



vWilliam C. Velásquez Institute

Memorandum

To: Concerned Parties

From: Antonio Gonzalez, WCVI President

Date: Nov 12, 2015

Re: The Latino Vote in 2016: Early Presidential Primaries and Caucuses in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and Florida; and California

Background

The results of the US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series in 2014 (hereafter CPS Survey) sets the context for early presidential primaries in Latino-oriented states like Arizona, Texas, and Florida. This report analyzes and compares CPS Surveys from 2010, 2012 and 2014. It makes projections for 2016 as well.

WCVI has conducted analysis of the CPS Surveys since 2008. These studies are available on www.wcvi.org.

Summary

WCVI's analysis of recent Latino electoral data shows that federal and state elections during 2000-14 have reconfigured the pecking order of Latino voting in certain states.

While historically California and Texas have been leaders in Latino voting, the lack of partisan state and federal electoral competition and political investment in Latino voters in these states has begun to depress Latino rates of registration and turnout and the share of state votes cast and registration represented by Latinos. This decline, unless promptly addressed by Latino leadership will diminish chances for Texas and California Latino voters to elect candidates of choice to the US Senate and Governor in elections in 2016 and 2018.

Conversely four new "stars" of Latino voting have emerged due to significant investment and hot elections and hot issues in Florida, Colorado, Nevada, and Arizona. These states show massive and rapid growth in Latino voter registration and turnout both in raw number and percentage and most importantly rapid growth in the state share of Latino registered voters and votes cast.

If these trends persist Latinos will wield unprecedented influence in setting Presidential primary agendas (and in deciding Presidential victors in Nov).

Moreover continued massive and rapid Latino voter growth in the "new four stars" is rewriting state partisan trends and politics and giving birth to a new class of statewide Latino elected officials as Latinos reach critical voting mass.

Arizona stands unique in that its rise to prominence is not based on outside investment or competitive federal elections but owes its success instead to a grassroots movement that successfully resisted local anti-immigrant politicians and laws. This is reminiscent of California Latinos' experience in the 1990's with the fight against

the anti-immigrant Proposition 187. The Arizona experience is a harbinger of national Latino voter mobilization if leading Republican Presidential aspirant Donald Trump wins the nomination. Trump has risen to prominence based in part on his characterization of Mexican undocumented persons as “criminals and rapists” and has promised, if elected, to build a US-Mexico border wall and deport 11-12 million undocumented persons.

The Latino Vote in 2016 in the Early Presidential Primaries and Caucuses in Latino-oriented States

Finding 1: Latino Voter Participation in Swing States Grew Far More than the US Latino Average in the 2000-14 period

As a preface to this finding it should be noted that growth in Latino voting has far surpassed the national average during 2000-14 by ratios ranging from about 4 to 1 in Presidential cycles to about 10 to 1 in midterm cycles.

A. Latino and All Voter Growth 2000-12, 2002-14

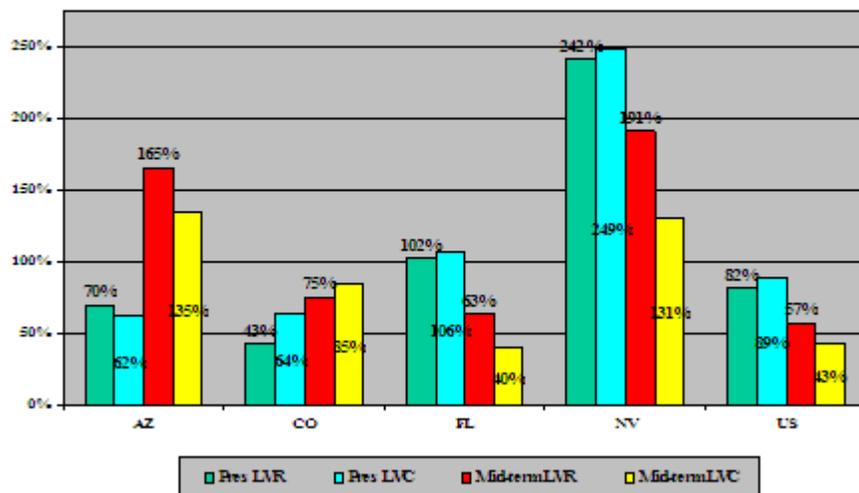
	Pres VR Gr	Pres VC Gr	MT VR Gr	MT VC Gr
Latino	81.5%	88.5%	56.9%	42.7%
US Total	21.3%	20.0%	10.9%	3.8%

Latino voter participation in swing states far outstrips the national Latino average.

Intensive Presidential election

n competition and robust partisan investment in registering and turning out the Latino vote resulted in significant growth in Latino voting in Presidential cycles in three consensus swing states with significant Latino voter populations: Florida, Nevada, and Colorado. Florida has been considered a “battleground state” since 2000; Nevada since 2004 and Colorado since 2008.

I. Selected State Rates of Growth in Latino Registration and Votes Cast, 2000-2014



Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

Latino voter growth in Florida and Nevada was far above the national Latino average. Florida Latino voter registration grew 102% from 2000 to 12 and Nevada registration grew 242%, while the national Latino average was 82%. Moreover Florida Latino votes cast grew 106% from 2000-12 and Nevada votes cast grew 249%, while the national Latino average was 89%.

In Mid-term cycles the pattern for each state diverged as Latino participation was dependent more on state races and issues. Nevada again far outgained the Mid-term national average with a gain of 191% in Latino voter registration during 2002-2014 and 131% in Latino votes cast against the US total of 57% Latino voter registration growth and 43% Latino votes cast growth.

Swing state Colorado also grew impressively in Mid-term cycles with 75% and 85% Latino voter registration and votes cast growth respectively during 2002-14. In both Nevada and Colorado hot races for US Senator and Governor appeared to have driven significant resources into the states and piqued Latino voter interest in 2010 and 2014.

Conversely, in Mid-term elections Florida Latinos tracked the national Latino growth average during 2002-14.

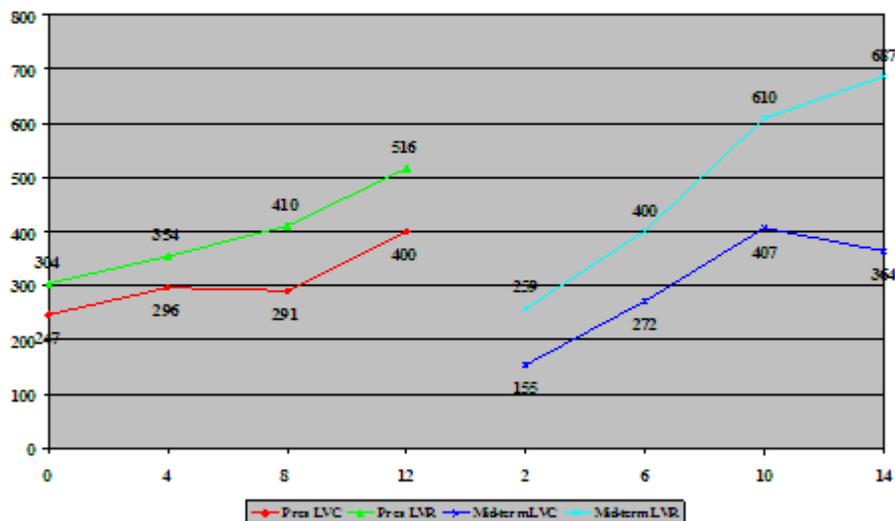
Finding 2: Latino Hyper Mobilization due to the “Joe Arpaio” factor in Arizona is a harbinger of what the “The Trump Factor” Could Do to Latino Voting Generally

Though it is not considered a “swing or battleground state” in Presidential elections and therefore lacks national investment the Arizona Latino vote has grown significantly due to the “Joe Arpaio” factor. That is anti-immigrant, racial profiling Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio, State Senator Russell Pierce, and Governor Jan Brewer provided clear villains who together with two racially polarizing ballot measures/laws in 2004 (Prop 200 -a voter suppression measure) and 2010 (SB1070 –an anti-immigrant state law) ignited rapid growth in Latino registration and voting, especially in Mid-term elections.

Sheriff Arpaio inspired Latino-supported challenges in 2008 and 2012 (and will again in 2016) in Arizona’s most populous county. SB 1070 author State Senator Pierce, from eastern Maricopa County, was successfully recalled by a Latino-supported effort in 2011, and opposition to Governor Brewer and SB 1070 inspired massive Latino voter mobilization in 2010.

II. Arizona Latino Voting and Registration, 2000-2014

Numbers in Thousands



Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey; Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

As a result in 2014 Latinos in Arizona (25.1%) now boast the number two Latino state share of voter registration in the US, second only to New Mexico (32.9%) and ahead of Latino voter super states California (23.3%) and Texas (22.7%)!

In Mid-term cycles from 2002-14 Arizona Latino voter registration and voting grew 165% and 135% respectively, or triple the national Mid-term Latino average growth of 57% and 43% respectively.

Latinos are driving Arizona towards becoming the next Presidential “Swing or Purple” state. With nearly 700,000 Latino registered voters in 2014 if resources are mobilized to deepen the current Latino voter momentum through 2016-18 Arizona will become the fifth state with a million Latino voters (joining California, Texas, Florida, and New York). Such a change would spur Latino statewide candidacies and change recent partisan trends from reliably Republican to competitive.

The “Sheriff Joe Arpaio factor” in Arizona in 2002 -2010 is demonstrably measurable and similar to the “Gov. Pete Wilson factor” in California during 1994-98.

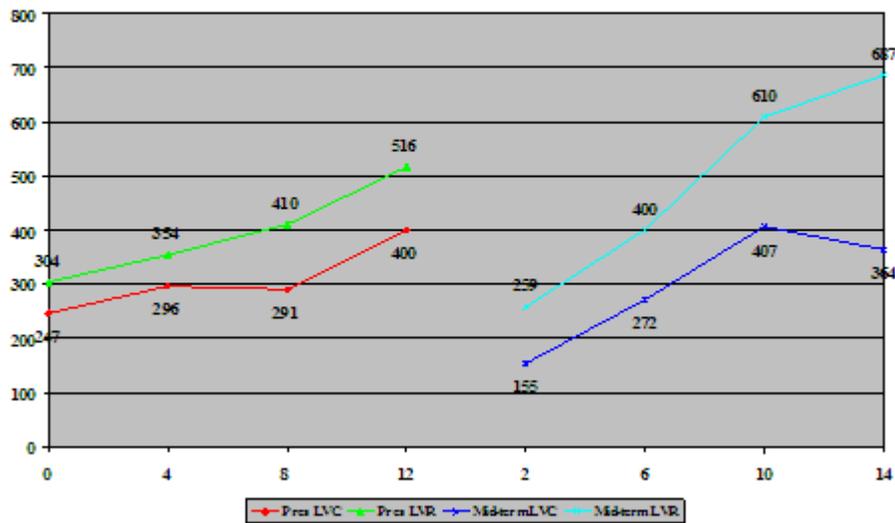
During 2002-10 Arizona Latino registered voters grew from 259,000 to 610,000 or 135% and Latino voting increased by 162.6% growing from 155,000 to 407,000.

A. Arizona Latino Voting 2002-2010

Arizona	2002	2010	Ch	%
Latino VR	259	610	351	135.5%
Latino VC	155	407	252	162.6%

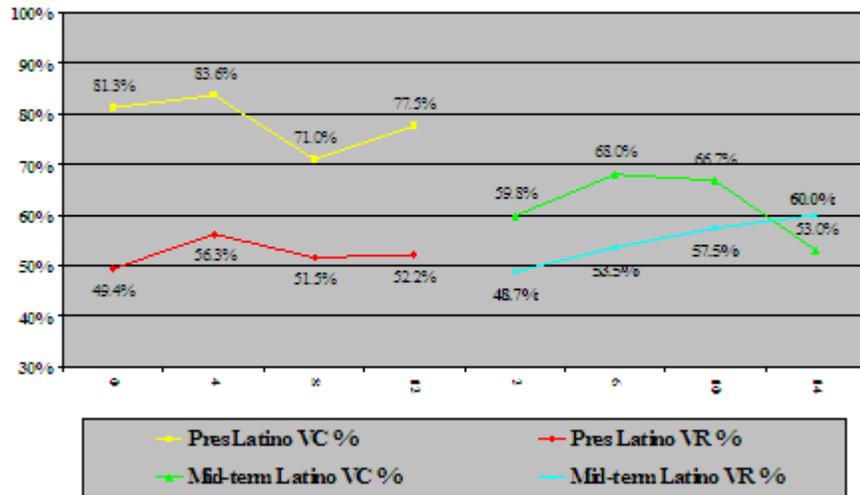
III. Arizona Latino Voting and Registration, 2000-2014

Numbers in Thousands



Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

IV. AZ Latino Votes Cast and Registration %, 2000-2014

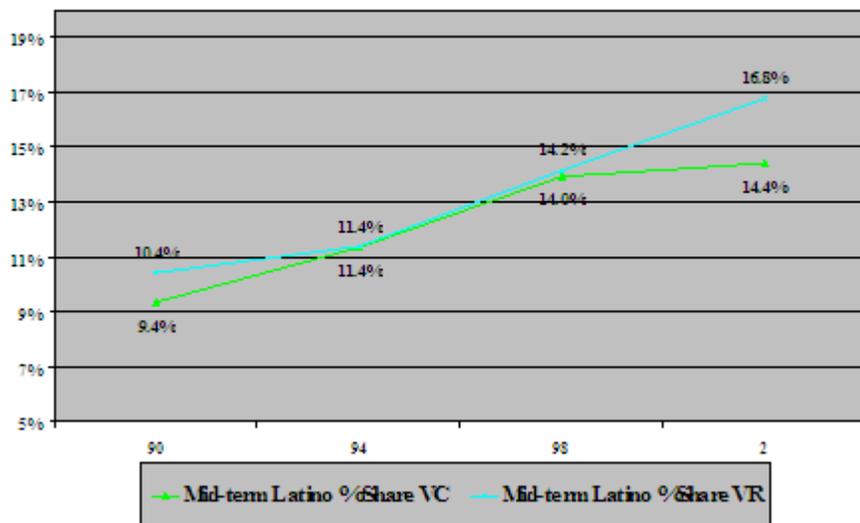


Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

And Arizona Latino turnout spiked in 2006 and 2010 with nearly 70% turnout of registered in both elections, highly unusual for Latinos in Mid-term elections.

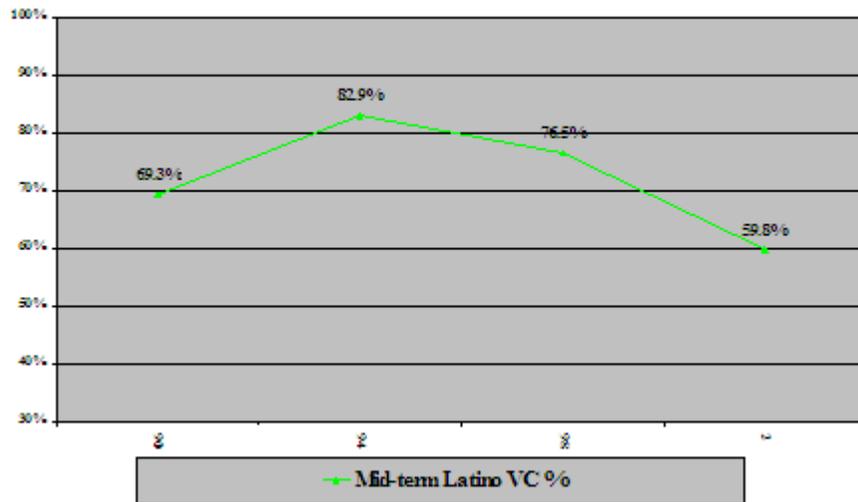
These patterns are similar to the California experience with the “Pete Wilson factor” of 1990-98. Latino voting grew dramatically during the 90’s movement against the anti-immigrant Governor Pete Wilson and a series of anti-immigrant (Prop 187 in Nov 1994), anti-bilingual education (Prop 209 in Nov 1996) and anti-affirmative action (Prop 229 in June 1998) “wedge issue” ballot measures promoted by sectors of the California Republican party.

V. CA Latino %Share of Votes Cast and Registration, 1990-2002



Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

VI. CA Latino Votes Cast%, 1990-2002



Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

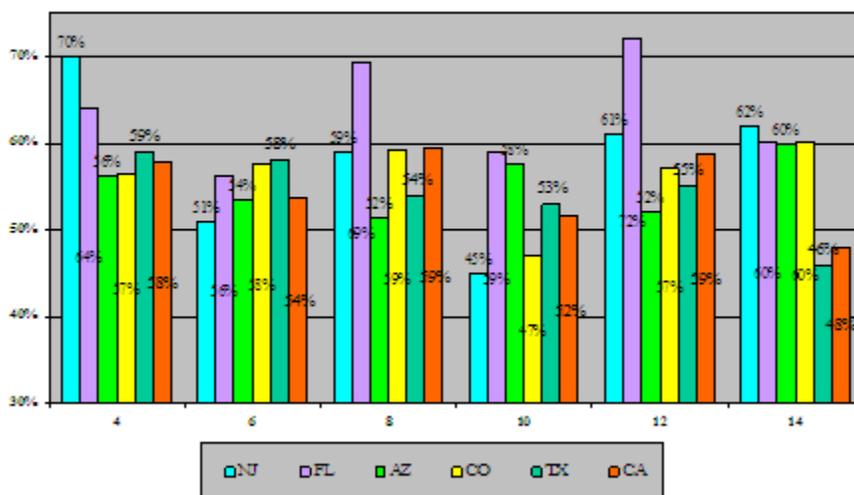
During 1994 and 1998 California Latinos turned out at rates typical of Presidential elections (not Mid-term ones) with 82.9% and 76.5% respectively. Moreover, these two elections are the only two in California state history in which the percent share of Latino votes cast matched the percent share of Latino registered voters. Typically, the Latino voter percent share is several points below the Latino voter registration share, i.e. typically California Latinos under-vote, but this was not the case in 1994-98.

Therefore there is reason to believe that the leading Republican Presidential Candidate Donald Trump with his unapologetic anti-immigrant discourse “Mexico sends rapists and criminals to the US...” as well as his open support for the infamous “Operation Wetback” program of the 1950’s –in which 1.3 million Mexican-origin persons in the US were deported- will play the same role as did California’s Wilson and Arizona’s Arpaio in stimulating Latino hyper mobilization to the polls if he is indeed the Republican nominee for President.

Finding 3: Latino Super States CA and TX have Been Superceded by FL, CO and AZ in Latino Vote Performance

Sustained/significant donor investment and hot elections in “swing states” Florida and Colorado has caused simultaneously growth in the raw number, statewide share, and turnout rate of the Latino vote, while increasing the rate of Latino voter registration –a rare feat. At 60%+ rate of registration these states are poised to surge even more in the 2016 Presidential cycle –note these cycles typically see significant boosts in all Latino voter indicators. Nevada while not shown below is also trending towards the same levels of across the board improvement in Latino voter performance.

VII. Latino % Registration in Selected States, 2004-2014



Source: US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Series, 1972-2014

Even more impressive are the Arizona Latino vote indicators because they are essentially the result of autonomous grassroots immigrant and voting rights activism, not massive outside investment.

Continued national investment is crucial to deepen the Latino empowerment trend in Florida, Colorado (and Nevada). Arizona should be added to this list of states receiving investment from donors, parties, and campaigns..

Conversely, longtime leaders in Latino voting trends Texas and California Latinos appear to be in decline due to non-competition in state and federal elections. Latino communities/politics in reliably Republican Texas and reliably Democratic California no longer receive investment like they did in during the 1976-1994 period in Texas and 1984-2006 in California.

This lack of partisan competition and investment together has driven down the rate of Latino registration (46% Latino registration in Texas and 48% registration in California in 2014). Simply put while the Latino voting age population grows neither parties nor donors see any reason to invest in growing the Latino vote because they perceive (or desire) no change-outcome from such investment.

Going forward it will be up to Latino candidacies for US Senate and Governor in California like US Rep Sanchez, former LA Mayor Villaraigosa, Secretary of State Padilla, and LA Mayor Garcetti; and HUD Secretary Castro in Texas to mobilize their Latino community's voter potential in 2016 and 2018.

Similarly state legislative leaders and policy-makers in Sacramento and Austin should continue to use their good offices to facilitate increased voting. Important changes like Election Day registration (thanks to Speaker Perez) and enhanced Motor Voter registration have been enacted in California (thanks to Secretary of State Padilla and Senate President Pro Tem De Leon principally) though they have not yet been implemented. Texas on the other hand is stuck in neutral.

The need for Texas and California Latino leaders to fill the empty niche created by the drying-up of non-Latino investment in their states is made evident by the recent decline in all the Latino vote indicators in both states.

Indeed Latino statewide hopefuls should be concerned as conventional wisdom holds that to be Latino candidacies should base themselves on a minimum base of 25% of the electorate to be successful. Moreover, the data shows that Latinos in Texas and California were a decreasing share of the statewide vote in 2014.

B. Texas and California Latino Vote in 2012 and 2014

Numbers in Thousands

	2012	% Registered	% Share	2014	% Registered	% Share
TX Latino VR	2652	54.5%	24.7%	2255	46.2%	22.7%
CA Latino VR	3684	56.6%	24.0%	3294	48.0%	23.4%