only 29% of native born Hispanics felt that illegal immigrants negatively affected Latinos. Sixty-three percent felt it had no impact or actually helped.

- Sixty-three percent of native born Latinos disapprove of workplace raids by the INS.
- Seventy-four percent of native born Latinos do not support active involvement of local police in immigration enforcement.

Likewise, a Texas poll of 500 registered Latino voters found that 63% favored either amnesty or earned legalization. Only 6% favored declaring illegal immigrants felons and deporting them. The facts reveal that by two to one margins native born Latinos favor progressive immigration reform, giving little support to the narrative that immigration is causing a divide among Latinos.

Immigration as a Decisive Issue in Elections

Immigration is often reported as a decisive issue in elections, either as an issue that drives the Latino vote or as a wedge issue that pushes voters to support or oppose candidates or parties. In both instances while partially true, it is often overstated.

Immigration as Driving Issue for Latino Voters: Latinos often get pigeonholed as immigrant issue voters. Immigration is the prism through which Latino votes are presented and perceived. Yet, survey after survey, exit poll after exit poll, it is clearly demonstrated that while immigration issues may color the voting decisions of Latinos, they do not in isolation, create them. A pre-election survey of likely Latino voters sponsored by the National Council of la Raza and the National Association of Latino Elected Officials found that education, the economy, jobs and the War in Iraq as the major issue concerns of Latino voters. Only 9% ranked immigration as a major concern. More recently in a immigration survey of likely voters by Peter H. Hunt and Associates undertaken in January 2008, again the economy, jobs, the War in Iraq and healthcare were issues that were most important in the elections for Congress and the President. Only 12% mention illegal immigration as the most important issue.

Immigration as Wedge Issue: Just about every election cycle for the last decade immigration is touted as a make it or break it wedge issue for candidates and parties. It's yet to happen. One only has to look at the historical progression of candidates' position on the immigration issue to see how the issue has played out.

- 1994 – California's Republican Governor Pete Wilson campaigns for Proposition 187 that would deny state services to illegal immigrants. It passes by large margin. Within a decade this formerly purple state turns dark blue.
- 1996 – Republican Presidential candidate Bob Dole

runs against President Bill Clinton as being soft on illegal immigration. Dole loses in a landslide election. President Clinton wins 7 out of 10 Latino votes.

- 2000 – Texas Governor George W. Bush wins the Republican nomination as the anti-Pete Wilson Republican. Receives a significantly higher share of the Latino vote than Bob Dole.
- 2004 – President George W. Bush identifies with immigration reform wing of the Republican Party in his re-election bid.
- 2006 – Republicans attempt to use immigration as a wedge issue against Democrats in congressional, senatorial and gubernatorial races. Republicans still get wiped out, embarrassingly so in congressional races where the issue was prominently featured.
- In Arizona, two strong and loud voices for get tough measures against immigration, Randy Graf and hardliner John David "J.D." Hayworth, lose their seats to Democrats. Even the House Immigration Subcommittee chair, John Hostetler from Indiana loses by a wide margin.
- Immigration reform Republican John McCain becomes the presumptive Republican nominee for president.

Indeed, immigration as wedge issue has proven to be a rather lame one.

Latino and African-American Tensions: Situational or Structural

Barack Obama's inability to win the Latino vote has been attributed by some analysts to Latino voters' unwillingness to support an African-American candidate. The conventional wisdom that Latinos and African-Americans are opposed to each other, do not support each other, and are generally divided is a narrative that has been around since opinion elites discovered Latinos around 25 years ago. So this story of conflict has been around for quite some time. But the more factual narrative of perceived shared interests, joint issue agenda setting, and reciprocal electoral support is seldom told.

When Latinos are asked in surveys who is the most discriminated against group in the nation, they do not say themselves – they say Blacks are the most discriminated. When Latinos are asked, who do they have more in common with, White or African-Americans, they say African-Americans. Additionally, Latino and African-American elected officials vote with each other more often than not. And, they tend to vote more for each other than is generally recognized. The media is fond of this conflict narrative that

is rooted in the reality of competition between African-Americans and Latinos. Latinos and Blacks do compete for jobs, political power, cultural acceptance, neighborhood turf, and public attention. They compete with each other, Whites and other minorities. Which group doesn't? This situational competition gets translated into permanent ethnic and racial conflict in a way that it does not for White groups that compete with each other. For instance, White men and White women compete for similar things yet we never hear of anyone coming to the conclusion that this competition represents permanent conflict between the sexes in voting behavior. No one has made the argument that White women will not vote for White men.

Such an argument can't be made because there is enough empirical evidence, beyond the occasional anecdotes, to suggest otherwise. The same is true for Latinos and African-Americans. The pundits who make the public claim that Latinos haven't voted for Obama because Latinos won't vote for a Black candidate have overlooked the obvious. In Obama's Democratic primary race for U.S. senate in Illinois, he ran against prominent Latino leader Gery Chico. Obama took 70% of the Latino vote in that race.

Incidentally, it was not the first time Latino voters have supported African-American candidates in Illinois or the nation. There is actually a long history of such support. In the 1990's, Senatorial candidate Carol Moseley-Braun, an African-American woman, took 83% of the Latino vote. Chicago mayor Harold Washington took 80% of the Hispanic vote and represents one of many African-American mayors who won because of their support from the Latino community. In Texas, Democratic Senatorial candidate Ron Kirk took over 70% of the Latino vote against a popular Republican incumbent John Cornyn. The list goes on.

The Generational Political Divide: Latinos Voting for Obama and Clinton

If some of the pundits, reporters and political commentators are to be believed, Latinos are divided over immigration, Latinos and African-Americans are divided politically, and there exists another division — a generational political divide within the Latino community made evident in the Obama vs. Clinton match-up.

The conventional wisdom or media narrative has been that Obama is winning young Latino voters while Clinton is winning older Latino voters. A week before the 2008 primary vote in Texas, producers for both ABC and NBC News called and e-mailed community leaders respectfully requesting assistance in finding a Latino family to profile

in a news story. Specifically they were on the hunt for families where the parents were supporting Clinton and their children backed Obama. This was the narrative that the media wove about the Latino vote in Texas — families divided on generational lines. There was only one problem with this story, there was no empirical evidence to support such a claim. Actually, according to the exit polls, a majority of young Latinos voted for Clinton. Moreover, an exit poll analysis of Hispanic voting preferences in Super Tuesday Democratic primaries found that 62% of Latino voters ages 17-29 voted for Clinton. In Texas, 52% of Latino voters under the age of 30 voted for Clinton. Obama has yet to win a majority of Latino youth. Clinton is still ahead among this group.

It is true that younger voters are more likely to vote for Obama than older Latinos, however differences in voting patterns do not make for a divide until one group votes for what the other does not. A majority of both older and younger Latino voters are voting for Clinton over Obama.

An interesting side note is that Obama runs the strongest among Latinos who are highly educated, affluent, single, Protestant and young. He also fares well with Latinos who never attend religious services. Clinton's base in the Latino community is among seniors, working class, Catholics, and regular church worshippers

Latino Support for George W. Bush in 2004

A 2004 national exit poll conducted on behalf of a consortium of news organizations reported that Bush captured 44% of the Latino vote. Soon thereafter, the Pew Hispanic Center and a group of Latino political scientists, with extensive research on Latino political behavior, critically reviewed the exit polling methodology and the Latino sample, and compared it with other pre and post election polls. Both groups concluded that the 44% figure was overstated. The Pew researchers took exit poll results of all the states, aggregated the Latino vote and concluded that the Latino vote for Bush was closer to 40%. Dr. David Leal and colleagues wrote that the 2004 national exit poll mistakenly depicted the Latino support for Bush. They too reported the 44% figure as overstated. What was particularly troublesome was the fact that 10 pre-election polls and one post election poll had Democratic candidate John Kerry beating George Bush by a two to one margin. Moreover, the exit polls done by the William C. Velasquez Institute also had Kerry beating Bush by two to one margins. Strong evidence had surfaced that there was a number of statistical issues with the originally reported 44%.

The national exit poll ultimately got wrong what it was

designed to get right — the national vote for president. The poll showed Kerry winning the election and winning critical states like Ohio and Florida. As we know, Kerry lost by significant margins. If the poll's findings were inaccurate in this regard, why should we assume that a much smaller Latino sub-sample of that same survey be right? When all is said and done, the Latino vote for Bush was not more than 40% and probably not less than 35%. Yet, 44% remains the number that the pundits profess on the Sunday morning talk shows and that the media uses for comparison in the upcoming 2008 election.

Why the Media Gets it Wrong

There are a number of reasons the media and others get it wrong when it comes to the Latino vote. Some of it has to do with folks simply not doing their homework. Another reason is the tendency to view Latinos as a darker version of Whites or a lighter version of Blacks, and not to take Latinos on their own terms. Latino voting or attitudes are viewed through these narrow prisms rather than through a window of Latino experiences. Of course, this is related to folks tending to go with what they already know rather than what they need to learn about.

Because reporting news is just that — finding something *new* to say — the emphasis is always on the differences,

because it gives reporters something different and therefore *new* to report. These differences then get interpreted as divisions. The same can be said of academic research where findings that don't reveal significant differences are given less attention.

But it is the realities of the news room, where conflict is currency, that makes getting the Latino vote wrong easy. Not just easy, it's practically necessary. So in 2008, we will likely continue to hear the narratives that Latinos are divided: native born vs. foreign born, Black vs. Latino, young vs. old, Republicans vs. Democrats. It is simply the media's way.

Here are some thoughts on how the media can get it right:

- Before you claim to be an expert in Latino voting, consult some Latino experts.
- It's OK to report differences as long as you contextualize how and if these difference matter.
- Do your homework. There is a wealth of information that exists. Find it and use it.

Indeed, there is a wealth of information on Latino voting and opinion. But it requires both the desire and determination to find the data and the dedication to mine it. Moreover, it takes diligence to report it accurately.

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