

LATINO VOTERS WILL DECIDE KEY 2010 RACES

A REVIEW OF RECENT POLLING AND TRENDS

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Over the past decade, Latino voters have increased their political power and made a decisive impact in races at all levels, including the presidential election. In 2010, Latino voters are poised to play a crucial role in key House, Senate, and gubernatorial races across the country.

As the Latino electorate grows in size and importance, candidates from all political parties must take them into account in order to remain viable in an increasing number of races. While the Latino electorate is trending Democratic generally, at least one segment—foreign-born, naturalized U.S. citizens of Latino descent, who represent 40% of the Latino voter population—has proven to be a true swing constituency. As demographic trends make clear, if the Republican Party wants to remain a national party for the long-term, it must be able to compete with Democrats for Latino voters.

Candidates for political office would be wise to not just look at *how* Latino voters are likely to vote in 2010 and beyond, but *why*. In particular, the immigration debate has played a crucial role in shaping voters' view toward the two political parties, and has proven to be a galvanizing force that politicians in both parties need to understand.

The Latino Vote is Growing in Size and Geographic Diversity

Latino voters have increased their political power in every election over the last several years. In the 2008 presidential election, approximately 10 million Latinos voted, an increase of about 2.5 million voters nationwide from 2004 and nearly 4 million from 2000. From 2000 to 2008, Latino voter registration grew 54% and turnout grew 64%.ⁱ

Latino voters have influence in major cities and traditional “gateway” states, as well as diverse regions of the country. Texas and Florida, which have significant Latino populations going back generations, saw Latino voter turnout grow by 31% and 81%, respectively, between 2000 and 2008. Moreover, as Latinos increased their presence in “new immigrant” states between 2000 and 2008, Latino voter turnout exploded by 157% in South Carolina, 164% in Nevada, 250% in North Carolina, and 392% in Georgia.ⁱⁱ

Latino voters are poised to exert even greater influence in 2010 and beyond. As House Democratic Caucus Vice-Chairman Representative Xavier Becerra (D-CA) put it, “If you are in a district that is not accustomed to seeing a lot of diversity, the rule now is that you are going to see it. And you can't ignore it: That is the face of America tomorrow.”ⁱⁱⁱ

The Latino Vote is Trending Democratic, With Big Implications for the Electoral Map

Latinos have been trending Democratic for years, but the Democratic Party does not necessarily hold a lock on these voters. Latinos voted for the Democratic presidential nominee over the Republican by a margin of 59% to 40% in 2004 (Kerry-Bush) and 67% to 31% in 2008 (Obama-McCain). The swing was even more pronounced among foreign-born Latino voters, with 52% choosing Kerry in 2004 and 48% choosing Bush—nearly breaking even—while in 2008 75% chose Obama and 25% supported McCain.

In battleground states like Colorado, Florida, New Mexico, and Nevada, 2008's increased Latino turnout and the Latino electorate's break towards Democrats were major factors in Obama's victories and in Democratic House and Senate pick-ups. In Florida, for example, Latino voters grew by 403,000, or 49%, compared to 2004; they backed Obama by a 57-42% margin after having backed Bush by a 56-44% margin in 2004. Similarly, in Nevada, Latino turnout grew by 47,000, or 65%, compared with 2004; Latino support for the Democratic candidate jumped from a 60-39% margin in 2004 to a 76-22% margin in 2008.

While it is possible that this trend toward the Democrats will continue long-term, there is a segment of the Latino electorate that is volatile: Spanish-dominant Latino voters, most of whom were born in other countries and are naturalized U.S. citizens.

Spanish-Dominant Voters: A Hidden Swing Demographic

In 2004, Republican strategist Karl Rove and President George W. Bush recognized that Spanish-dominant Latino voters—slightly less than half of the overall Latino electorate—were a potent audience for GOP political appeals. Most of these voters are foreign-born, naturalized U.S. citizens, and the Republican emphasis on “family values” resonated with many of them. According to NDN, the GOP more than doubled its share of the Latino vote from 1996 to 2004 by prioritizing outreach to Spanish-dominant Latinos.^{iv}

These voters are extremely close to the frontlines of the immigration debate, having been through the process themselves and knowing relatives and friends who are still battling with the broken system. Bush and Rove understood the way immigration reform influences their political decisions, and it was no coincidence that President Bush began 2004 with a major White House speech on the need for comprehensive immigration reform.

During the general election in 2008, both presidential campaigns courted these voters, especially in the battleground states of Colorado, Florida, New Mexico, and Nevada. Candidates Obama and McCain ran major ad campaigns in Spanish-language media, each trying to portray the other as unreliable on the issue of comprehensive immigration reform.

According to analysis by America's Voice, nine out of thirteen immigration-related ads in the 2008 presidential campaign were aired in Spanish, targeting this crucial swing demographic.^v

However, candidate McCain's immigration ads were not enough to win this crucial swing vote. While McCain had previously been a leader on comprehensive immigration reform, he tacked right during the 2008 Republican primary, and famously distanced himself from his own immigration reform bill. His party had also gone through a very public and very brutal civil war over the issue during the 2006 and 2007 congressional debates, and many Latino voters were turned off by the GOP's demonization of Latino families. While Obama did well among the overall Latino electorate in 2008, perhaps the biggest upset of the year was his consolidation of that key swing constituency: Latino immigrant voters. After nearly breaking even between Democrats and Republicans in 2004 (they voted for Kerry by a 52-48% margin), these voters swung dramatically for Obama in 2008 (75-25%).^{vi}

The Immigration Debate is a Key Factor in the Shift Toward Democrats

Although immigration was not traditionally the number one issue for most Latino voters, it has long been a defining, threshold issue. In a December 2009 poll of Latino voters by Bendixen & Amandi, 62% of Latino voters said that they personally know someone who is undocumented.^{vii} As the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) put it, "the potency of immigration as a 'voting issue' should not be underestimated. Both polling data and Hispanic voting behavior over multiple election cycles shows that immigration serves as a lens through which Latinos assess the political environment and candidate attitudes not just toward immigrants, but toward their community as a whole."^{viii}

However, the current immigration debate—including the national attention to Arizona's anti-immigrant law and the way many politicians have embraced harsh, anti-immigrant approaches — has helped catapult immigration from being an important threshold issue to being the top issue, tied with the economy in some polls. A summer 2010 poll of Latino voters in California, Colorado, Florida, and Texas by Dr. Ricardo Ramirez of the University of Southern California for the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Education Fund found that immigration was the highest ranked response to the question, "what general issues would be most important to you in deciding whom to vote for?"^{ix} Similarly, according to a June 2010 poll of Latinos nationwide by LatinoMetrics, on behalf of the Hispanic Federation and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), "since the end of 2009, immigration has catapulted to the top issue of personal concern among 1 in 4 Latinos—tied with jobs & the economy."^x

Because of the way many Republican policymakers have handled the immigration issue in Congress and campaigns over the last several years, the GOP brand is increasingly identified with people who want to deport Latino immigrants, while Democrats are seen as more welcoming. Richard Nadler, the late conservative commentator and president of the America's Majority Foundation, described the challenge facing Republicans as follows: "Opponents of

comprehensive immigration reform are sitting on a demographic time bomb . . . If immigration reform is the evil that ‘enforcement only’ partisans claim it to be, they will need not one fence bordering Mexico, but multiple barriers to partition California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, Colorado, Florida, New York, and New Jersey from the rest of the nation.”^{xi}

Former Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL) made the same observation, stating on "Meet the Press" in 2008, "the very divisive rhetoric of the immigration debate set a very bad tone for our brand as Republicans...there were voices within our party, frankly, which if they continue with that kind of rhetoric, anti-Hispanic rhetoric, that so much of it was heard, we're going to be relegated to minority status.”^{xii} This year, a poll of Hispanic voters was conducted by the Tarrance Group for the conservative group Resurgent Republic. The poll revealed that Hispanic voters have an affinity for the Republican Party and are open to persuasion toward the GOP on key issues such as the economy, health care and national security. Notably, however, Latinos remain overwhelmingly in favor of comprehensive immigration reform—a position at odds with most Republican elected officials, although not with general Republican voters.

Tarrance Group President & CEO Ed Goeas stated, “This is a negative that Republicans have to be careful of. We had a president in President George W. Bush who was for comprehensive reform when it came to immigration. You had a presidential nominee in John McCain who had a very strong record in terms of comprehensive reform for immigration reform. But we had a very vocal group of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in particular in 2006, that I think drove some wedges between the Republican Party and the Hispanic-Latino community...there is still the danger that in talking about immigration, the more vocal anti-immigration proponents in the Republican Party will be seen as the Republican Party. We have to be very careful we don’t get back there again.”^{xiii}

Former Bush administration staffer and political analyst Leslie Sanchez also said, “On the issue of immigration reform...it’s the lens by which these voters view either candidates or parties. So it is to any candidate’s detriment to use it as a wedge issue to try to drive people apart. It’s something I think people want a solution for.”^{xiv}

Still, the GOP’s identification with the Arizona anti-immigration law and the extreme rhetoric used by many Republican politicians make it clear that the Party is siding more with the anti-immigrant side, at least in 2010. When LatinoMetrics asked, “With which political party do you most closely identify?” only 13% of Latino voters said the Republican Party.

The same poll also asked, “How do you think the immigration issue would impact how you feel about politicians and the parties they represent?” Sixty-eight percent said they would support candidates who favor immigration reform, while only 19% said they would be willing to support a candidate who opposed immigration reform. Similarly, 54% of Latino voters in Dr. Ramirez’s poll said they would be less likely to vote for a candidate or party espousing an immigration position they disagreed with, even if they agreed with most of that candidate or party’s positions on other issues. The same poll also asked a generic ballot question about party

preferences for House races this November and found that that 60% of respondents favored Democrats and only 21% favored Republicans.

Are Latino Voters in 2010 Energized or Marginalized?

Latino voters have the power to change the outcome of many 2010 races, whether they show up or stay home. The public opinion and research organization Latino Decisions conducted weekly tracking polling of Latino voters heading into the November elections. Their research offers a snapshot of an electorate that is frustrated but also engaged.

It's true that in addition to feeling down about the economy and jobs, many Latino voters are also disappointed that promises to advance immigration reform were not realized. As Matt Barreto, a political science professor and pollster for Latino Decisions said, "Latinos feel that on many of their key issues, promises were made and not delivered on."^{xv}

While these variables might point to low levels of Latino voter turnout in 2010, the Latino community is paying attention to the political debate. As a result of their personal connection to immigration, Latino voters who care most about the issue have been engaged by developments such as the recent U.S. Senate action on the DREAM Act and Arizona's passage of the anti-immigrant law.

Latino Decisions' weekly tracking polls showed increased support for the Democratic Party following the short DREAM Act debate in September, making it clear that when politicians lean into the immigration issue, they galvanize the vote.^{xvi} According to Latino Decisions polling released October 4, 72% of Latino voters said the Senate "should have passed" the DREAM Act as an amendment to the Defense authorization bill, while only 17% thought the Republican Party's successful efforts to block it were "the right thing to do."

The tracking polling also shows a steady but clear increase in intention to vote. While 66% of Latino voters indicated they were "almost certain" to vote in the results reported September 27, just over 75% said they were "almost certain" to vote in the results published October 18 and October 25. The biggest jump in vote intention—seven percentage points—came after Senate Democratic leadership attempted to bring the DREAM Act to a vote.

Immigration is consistently ranked the second-most important issue when deciding who to vote for in the Latino Decisions polling, behind the economy but ahead of jobs, health care, education, and taxes. In addition, millions of Latino citizens today are former undocumented immigrants who legalized their status under the Immigration Reform and Control Act and other laws, as Latino Decisions points out.^{xvii} As a result, the immigration debate and the tone and tenor of the way candidates and parties discuss the issue is viewed through a deeply personal lens—one that impacts their political behavior at a visceral level.

As the table below highlights, an increasing number of Latinos are expressing an intention to vote and greater levels of enthusiasm following the DREAM debate and a spate of high-profile negative actions on immigration by Republican candidates.

Latino Voters and the 2010 Elections		
	9/20	10/25
Do you plan to vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in November?		
Democrat	51%	58%
Republican	22%	23%
Undecided	24%	19%
Likelihood of voting in November 2010		
Almost certain	67%	75%
How enthusiastic are you about voting in the November 2010 elections?		
Very enthusiastic	46%	58%
Somewhat enthusiastic	32%	25%
Not too enthusiastic	12%	11%
Not at all	5%	4%
<i>Polling Results from Latino Decisions Weekly Tracking Poll of Latino Voters in 21 States:</i> http://latinodecisions.wordpress.com/		

Not only are immigrant and Latino voters interested in the political debate, but a number of organizations across the country are conducting massive voter mobilization efforts to help them get to the polls. In the last mid-term election in 2006, 5.6 million Latinos voted according to a report by the Center for American Progress.^{xviii} This year, organizations such as the Center for Community Change, Democracia USA, Mi Familia Vota Civic Participation Campaign, NCLR, NALEO, and Ya es Hora, are spending over \$5.4 million engagement and mobilization efforts and targeting more than one million Latino, Asian, and immigrant voters in at least twenty-three states to help expand this number.^{xix} In Arizona and Colorado alone, organizers are targeting 230,000 and 175,000 voters respectively, amounting to approximately 15 percent of the voting populations in the previous primary elections.

The Campaign for Community Change is engaged in a robust voter engagement effort in ten swing states. The program features integrated deployment of direct mail, canvassing, phones, and online and paid media and will make over 2.5 million voter contacts this cycle. The NALEO Educational Fund is also contacting 250,000 low-propensity Latino voters in five states for its GOTV campaign. Democracia USA has registered almost 100,000 voters nationwide and the organization estimates that it will turn out 70,000 voters on Election Day.

The Mi Familia Vota Civic Participation Campaign signed up 21,000 Latino voters in Arizona to the Permanent Early Voter List--a 20% increase over the last cycle--and they as well as Promise

Arizona's Faith, Hope, Vote campaign and others are now carrying out GOTV operations in state. The Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights surpassed its voter registration goal of 10,000 and has shifted into mobilization mode, working to turn out over 133,000 immigrant voters in November.

In 2010, many of the states where Latino and immigrant voter mobilization drives are taking place are also home to some of the closest races in the country. As Arturo Vargas of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) recently said, "Never before have we had so many tight contests at the state and federal levels in states where the Latino vote can make a difference. I think it will make all the difference in 2010."^{xx}

Latino Influence on Key 2010 Races

Nearly one in five congressional districts has a Latino population that constitutes at least 25% of the district. Of these seventy-nine districts, Democratic Members of Congress represent fifty-four, or slightly over two-thirds. This means that 21% of the seats comprising the current Democratic majority in the House (54/256) are in districts where Latinos make up a major share of the population.

Additionally, twenty-five Republican Members of the House of Representatives, concentrated in California, Florida, and Texas, also represent districts with 25% or greater Latino populations. While pro-immigration reform stalwarts such as Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-FL) and Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL) are included in this figure, notorious anti-immigration ringleader Lamar Smith (R-TX) is as well. As the number of Latino voters in these districts increase, Republicans who are on the wrong side of issues that affect their families directly—issues like comprehensive immigration reform—will find the road to re-election much more difficult.

Below is an overview of the seventy-nine districts with Latino populations of 25% or greater, as well as the percentage of Latino voters in the district.

Congressional Districts by Highest Concentration of Latinos

Districts with Latino Populations of 25% or More			
Congressional District	Current Member of Congress	% of Latinos in District (Population)	% of Latinos in District (Registered Voters)
TX-16	Silvestre Reyes (D)	80.87%	67.33%
CA-34	Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)	80.24%	61.69%
TX-15	Ruben Hinojosa (D)	79.82%	65.26%
TX-28	Henry Cuellar (D)	78.78%	64.18%
CA-38	Grace Napolitano (D)	75.15%	61.47%

TX-29	Gene Green (D)	73.70%	51.72%
FL-21	Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)	73.47%	55.63%
IL-4	Luis Gutierrez (D)	72.40%	52.23%
TX-27	Solomon Ortiz (D)	71.64%	59.38%
TX-20	Charles Gonzalez (D)	69.76%	58.99%
CA-31	Xavier Becerra (D)	69.02%	48.57%
CA-47	Loretta Sanchez (D)	68.69%	41.88%
FL-25	Mario Diaz-Balart (R)	67.93%	52.55%
CA-20	Jim Costa (D)	67.84%	51.39%
NY-16	Jose Serrano (D)	66.36%	52.37%
AZ-4	Ed Pastor (D)	66.34%	35.4%
CA-43	Joe Baca (D)	66.26%	46.15%
TX-23	Ciro Rodriguez (D)	65.48%	46.52%
CA-39	Linda Sanchez (D)	65%	47.8%
FL-18	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R)	64.75%	44.46%
CA-32	Judy Chu (D)	63.97%	52.40%
CA-51	Bob Filner (D)	60.14%	48.67%
CA-28	Howard Berman (D)	57.31%	33.3%
AZ-7	Raul Grijalva (D)	54.62%	38.29%
CA-35	Maxine Waters (D)	53.31%	26.79%
CA-18	Dennis Cardoza (D)	50.14%	35.38%
NM-2	Harry Teague (D)	49.91%	35.56%
NJ-13	Albio Sires (D)	49.30%	39%
CA-21	Devin Nunes (R)	48.46%	29.41%
CA-37	Laura Richardson (D)	48.42%	27.33%
CA-17	Sam Farr (D)	47.34%	26.44%
NY-12	Nydia Velazquez (D)	46.23%	38.22%
NM-1	Martin Heinrich (D)	45.53%	31.28%
NY-15	Charles Rangel (D)	45.08%	33.25%
CA-23	Lois Capps (D)	45%	25.69%
TX-32	Pete Sessions (R)	43.27%	16.21%
CA-45	Mary Bono Mack (R)	42.47%	23.82%
NY-7	Joseph Crowley (D)	42.06%	33.44%
CA-44	Ken Calvert (R)	42.01%	23.2%
TX-18	Sheila Jackson-Lee (D)	41.46%	18.35%
TX-30	Eddie Johnson (D)	41.24%	14.28%
CA-27	Brad Sherman (D)	41.23%	24.96%
TX-9	Al Green (D)	40.18%	16.18%
CA-16	Zoe Lofgren (D)	39.11%	25.55%
NM-3	Ben Lujan (D)	38.16%	31.52%
CA-25	Howard McKeon (R)	37.44%	21%
TX-25	Lloyd Doggett (D)	37.20%	28.18%
CA-33	Diane Watson (D)	36.29%	18%
CA-49	Darrell Issa (R)	35.15%	18.41%

NV-1	Shelley Berkley (D)	35.06%	16.6%
CA-19	George Radonovich (R)	34.54%	21.76%
CA-40	Edward Royce (R)	34.33%	19.22%
TX-11	Michael Conaway (R)	33.82%	21.5%
CA-41	Jerry Lewis (R)	33.09%	18.82%
CO-1	Diana Degette (D)	32.90%	14.63%*
CA-36	Jane Harman (D)	32.40%	18.34%
TX-19	Randy Neugebauer (R)	32.24%	22.1%
NJ-8	Bill Pascrell (D)	30.97%	18.48%
IL-3	Daniel Lipinski (D)	30.77%	18.8%
WA-4	Doc Hastings (R)	30.53%	10.88%
CA-53	Susan Davis (D)	30.50%	15.91%
CA-22	Kevin McCarthy (R)	29.39%	16.6%
CA-26	David Dreier (R)	28.80%	19.71%
IL-5	Mike Quigley (D)	28.36%	17.78%
CA-42	Gary Miller (R)	27.86%	19.5%
TX-14	Ron Paul (R)	27.81%	17.3%
FL-20	Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D)	27.75%	17.47%
TX-12	Kay Granger (R)	27.63%	12.94%
CO-7	Ed Perlmutter (D)	27.12%	12.6%*
CA-24	Elton Gallegly (R)	27.03%	15.14%
TX-21	Lamar Smith (R)	26.9%	16.91%
CA-7	George Miller (D)	26.51%	17.45%
TX-10	Michael McCaul (R)	26.10%	12.26%
CA-5	Doris Matsui (D)	25.60%	15.28%
TX-22	Pete Olson (R)	25.27%	15.1%
TX-24	Kenny Marchant (R)	25.17%	11.64%
FL-17	Kendrick Meek (D)	25.15%	17.82%
FL-11	Kathy Castor (D)	25.07%	15.97%
CA-29	Adam Schiff (D)	25.03%	18.89%
*Spanish Surname			

[\[Voter Contact Services, National Journal\]](#)

While many of the congressional seats where Latinos make up a sizable share of the electorate are considered “safe” for one party or the other, Latinos are expanding their power in a growing number of swing districts and states.

In close races all across the country, smaller numbers of Latino voters could make a big difference. In the *Voter Guide to the Candidates on Immigration Reform*, America’s Voice traces the role that the immigration issue has played in fifty-four competitive races in nineteen states.^[1] These include seven gubernatorial, six Senate, and forty-one House races in which Latino voters could help decide the outcome.

The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund has also identified eight gubernatorial races, five Senate races, and twenty House key races where Latino voters will have major influence on the outcomes this year.^{xxi}

According to *The New American Electorate* by the Immigration Policy Center, Latinos comprised 7.9% of all registered voters in 2008.^{xxii} As the following chart shows, Latinos make up an even larger share of the electorate in a number of states with competitive Senate and House races in 2010.

Latino Voters in Select States

State	2008 Presidential Race Overall Voters	2008 Presidential Race Latino Voters	2010 % of registered voters who are Latino
Arizona	McCain 54%-45%	Obama 56%-41%	14.8%
California	Obama 61%-37%	Obama 74%-23%	21.1%
Colorado	Obama 54%-45%	Obama 61%-38%	10.2% (Spanish Surname)
Connecticut	Obama 61%-38%	Unavailable	8%
Florida	Obama 51%-48%	Obama 57%-42%	12.8%
Illinois	Obama 62%-37%	Obama 72%-27%	7.5%
Nevada	Obama 55%-43%	Obama 76%-22%	12.4%
New Mexico	Obama 57%-42%	Obama 69%-30%	32.6%
New York	Obama 63%-36%	Unavailable	10.9%
Pennsylvania	Obama 55%-44%	Obama 72%-28%	3.8%
Texas	McCain 55%-44%	Obama 63%-35%	21.7%
Virginia	Obama 53%-47%	Obama 65%-34%	3.2%

[\[Voter Contact Services, CNN 2008 Election Center\]](#)

Lessons for 2012 and Beyond

On November 3, the story of Latinos in the 2010 mid-term elections can finally be written. Clearly, these voters are also going to play huge role in the 2012 races, when the presidency is at stake as well as another class of House and Senate seats that are likely to be hotly contested.

In addition, the role of Latinos in American politics will only grow following tabulation of the 2010 Census.^{xxiii} According to a report by America's Voice Education Fund, new Members of Congress in states projected to gain seats following the 2010 Census, such as Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas, will owe their positions in large part to the expanding Latino population. Additionally, the states projected to lose congressional seats following the Census would have fared worse had Latinos not moved there in record numbers.

But will all that power translate into action on Latinos' policy priorities? That depends a lot on the politicians in charge. Interestingly, there are good reasons for both parties to pass common sense immigration reform.

If President Obama and the Democratic Party want to mobilize the Latino vote for 2012, they should advance comprehensive immigration reform in Congress.

If the Republican Party wants its presidential candidate to be competitive in key 2012 states, and if the GOP wants a long-term future, it should quit playing to its anti-immigrant fringe and come to the table on common sense immigration reform.

As the dust settles on the 2010 races and all eyes look to the new Congress and the 2012 presidential campaign, smart politicians will realize the impact the issue of immigration reform has on Latino voters, and get on the right side of history.

ⁱ Information on the Latino vote from U.S. Census Bureau, "Reported Voting and Registration of the Total Voting-Age Population, by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin, for States: November 2000," <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting/p20-542.html> and "Reported Voting and Registration of the Voting-Age Population, by Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin, for States: November 2008," <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting/cps2008.html>.

ⁱⁱ Information on state-by-state Latino voter turnout from Census Bureau, *ibid*.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ronald Brownstein, "The March of Diversity," *National Journal*, December 19, 2009. http://www.nationaljournal.com/njonline/no_20091219_6555.php.

^{iv} NDN, "Hispanics Rising II," 2008: <http://ndn.org/paper/2008/hispanics-rising-ii>.

^v America's Voice, "Anti-Immigrant Ads Don't Add Up in 2008," November 4, 2008: <http://www.americasvoiceonline.org/page/content/AttackAds08>

^{vi} CNN, Presidential Election Exit Polls, 2008: <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#USP00p1>; 2004: <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html>; 2000: <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2000/>

^{viii} National Council of La Raza, "The Latino Electorate: Profiles and Trends," 2007: <http://www.nclr.org/content/publications/download/46271>.

^{ix} Polling by Dr. Ricardo Ramirez of the University of Southern California for the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Education Fund (NALEO), June 14th to June 21st, 2010, of 1,600 Latino voters in CA, CO, FL, and TX (400 each state): <http://www.naleo.org/downloads/Latino%20Vote%20in%202010%207-20-10.pdf>.

^x Polling by LatinoMetrics: co-sponsored by the Hispanic Federation and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), May 26th to June 8th, 2010, of 504 Latino voters nationwide: <http://lulac.org/assets/pdfs/HF-LatinoMetrics-Immigration-BriefStudy.pdf>.

^{xi} "The Great Immigration Shootout," America's Majority Foundation: <http://www.amermaj.com/lshootout.pdf>

^{xii} NBC, "Meet the Press," Interview with Sen. Mel Martinez, November 9, 2008: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/27629956/page/3/>.

^{xiii} Pajamas Media, "Beyond Immigration: With Hispanics, A Land of Opportunity for GOP," PJTV.com, 3/17/10, <http://www.pjtv.com/v/3247>

^{xiv} *Ibid*.

^{xv} "Latino Voter Turnout Likely to Lag, Poll Says," *New York Times*, October 5, 2010: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/06/us/politics/06immig.html?_r=2&pagewanted=2&hpw.

^{xvi} See <http://latinodecisions.wordpress.com/>.

^{xvii} "Are Latino immigrant voters in California still undecided?" Latino Decisions, October 2, 2010: <http://latinodecisions.wordpress.com/2010/10/02/latino-immigrant-voters-in-california/>.

^{xviii} Center for American Progress Action Fund, “Too Many To Ignore: The Latino Vote in 2010 and Beyond,” October 2010: http://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/2010/10/pdf/latino_voters.pdf.

^{xix} America’s Voice, “Advocates Highlight Efforts to Turn Out Latino, Asian, and Immigrant Voters in Battleground States,” October 14, 2010: http://americasvoiceonline.org/press_releases/entry/immigrant_advocates_highlight_efforts_to_turn_out_latino_asian_and_imm/.

^{xx} “Hispanic Voters Could Swing Key Mid-Term Races, Group Finds,” October 19, 2010, *Washington Post*: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/19/AR2010101904341.html>.

^[i] America’s Voice, “Voter Guide to the Candidates on Immigration Reform,” October 2010: www.americasvoiceonline.org/VoterGuide2010.

^{xxi} NALEO Educational Fund, “Impact of Latino Vote on Key Competitive Races,” October 2010: <http://www.naleo.org/downloads/Latino%20Voter%20Impact%20Key%20Races%20in%202010-10.pdf>.

^{xxii} Immigration Policy Center, “The New American Electorate,” October 2010: <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/special-reports/new-american-electorate-october-2010>.

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