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WE ARE TEXAS

AN ANALYSIS OF
YOUNG LATINO VOTERS
IN THE LONE STAR STATE



*Dedicated to Texas' young Latinos that have
the power to build a democracy and country
that represents all Americans.*

WE ARE TEXAS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We Are Texas is a study undertaken by Jolt Initiative in partnership with Ethnifacts and US-ness to better understand the values, issues, voting patterns and barriers to civic participation of one of the state's largest and fastest growing demographic groups—young Latinos. *We Are Texas* is the result of nine months of research from primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was gathered from the Bureau of the Census Current Population Survey for November 2016, which provides the most complete information on voting and voter registration in the biannual cycle of national elections, and the most recent data from the American Community Survey for the demographic character of Texas. For both secondary data sources, researchers used the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) and designed and produced comprehensive profiles of the voters and voting behaviors in Texas and its major metropolitan centers. Additionally, *We Are Texas* researchers conducted 1,016 surveys of Latinos, augmented by a smaller sample of 317 non-Latinos for comparative purposes and 65 in-depth, open-end personal interviews with select participants that represented the social, civic and geo-demographic diversity of Texas Latinos.

We Are Texas is one of the most in-depth analyses of Latino voters in Texas and hopes to shed light on this key demographic constituency. The health of our democracy and state hinges on an active and engaged citizenry. Young Latinos are the key to building a democracy and government equipped to meet the ongoing challenges and changes Texas faces. Today, one in two Texans under the age of



18 are Latino, and by 2022 Latinos will be the largest ethnic population group in the state.¹

HOW TEXAS AND LATINOS STACK UP

Texas ranks nearly dead last in several indicators of voter participation. Among the 50 states, plus the District of Columbia, Texas is ranked 50th on number of voters relative to the state's overall population and relative to the state's total number of citizens. For every 100 people (all ages) in Texas,

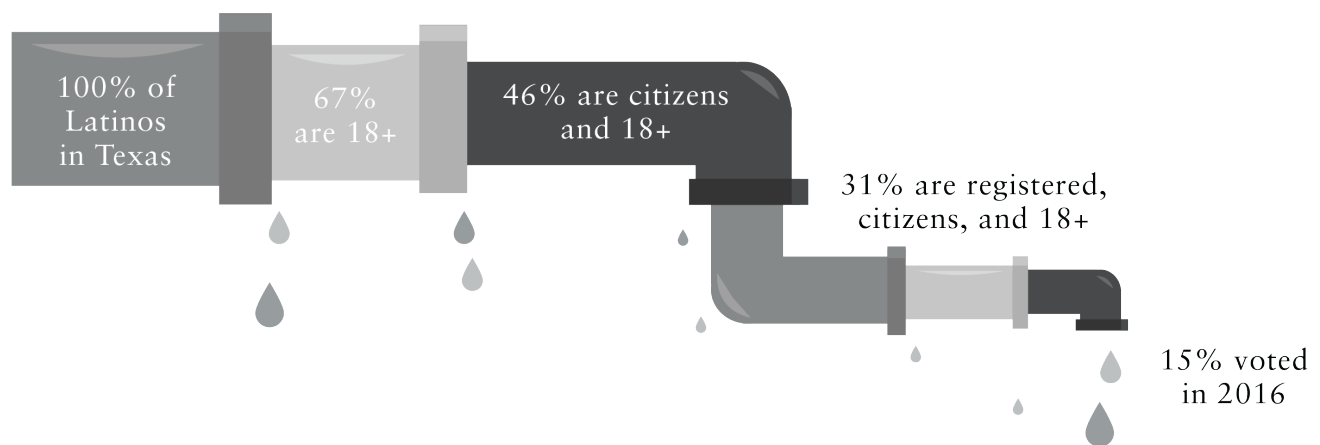
there are only 35 voters, versus 43 for the U.S. and for every 100 voting-age citizens, Texas produces only 43 voters, versus 56 for the U.S. Additionally, Texas ranks 47th in voter turnout nationally.²

Our study uncovered significant voting patterns and trends among one of the largest and fastest growing populations of the state—young Latinos. These patterns represent important challenges and opportunities for civic action. To develop the metrics for these trends, we used the analogy of a voter production pipeline with leaks that reflect the stages in which people are not able to or do not vote. There are four stages of eligibility: age, citizenship, registration, and actual voting, as seen in the graphic below.

TEXAS LATINOS ARE YOUNG, their levels of civic participation impact our democracy today, and with the demographic changes underway in the state, Latinos are poised to have an outsized influence on the future voting trends of Texas. Over the coming decade, from 2018 to 2028 (two presidential elections and three midterms), an annual average of nearly 210,000^a Latinos already living in Texas will turn 18 years of age and on average; 95% of them are U.S. citizens.³

But the immediate focus of this study is the present;

THE LEAKY VOTER PIPELINE



^a Increases in the number of eligible voters in the state comes from citizens reaching age 18, people of any age over 18 becoming citizens by naturalization, and new eligible voters coming into Texas minus voting eligible people that die or move out of the state. From 2018 to 2028, the Latino eligible to vote population will grow by 271,000 per year on average, representing 73% of the total growth in the state's potential electorate.

as of the 2016 election, a full third of Latinos were too young to vote, versus one fifth of non-Latinos in Texas (33% and 22% respectively).⁴ Additionally, of the seven most populous Latino states, Texas has the youngest population of all of them. Among Latinos old enough to vote, nearly a third (31%) are not citizens, compared to less than 5% for non-Latinos.⁵

Under half (46%) of Latinos meet both the age and citizenship requirements to vote, compared to 74% of Non-Latinos.⁶ An important contributor to the citizenship issue is that among foreign born Texans over age 18, the percentage becoming naturalized citizens for Latinos and non-Latinos are 28% and 56%, respectively.⁷

The final voter pipeline leaks are the voter registration and voter turnout rates measured against citizens over age 18. In 2016, among those Texans eligible to vote, just 32% of Latinos voted, compared to 59% of non-Latinos.⁸

Low voter registration rates is another factor contributing to their low turnout numbers — 66% of eligible Latinos voters were registered versus 84% of non-Latinos in Texas.⁹

SOCIAL ISSUES LATINOS CARE ABOUT AND PARTY AFFILIATION

The Latinos we interviewed demonstrated a deep understanding of the issues they cared about and were most motivated by liberal issues, including universal healthcare, protection for DREAMers, racial and ethnic equality and justice, economic prosperity, and raising the minimum wage. Over half of Latinos said they would not vote for a candidate who made comments against Mexicans/Latinos or was anti-immigrant.

What political issues would motivate you to get involved politically? (1-10)	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters	Difference (Engaged vs Disinterested)
TOP RESPONSES				
HEALTHCARE FOR ALL	29%	30%	28%	-2%
PATH TO CITIZENSHIP FOR IMMIGRANTS LIKE DACA (<i>Dreamers</i>)	28%	19%	21%	-2%
RACIAL AND ETHNIC EQUALITY AND JUSTICE	20%	19%	21%	-2%
MORE JOBS AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY	16%	14%	12%	-2%
RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	13%	12%	14%	-2%
REDUCING CRIME	13%	10%	11%	-1%
EXPAND GUN CONTROL	12%	14%	10%	4%
POLICE BRUTALITY	11%	9%	10%	-1%
PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT	11%	12%	9%	3%
CANCELLING STUDENT DEBT	10%	10%	14%	-4%
LEGALIZING MARIJUANA	10%	10%	16%	-6%
ASSISTING HOMELESS/ CARING FOR THE NEEDY	10%	2%	13%	-11%

However, these strong feelings and opinions on the issues did not necessarily lead individuals to vote for or align with one political party. The Democratic Party was preferred by 32%, compared to only 13% for the Republican Party of those surveyed in our study, but many said they were independents (16%) and even more said they did not know which party they affiliated with (34%). This strongly points to the need of both major parties to better articulate what they stand for and how they will address the needs of the Latino community.

³Including international and domestic migration to and from Texas, and naturalization rates, would increase the annual average number of Latinos turning 18 to 271,000 from 2018 to 2028, accounting for nearly three quarters (73%) of the growth in Texas eligible to vote population.

Party Affiliation	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters
DEMOCRAT	32%	44%	25%
REPUBLICANS	13%	19%	15%
INDEPENDENT	16%	19%	12%
NOT SURE	34%	12%	41%
OTHER	5%	6%	7%

BARRIERS TO CIVIC PARTICIPATION

We are Texas researchers found there were four primary reasons why young Texas Latinos did not vote at higher rates. Our study reported that 50% of respondents were cynical about voting, answering that they did not trust politicians, did not think voting made a difference, or did not think “people like me have a say.” Over a third (37%) did not feel educated enough to make a good choice, answering that voting was too complicated, that they did not know the candidates, did not know enough to cast an informed vote, and did not know their own political views. A third (33%) said they did not see voting as their American duty, and many (28%) did not identify with the candidates.

Our research indicates that investments are needed in educating and reaching Latinos and shifting messages to be more positive, unbiased and focused on key issues that matter to Latinos. Many of the Latinos *We Are Texas* researchers surveyed wanted more information on the candidates and voting but did not know where or how to find unbiased and understandable sources. With low-voter turnout, weak understanding of the democratic process, low daily news consumption (31% read the news on a daily basis) and minimal social media political involvement (29% reported reading political social media posts daily), Texas is facing a democratic crisis, given that nearly 40% of its population is Latino and by 2022 they will be the largest ethnic group in the state.^{8,9}

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BUILDING A STRONG DEMOCRACY

Policies for a Strong Democracy

In addition to overturning recent legislation making it harder and more complicated to vote, voter ID laws and reducing polling locations and hours for example, policymakers at the federal, state and local level are uniquely positioned to introduce creative and smart policies that will help drive voter engagement and education, and build a stronger Texas, including:

MAKE ELECTION DAY A NATIONAL HOLIDAY Studies have found that a significant number of Americans do not vote because they are unable to make it to the polls due to conflicts with work

or school.¹⁰ Many other countries, including Germany, France and South Korea, make election day a national holiday and many hold their elections on Sundays to ensure greater participation.

MAKE VOTER REGISTRATION EASY Texas legislators should modernize the state's voting system to make voter registration easier, more efficient and cost effective. Texas should join a growing movement of states that have passed policies for automatic voter registration by which all eligible citizens are automatically registered to vote. Currently, there are 13 states that have automatic registration.¹¹ Texas should also modernize its voter registration system by allowing for online registration. Currently, most states allow for secure online voter registration — Texas is behind the curve. Lastly, Texas should adopt policies that allow for Americans to register to vote on election day, so that no Americans are stopped from exercising their constitutional right to vote. Voting is a fundamental right of all Americans and policymakers are uniquely positioned to knock down major hurdles in the voter registration process to ensure a more fair, open and representative democracy.

VOTE BY MAIL Allowing vote by mail increases voter turnout, making it easier for rural voters, people with disabilities, the low-income and students to vote. Today, three states (Colorado, Washington and Oregon) offer vote by mail for all elections. Texas could join the growing movement of states that are expanding the electorate by allowing citizens to vote by mail.

ENGAGE YOUNG VOTERS Texas is a young state and so are its voters. On average over the next decade nearly 210,000 Latinos will turn 18, 95% of them are citizens eligible to vote. Additionally, by 2022, one in three voters will be under the age of 30. Texas high schools are uniquely positioned to ensure young people are registered and informed about the democratic process. Under Texas law,

high schools are required to offer eligible seniors the opportunity to register to vote twice a year, however, a recent study found that just one in six high schools leading up to the 2016 election requested voter registration materials from the Secretary of State.¹² The Texas legislature should invest resources into high school voter registration to ensure compliance. Additionally, the Texas School Board should strengthen civics education curriculum by including more rigorous project and action based learning in all required middle school and high school government classes to increase the number of informed and educated Texans.

LOWER THE VOTING AGE There is a growing movement to lower the voting age to 16 years-old for local and federal elections in the U.S. Austria, Brazil, and Argentina are among countries that allow citizens at age 16 to cast ballots. Many proponents of lowering the voting age note that the U.S. has already lowered the age once, and that young people by age 16 have formed their core values and beliefs. Moreover, fifteen states have already lowered the voting age to 17 for primary elections, where eligible voters will be 18 on election day.¹³ Finally, studies have shown that younger voters are more likely to become life-long voters and that when young people vote, they increase the voter participation among their parents.^{14, 15}

PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

Parties and candidates have an important role to play in educating, engaging and mobilizing Latino voters in Texas. There are simple but significant steps that candidates and parties can take to build an electorate in Texas that represents our states' diversity and the needs of these communities, including:

INVEST IN THE GRASSROOTS The data is clear, the best way to get new or infrequent voters to the polls is by talking to them on their door steps.¹⁶

Despite decades of data highlighting the effectiveness of field programs, most campaigns spend their money on expensive media buys on television and radio. To ensure more Latino Texans vote, candidates and parties must invest in field programs that directly connect with young people.

REACH LATINOS ONLINE AND IN ETHNIC MEDIA While *We Are Texas* researchers suggest campaigns invest most of their resources in door knocking operations to get out the vote, but we know it is also important to reach Latinos online and through Latino media, to let the community know where the candidate stands on the issues that matter to Latinos. To reach younger Latinos who primarily speak English and get their information through social media, candidates should target them online and also work with Spanish language and Latino media outlets to ensure their messages about the issues that matter to Latinos reach the community.

HIRE CULTURALLY COMPETENT STAFF Texas is a diverse state, campaigns and parties should work harder to reflect the diversity of Texas to ensure more culturally competent outreach and messaging. Staff that come from Texas' diverse population are highly likely to understand the key issues impacting their community.

PHILANTHROPY

Private and community foundations can also play an important role in increasing voter participation by strategic investments in younger voters and new American communities, including:

NON-PARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION While young Latinos will make up half of all new eligible voters coming of age in Texas over the next decade, they are the least likely to be registered. Philanthropic institutions could close this gap by making sizable and strategic investments in voter registration organizations. Foundations can maximize their impact by investing in youth civic engagement organizations that are culturally competent and best positioned to reach and relate to young Latinos.

VOTER EDUCATION *We Are Texas* researchers identified a clear need for further education on the voting process, candidates and major parties about the issues that most matter to young Latinos. Investing in the development and distribution of unbiased, non-partisan voter materials by Texas-based organizations could prove incredibly useful. Materials should be distributed both in print and through social media to broadly reach a young audience.

NATURALIZATION: In other states, such as California and New York, significant investments from philanthropic institutions, as well as local and state governments helped an increased number of eligible immigrants become citizens, supporting thousands of qualified immigrants to naturalize.^{17, 18} With an estimated half a million Latino immigrants that qualify for citizenship in Texas, strategic investments in naturalization would not only increase the state's national standing in voter turnout, but would also grow the state's economy, by helping increase the tax-base, home ownership, and the earnings of immigrant families.^{19, 20}

¹Ura, Alexa, and Naema Ahmed. "Hispanic Texans on pace to Become Largest Population Group in State by 2022." The Texas Tribune. June 21, 2018. <https://www.texastribune.org/2018/06/21/hispanic-texans-pace-become-biggest-population-group-state-2022/>.

²US Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016." United States Census Bureau. May 2017.

³Texas State Data Center, Projections of the Population of Texas and Counties in Texas by Age, Sex and Race/Ethnicity for 2010-2050, November 2014. Rate of citizenship for 2016 to 2014 is based on 2016 estimates from the American Community Survey and projections created by US-ness

⁴US Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016."

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸United States Census Bureau. "Quick Facts: Texas." 2010 – 2017 American Community Survey. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/tx/RHI725217#viewtop>

⁹Ura, Alexa and Narma Ahmed.

¹⁰"Little Enthusiasm, Familiar Divisions After the GOP's Big Midterm Victory." Pew Research Center. November 12, 2014. <http://www.people-press.org/2014/11/12/little-enthusiasm-familiar-divisions-after-the-gops-big-midterm-victory/>.

¹¹"Automatic Voter Registration." Brennan Center for Justice. July 24, 2018. <http://www.people-press.org/2014/11/12/little-enthusiasm-familiar-divisions-after-the-gops-big-midterm-victory/>

¹²Stevens, Beth, Brendan Doves, Mimi Marziani, and Cassandra Champion. "The High School Vote: How Texas Fails to Engage the Next Generation of Voters." The Texas Civil Rights Project and Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. September 2017. <https://texascivilrightsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/HSVR-Report.pdf>

¹³Noble, Breana. "22 Places That Have Dropped the Voting Age." NewsMax. July 18, 2015. <https://www.newsmax.com/FastFeatures/dropped-voting-age-places/2015/07/18/id/657836/>

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¹⁵Dahlgaard, Jens Olav. "The Surprising Consequence of Lowering the Voting Age." The Washington Post. March 1, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/02/28/the-surprising-consequence-of-lowering-the-voting-age/?utm_term=.9e99eb3de4aa

¹⁶"Absentee and Early Voting." National Conference of State Legislatures. September 20, 2018. <http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx>

¹⁷Hunter, Adam and Karina Shklyan. "The State of the States on Naturalization: Highlights from California, Illinois, and Washington." Pew Trusts. July 14, 2016. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2016/07/14/the-state-of-the-states-on-naturalization-highlights-from-california-illinois-and-washington>

¹⁸Governor of New York Andrew M. Cuomo. *Governor Cuomo Launches "Naturalization NY"—First Public-Private Partnership of its Kind to Promote U.S. Citizenship*. July 14, 2016. <https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomo-launches-naturalize-ny-first-public-private-partnership-its-kind-promote-us>

¹⁹Pastor, Manuel and Justin Scoggins. "Citizen Gain: The Economic Benefits of Naturalization for Immigrants and the Economy," Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration. December 2012. https://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/731/docs/citizen_gain_web.pdf

²⁰"Home Ownership More Likely When Immigrants to U.S. Stay Longer." Face the Facts USA. March 27, 2013. <http://www.facethefactsusa.org/facts/homeownership-more-likely-when-immigrants-us-stay-longer/>

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CHAPTER 1.

METHODOLOGY

We Are Texas is the result of nearly nine months of research collaboratively conducted by staff of Jolt Initiative, a non-profit working to increase civic participation of young Latinos to build a strong Texas where everyone's voice is heard; US-ness, an Austin based not-for-profit applied research and communications firm; and researchers from EthniFacts, a survey research firm specializing in psychological and statistical sciences, innovative demographic tools, and cultural observation and interpretation.

The research effort for *We Are Texas* entailed the use of both secondary data mining and original data collection. Researchers analyzed secondary data from the Bureau of the Census Current Population Survey for November 2016, which provides the most complete information on voting and voter registration in the biannual cycle of national elections, and the most recent data from the American Community Survey for the demographic character of Texas. For both data sources, researchers used the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) and designed and produced comprehensive profiles of the voters and voting behaviors in Texas and its major metropolitan centers. Most of the content in Chapter 3: "*How Texas and Latinos Stack Up*" is from this secondary data mining effort.

For the primary data gathered in the project, researchers relied on both quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. The research team designed and fielded a statewide survey of Texans that produced a sample of 1,016 completed interviews of Latinos augmented by a smaller sample of 317 non-Latinos for comparative purposes (for a full demographic breakdown see the appendix section). The surveys were conducted between

April 1 and May 16, 2018 and the qualitative fieldwork was from April 11 to May 20, 2018. The overall sample is geographically distributed across the state, with 28% in the Houston metro area, 20% in the South Texas border region, 14% in the Dallas-Fort Worth metro area, 19% in the Austin to San Antonio corridor, and 19% in the rest of Texas.

The age distribution of the actual interviews is 12% of ages 18 to 19; 20% ages 20 to 24; 46% ages 25 to 34; and 22% ages 35 to 44. The focus on the age range of 18 to 34 reflects the focus of Jolt Initiative on young adult Texans or a wider than usual definition of millennials. Prior to the final tabulations and analysis, the sample was statistically balanced to accurately reflect basic demographic traits (age and gender) of the Texas population.

We Are Texas researchers sought to draw a representative sample of Texas' Latino population, thus, 85% were U.S. born, 85% were of Mexican ancestry, and 24% spoke Spanish at home at least half the time. Of the interviews held, 81% were conducted in English and 19% in Spanish.

The survey questionnaire was very comprehensive and required an average of 24 minutes to complete. It extensively covered topics such as cultural orientation, ethnic identity, voting and other civic attitudes and behaviors; issue positions, party affiliation and ideological orientation; perceptions about the status of Latinos; communications preferences and social media usage; and sources of influence, intercultural relationships, and demographics.

The survey was complemented by a qualitative effort comprised of a series of 65 in-depth, open-end personal interviews with selected participants that represented the social, civic and geo-demographic diversity of Texas Latinos. The geographic distribution of these interviews included 28 in Central Texas; 12 in Houston; 12

in the Border region; 6 in the Dallas area; and 7 in small or rural parts of Texas. These 65 qualitative interviews were conducted in 37 sessions, each with one to three individuals familiar with each other as friends or siblings.

THE RESEARCH TEAM

ABOUT JOLT INITIATIVE. Jolt Initiative was founded in 2016 to increase the civic participation and leadership of young Latinos in Texas, with the goal of building a stronger democracy and state. Jolt Initiative focuses on registering young voters and building the leadership of young Latinos. Jolt Initiative staff provided critical feedback about the issues and challenges facing young Latino voters that helped inform the research study.

ABOUT US-NESS. Established in 2017 and Austin-based, US-ness is dedicated to applying social science insights to gain a deeper understanding of intercultural relations and to move American cultural attitudes and behaviors from aversion toward affinity. Its goals are to create and disseminate original content to inform and educate; to celebrate exemplary narratives of positive cultural engagement; to support training and capacity building; and to communicate to the American public through traditional and new social media. Dr. Carlos Arce, US-ness co-founder and executive director, led the research effort and the collaboration with EthniFacts. He is also co-founder of EthniFacts.

ABOUT ETHNIFACTS. EthniFacts, LLC is a consumer insights provider focused on how culture drives consumer behavior. It applies expertise in psychological and statistical sciences, innovative demographic tools, and deep cultural observation and interpretation to deliver innovative and actionable understanding of today's evolving consumer environment. EthniFacts offers custom research solutions and syndicated tools including the quarterly Intercultural Affinity Tracker (ICAT) providing a cross-cultural window on corporate and social issues, as well as implementation tools in collaboration with Nielsen and GfK MRI. Prior clients include Coca-Cola, AT&T, AARP, Disney Studios, NBCU Telemundo and more. Adrienne Pulido, an EthniFacts partner, managed the design of the survey, led the qualitative interviews and co-authored this report. Adrienne is a third generation Latina from Laredo, Texas and a leader in cross-cultural and Latino research trends.

CHAPTER 2. HOW TEXAS AND LATINOS STACK UP

*All charts in this chapter utilize data from the U.S. Census Bureau "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016" and from the 2016 American Community Survey.

A healthy democracy with broad civic participation in Texas hinges on an active and engaged citizenry. *We Are Texas* researchers found that Texas ranked near the bottom on key civic participation and voting indicators. Educating and mobilizing Latinos to vote is a clear solution to increase voter participation and build a stronger Texas and democracy.

Researchers used data from the Bureau of the Census Current Population Survey for November 2016, which provides the most complete information on voting and voter registration in the biannual cycle of national elections, and the most recent data from the American Community Survey for the demographic character of Texas. For both data sources, researchers used the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) and designed and produced comprehensive profiles of the voters and voting behaviors in Texas and its major metropolitan centers. This chapter provides a broad understanding of civic participation in Texas and the importance of Latino voters to improving Texas' standing nationally in voter turnout and participation. Key findings indicate that:

- Texas ranks 47th in voter turnout- just 55% of eligible voters cast ballots in 2016 compared to 61% at the national level.¹
- Texas ranks 50th in number of voters relative to its population. In Texas just 35% of the population are eligible to vote, compared to 43% nationally.²
- Though Latinos make up nearly 40% of the state's population they made up just 18% of Texas voters in the 2016 November election.³
- Texas' Latino population is young, one in three Latinos is under the age 18. Over the next decade over 2 million Latinos will turn 18, 95% of whom will be eligible to vote.⁴
- Today, one in two Texans under the age of 18 are Latino and by 2022, one in three voters will be under the age of 30.⁵ However, just 43% of Latinos ages 18 to 29 are registered to vote. Furthermore, by 2022 Latinos will be the largest ethnic group in Texas.⁶
- Over one in five (21%) of all Texas Latinos of voting age are not citizens, compared to just 4% of their Texas non-Latino counterparts.⁷ Additionally, foreign naturalization is 56% for non-Latinos adults and barely 28% for Latinos adults in Texas, half the rate as non-Latinos.⁸ There are an estimated 528,000 Latino immigrants that are eligible to become citizens in Texas.⁹
- In 2016, eligible Latino voters voted at barely half the rate of their non-Latino fellow Texans, 32% and 59%, respectively.¹⁰ In Texas, of eligible Latino voters 66% were registered compared to 84% of non-Latinos.¹¹
- Gender differences were important. Generally, Latina women were more likely to be registered and to vote, especially in the younger generation.¹²

A DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS

Texas' democracy is in crisis. Texas ranks nearly dead last in several key indicators of a healthy democracy. According to the data from the U.S. Census, among the 50 states and the District of Columbia, Texas ranks:

- 50th in number of voters relative to its population. In Texas just 35% of the population are eligible to vote, compared to 43% nationally.
- 50th in number of voters relative to its voting age population. In Texas just 43% of our population is over 18, compared to 56% nationally.
- 47th in number voter turnout In Texas just 55% of eligible voters cast ballots in 2016 compared to 61% at the national level.
- 44th in percent of persons registered to vote among voting age citizens. Just 67% of eligible Texans are registered to vote, versus the national average of 70%.

Without an engaged and active citizenry, Texas cannot solve the major challenges the state faces. Young Latinos should be front and center in any initiative aiming to foment civic participation in Texas considering they are crucial to the state's economic and social future. It is imperative to educate and inspire young Latinos to be strong civic participants.

LATINOS ARE THE FUTURE

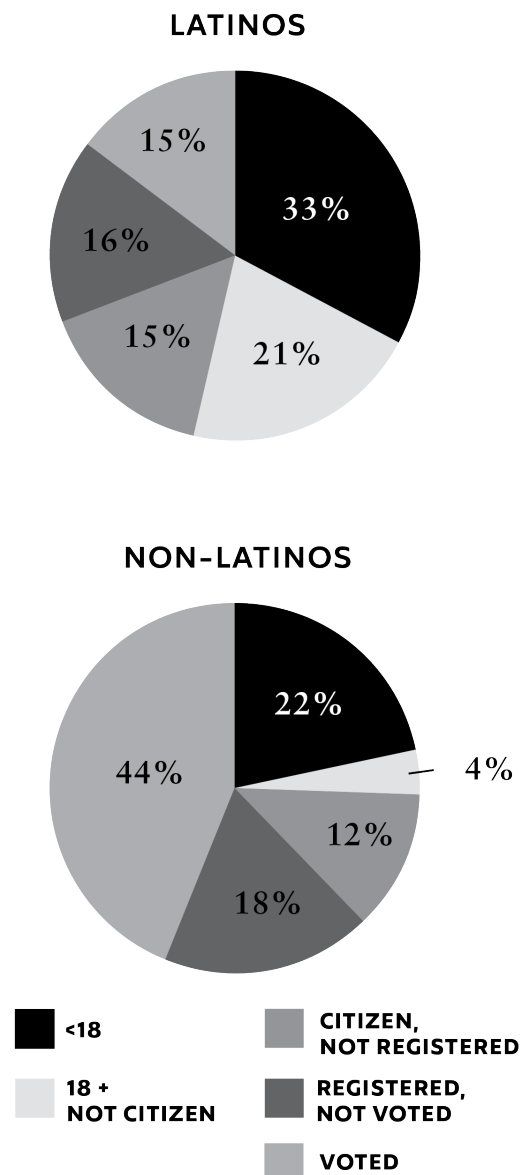
The 10.9 million Texas Latinos already comprise 39% of the state's total population of 27.9 million, however, it is estimated that in the decade of the 2030s, Latinos will become the majority of the Texas population.

Despite Latinos large proportion of the Texas population, they made up just 18% of the

November 2016 electorate.¹³ Of the nine million Texans who voted in November 2016, less than 18% or 1.6 million were Latinos.¹⁴ For every 100 Latinos in Texas, there were fewer than 15 Latino voters; in contrast, for every 100 non-Latinos, there were almost 44 non-Latino voters.¹⁵

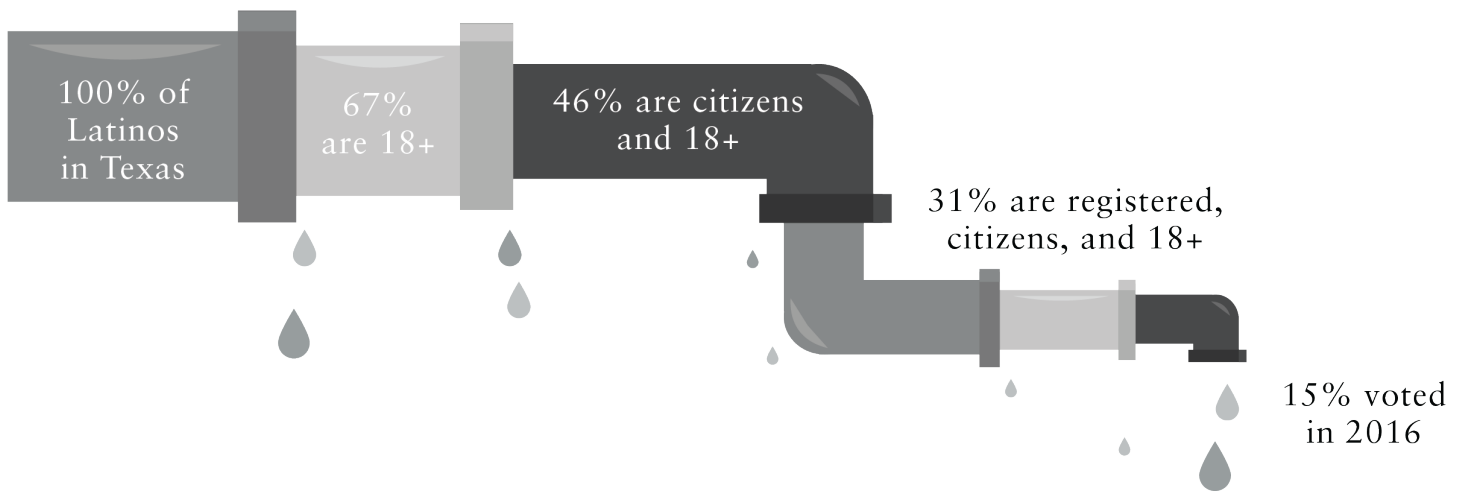
This astonishing gap is the result of a complex combination of demographic and civic engagement factors, as shown in Figure 1 below for Latinos and non-Latinos.

Figure 1. VOTING ELIGIBILITY AND BEHAVIOR OF LATINOS AND NON-LATINOS IN TEXAS, 2016



To measure and properly understand this gap, it is useful to think of the problem as resulting from a sequence of leaks in the voter pipeline. These are significant and provide guidance for what can be done to reduce and eventually seal them. The first leak results from Texas’ young Latino population. As the above figure indicates, one of every three Latinos (33%) is under voting age, versus just one in five non-Latinos (22%).

THE LEAKY VOTER PIPELINE



The overwhelming majority (95%) of Latinos under age 18 are U.S. citizens. Over the coming decade, from 2018 to 2028 (two presidential elections and three midterms), an annual average of 210,000^a Latinos already living in Texas will turn 18 years of age.¹⁰

Figure 2
U.S. Citizens Age 18+ in Texas, by Ethnicity

U.S. Citizens Age 18+ in Texas, by Ethnicity						% of U.S. Citizens Age 18+ in Texas, by Ethnicity				
YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE (NOT LATINO ^b)	BLACK (NOT LATINO)	LATINO	OTHER (NOT LATINO)	TOTAL	WHITE (NOT LATINO)	BLACK (NOT LATINO)	LATINO	OTHER (NOT LATINO)
2018	18,144,675	9,0209,125	2,291,605	5,683,841	960,104	100%	51%	13%	31%	5%
2028	21,873,315	9,374,087	2,628,123	8,397,907	1,472,197	100%	43%	12%	38%	7%

We Are Texas researchers estimate that Latinos will account for 73% of the growth of Texas’ electorate over the next decade. This estimate includes Latinos who become eligible voters from citizens reaching age 18, people of any age over 18 becoming citizens by naturalization, and new eligible voters coming into Texas minus voting eligible people that die or move out of the state.

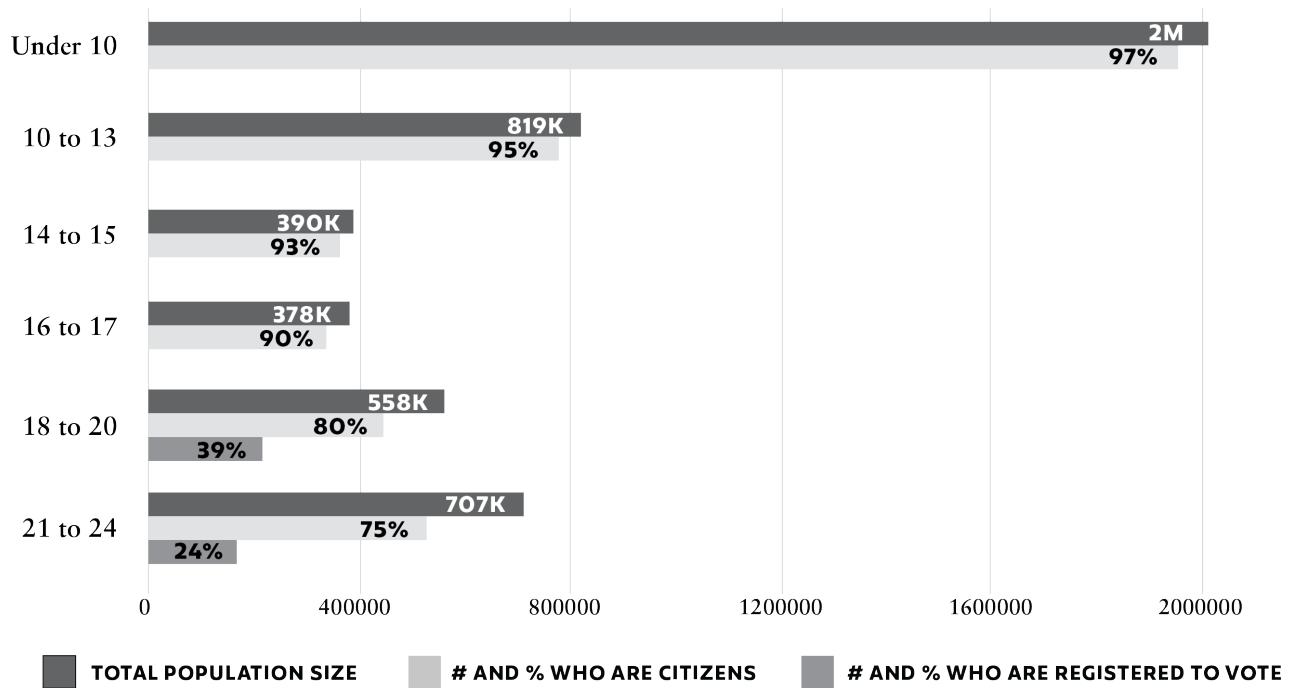
¹Increases in the number of eligible voters in the state comes from citizens reaching age 18, people of any age over 18 becoming citizens by naturalization, and new eligible voters coming into Texas minus voting eligible people that die or move out of the state. From 2018 to 2028, the Latino eligible to vote population will grow by 271,000 per year on average, representing 73% of the total growth in the state’s potential electorate.

²Note: Jolt Initiative uses the term “Latino” because it is more inclusive than the term “Hispanic.”

While it is a well-known demographic fact that Latinos are significantly younger than their non-Latino counterparts; in the U.S., 32% of Latinos are under age 18 and in Texas the figure is 33%. Just seven states account for 72% of the nation's Latino population and among those states, Texas has the highest percentage of Latinos under age 18.¹⁷

The following chart (Figure 3) represents the sizes of the age groups among Texas Latinos in 2016.¹⁸

Figure 3. CURRENT AND PROJECTED YOUNG LATINO VOTERS IN TEXAS, 2016 TO 2024



As Figure 3 demonstrates, the growth of the Latino population lies with its youth. The younger the population the greater percentage are U.S. citizens. For example, there are an estimated 2 million Latinos under age 10 in Texas, 97% of which are U.S. citizens, compared to Latinos ages 21 to 24, of which three in four are U.S. citizens.

Thus, the opportunity to generate new, young voters is very high. But the challenge is also high because younger adults have a lower likelihood of being registered voters, as demonstrated by the low numbers for 18 to 20 and 21 to 24 year old Latinos in 2016. These future opportunities and challenges are a top priority for anyone focused on future civic engagement.

We Are Texas researchers found significant opportunity to increase Latino civic engagement with young people, given their high citizenship level and significant numbers. The key to ensuring that Texas builds a healthy, diverse democracy and government that is equipped to meet the ongoing challenges and changes the state faces lies with young Latinos.

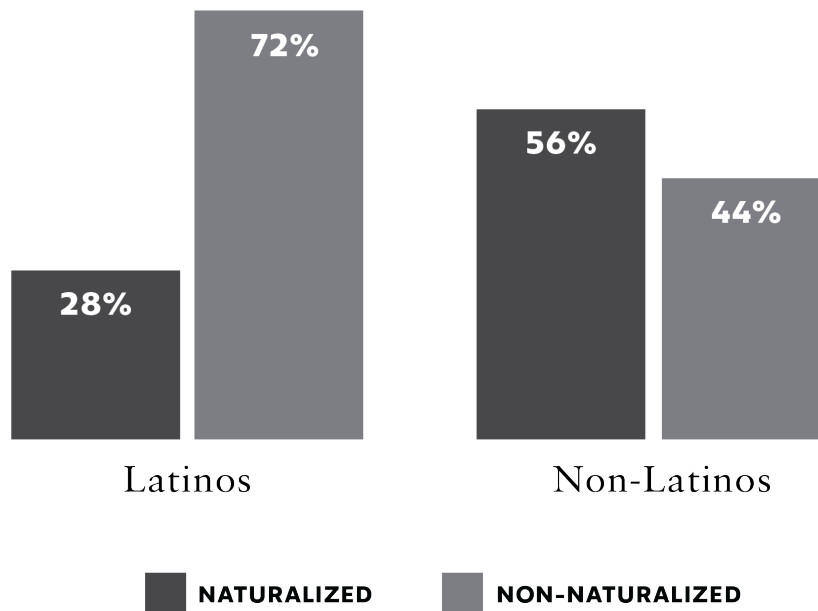
CITIZENSHIP IMPACTS LATINO TURNOUT

Texas' Latino population includes a large number of people who are foreign-born, most of whom have not become naturalized citizens. *We Are Texas* researchers found the second major leak in the pipeline to voting was derived from Latinos' having both a high foreign born population and low naturalization rates in Texas. Over one in five (21%) of all Texas Latinos of voting age are not citizens, compared to just 4% of their Texas non-Latino counterparts.¹⁹

The combined result of a high number of Latinos who are under 18 and a large number of non-citizens means that less than half (46%) of all Latinos are old enough to vote and are citizens, versus three quarters (74%) for non-Latinos.²⁰

The majority of Latino immigrants in Texas are from Mexico, and Mexicans are the least likely among all ethnic groups to become naturalized citizens.²¹ Of the Texas population that is at least 18 years old and foreign born, 3.1 million are Latinos and 1.5 million are non-Latinos.²² However, as the following chart shows, Latinos naturalized at half the rate of their non-Latino counterparts, 56% of non-Latinos and barely 28% of Latinos naturalized, as seen in Figure 4.²³

Figure 4. **NATURALIZATION OF TEXAS FOREIGN BORN VOTING AGE (18+ YEARS) POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, 2016**



It is important to understand who are the 2.25 million foreign-born, un-naturalized, and voting age Texas Latinos. They include Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients, Legal Permanent Residents, and other smaller groups of non-citizens that have a distinct right to be in the U.S. There are an estimated 124,000 DACA recipients in Texas, approximately 85%, or 105,400 are of voting age and the rest will soon be voting age.²⁴

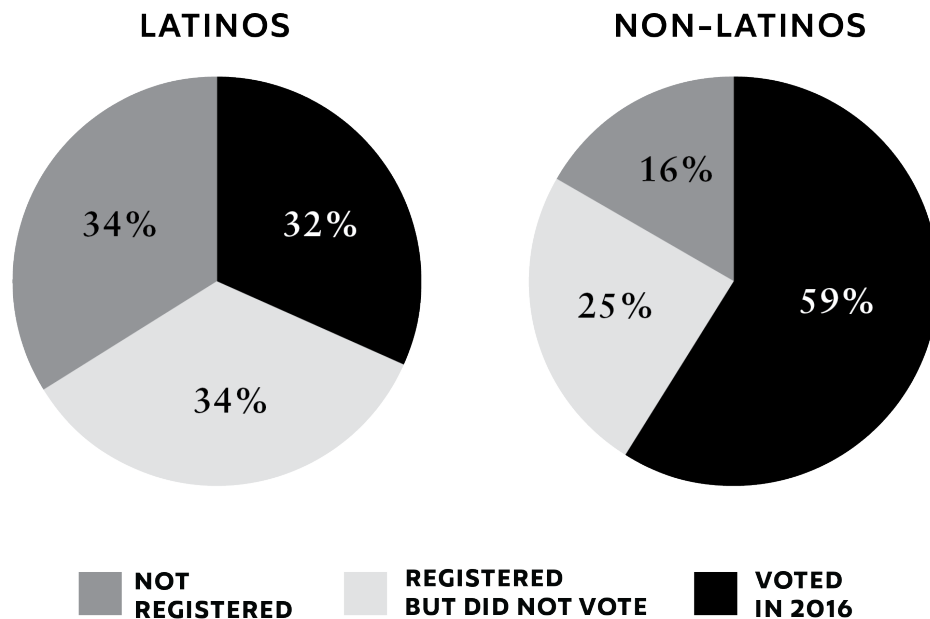
In Texas, 960,000 Lawful Permanent Residents are eligible for naturalization, and at least 55% of them (528,000) are Latino.²⁵

Over half (54%) of the voting pipeline leaks are the result of age and citizenship. However, these demographics represent both challenges and opportunities for the future. As more Latinos turn eighteen and become eligible to vote, there are opportunities to expand and grow the Latino electorate. Additionally, there are opportunities to support more Latino immigrants to become naturalized citizens. Efforts to close the voter turnout gap in Texas, should focus on getting more foreign born and young Latinos to naturalize, register, and turnout.

LATINO VOTER REGISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION

Moving along the voter pipeline, *We Are Texas* researchers found gaps in the registration and voting rates among Latinos. Eligible voters in Texas include 5 million Latinos and 12.6 million non-Latinos.²⁶ If eligible Latinos had voted at the same rate as their non-Latino counterparts in 2016, the state would have seen the Latino voter turnout nearly double to 3 million voters, up from 1.6 million actual voters in 2016; however, that is not the case, as shown below in Figure 5.²⁷

Figure 5. VOTER REGISTRATION AND ACTUAL VOTING RATES FOR U.S. CITIZENS OF VOTING AGE IN TEXAS BY ETHNICITY, 2016

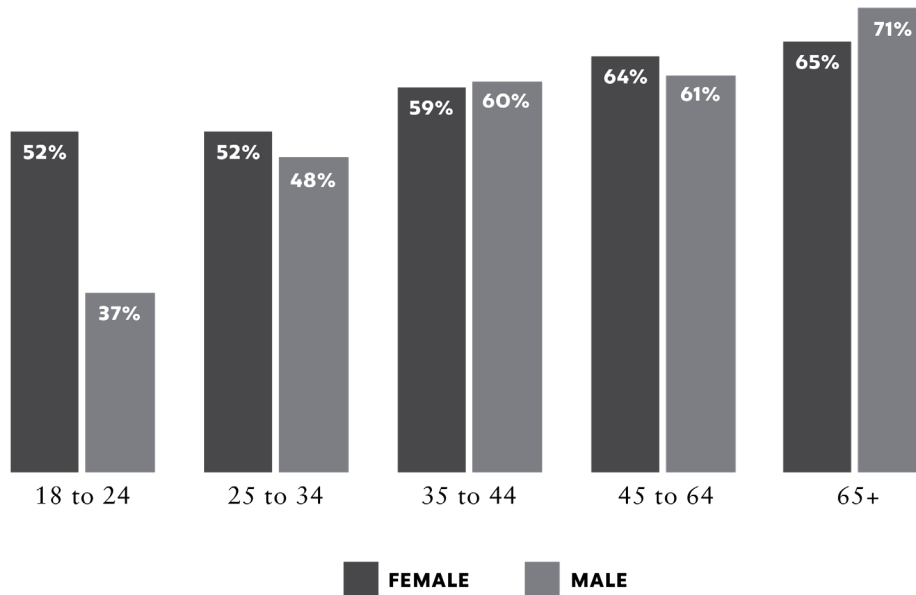


In 2016, Texas Latinos had lower voter registration and turnout rates than their non-Latino counterparts. Just 66% of eligible Latinos were registered to vote, versus 84% of non-Latinos.²¹ Among voting age Texans, a mere 32% of Latinos voted compared to 59% of non-Latinos.²² The Latino population is significantly younger than their non-Latino counterparts, which offers yet another challenge for registration rates considering that younger people are much less likely to be registered than their older, non-Latino counterparts. In Texas, just 43% of Latinos ages 18 to 29 are registered to vote.²³

LATINA WOMEN LEAD THE WAY

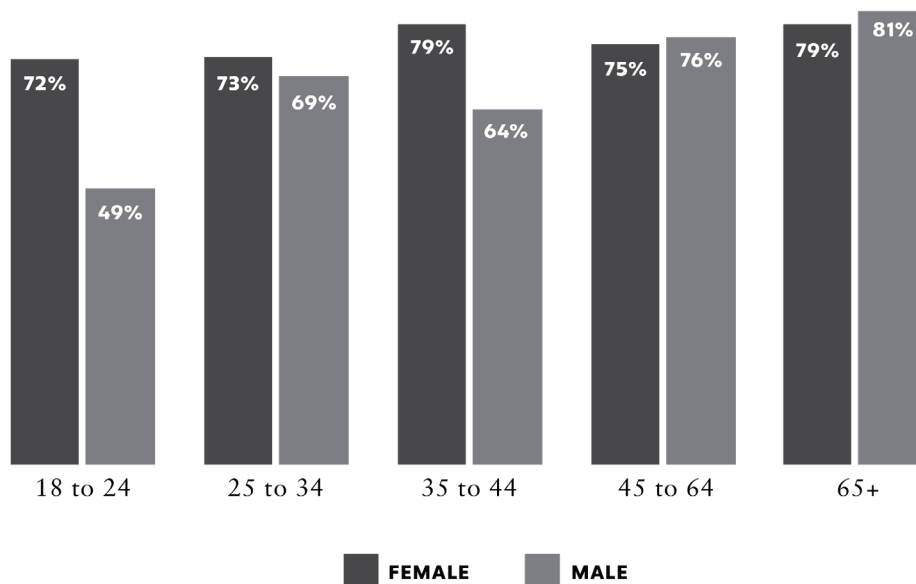
We Are Texas researchers found that Latina women are taking the lead on crucial efforts to turn out the Latino vote. *We Are Texas* found evidence of notable gender differences in registration and turnout rates among Latinos, particularly evident among younger voters and potential voters. Gender proved to be a significant differentiator in voting behavior; Figure 6 shows the rates of Latino citizens registered to vote by age groups, separated by gender.²⁴

Figure 6. **VOTER REGISTRATION RATES FOR LATINO CITIZENS BY AGE AND GENDER**



Generally, Latina women have higher rates of voter registration than their male Latino counterparts. Most striking, in the youngest cohort, ages 18 to 24, just 27% of Latino men are registered compared to more than half (52%) of Latina women, as seen in Figure 7.²⁵

Figure 7. **RATE OF ACTUAL VOTING IN 2016 BY LATINO CITIZENS REGISTERED TO VOTE BY AGE AND GENDER**



Among Latino citizens specifically, similar gender patterns show up for rates in the actual voting population, as shown in Figure 8. Of this population, women are much more likely to vote than men, up to age 44. In the 45 to 64 age group, men and women have nearly equal voting rates and in the 65 and older group, Latino men have slightly higher voting rates than Latina women. In fact, *We Are Texas* researchers found that Latina women ages 18 to 24 not only outpaced their Latino male counterparts by nearly 24% in their voter participation, but are also the only age group to outpace their non-Latina female counterparts in voter turnout by over 5%, as seen in Figure 8.²⁶

Figure 8 Population 18 to 24	Latino		Non-Latino	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
# IN TEXAS	594,215	612,096	649,483	686,426
# CITIZENS	79%	75%	94%	93%
OF CITIZENS, % REGISTERED	52%	27%	56%	51%
OF REGISTERED, % VOTED	72%	49%	67%	70%

CONCLUSION

With some of the lowest voter registration and participation rates in the country, Texas faces real barriers to building a healthy and strong democracy. The strength of our democracy will be determined in large part by engaging young Latinos who will become the largest ethnic population group by 2022.²⁷ Over the next decade more than 2 million Texas Latinos will turn eighteen, 95% of whom will be eligible to vote.²⁸ Investing early in their voter education, helping more eligible Latino immigrants to naturalize, and targeting voter registration efforts to young Latinos will be critical to enhancing Texas' national standing on civic participation and strengthening its democracy.

CHAPTER 3. ISSUES, VALUES AND PARTIES OF YOUNG LATINO VOTERS

INTRODUCTION

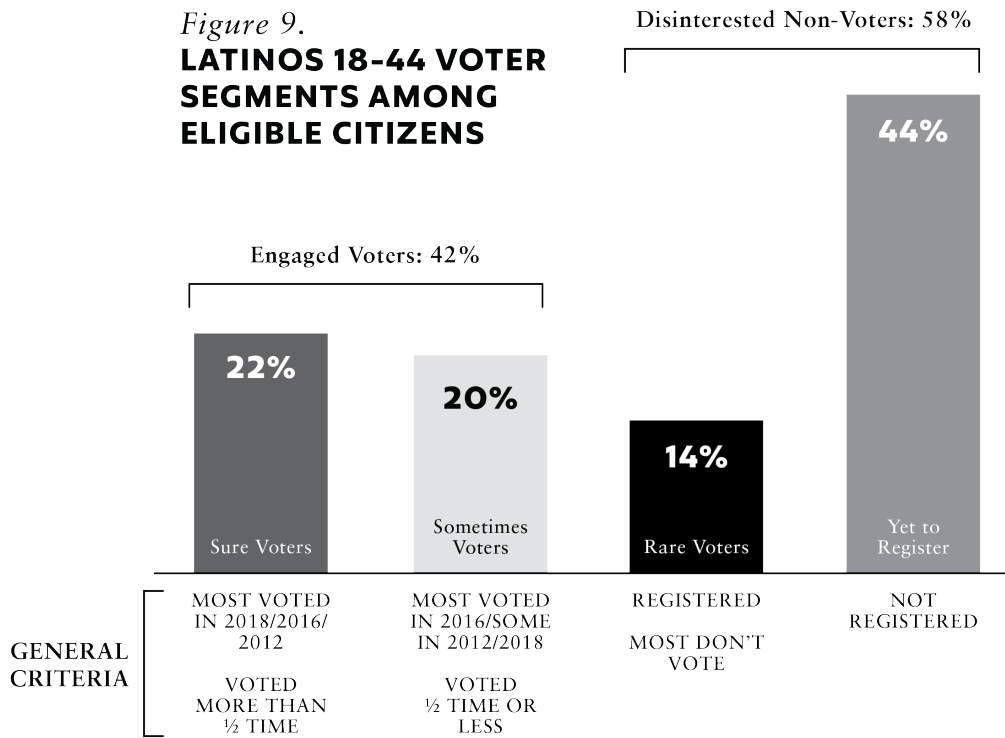
This chapter summarizes the results of 1,016 surveys with Latinos ages 18 to 44 across Texas and 65 in-depth qualitative interviews focused on issues they deemed most important. These issues include: voting and civic engagement patterns, party affiliation, media consumption, and cultural identity. Data marked “Total Latinos” refers to all Latinos surveyed, both citizens and non-citizens. The research team utilized response patterns, test scoring metrics and a cleaning process to minimize response bias and invalid responses, resulting in a significantly improved and reliable dataset. This is extremely important given the tendency of individuals to provide socially acceptable responses (such as claiming to vote at higher rates than they actually do) which may not reflect actual attitudes and behaviors. Finally, the data was balanced against actual voting and registration rates from the U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey, November 2016. See the appendix for details.

Latinos who participated in our study demonstrated a strong knowledge about the issues that mattered most to them. Additionally, a significant portion demonstrated interest in learning more about the democratic process and an eagerness to vote. Key findings in this section found:

- Liberal issues resonated most with respondents, including healthcare for all (29%), protections for immigrants (28%) and racial equality and justice (20%).
- The preferred party was the Democratic party (32%) over the Republican party (13%), although most (34%) reported they were unsure to which party they affiliated. Independents and those “not sure” about their party affiliation accounted for 50% of respondents, demonstrating that both major parties had opportunities to better articulate where they stood on the issues that matter to Latino voters and do more outreach to the Latino community; and
- Overall 55% of respondents strongly disapproved of how President Trump was handling his job. Just 4% of respondents strongly approved of how President Donald Trump was handling his job.

WHO LATINO VOTERS ARE

We Are Texas researchers sought to understand the younger Latino population in Texas and their civic engagement patterns. For the purpose of this study, *We Are Texas* researchers broke down the Latino population into categories of engaged and disengaged voters. *We Are Texas* did not count non-citizens in its “Disengaged Non-voters,” as they are not yet eligible to vote.^c The initial analyses centered on segmenting the Latino young voter population resulting in four potential voter segments shown in Figure 9.



Using the data above, *We Are Texas* researchers created two categories to understand younger Latinos voters, Engaged Voters and Disinterested Non-Voters. Engaged Voters are 42% of the Latino Texas population ages 18 to 44 comprised of active voters. Disinterested Non-Voters are the majority of this demographic, 58%, including mostly unregistered citizens and some registered who rarely vote, if at all.

We Are Texas researchers found:

SURE VOTERS were highly motivated and engaged in the political process. They were very knowledgeable, were involved in social issues, cared deeply and believed that their vote would make a difference. Most of them socialized with others who were equally engaged and grew up in a household where voting was ingrained as a right and privilege.

SOMETIMES VOTERS were knowledgeable of the issues but less involved than “Sure Voters”. They were less likely to make voting a priority, less sure of their political beliefs and were more likely to say voting was inconvenient or they were too busy to vote.

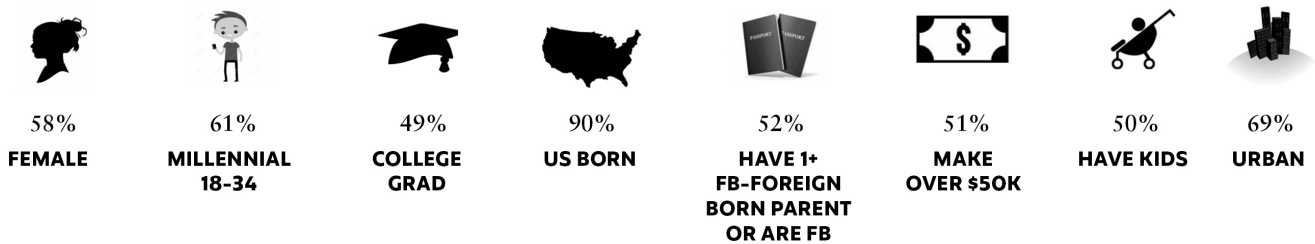
^cWhile *We Are Texas* researchers removed non-citizens from questions pertaining to voting, including who they would vote for, reasons why they did not vote, etc. Non-citizen Latinos viewpoints are included in the issues in the “total” column but are not represented in other columns delineating the differences between “Engaged Voters and disinterested Non-voters.”

RARE VOTERS were less likely to be in an environment where family or friends talked about voting and politics day to day. They were also less likely to search for information on issues or candidates.

YET TO REGISTER were similar to Rare Voters in mindset, and were the youngest, had the lowest income, educational attainment and employment rates.

ENGAGED VOTERS VS. DISENGAGED VOTERS

ENGAGED VOTERS include Sure and Sometimes voters. *We Are Texas* researchers found Engaged Voters were more likely to be educated, earn a higher income, be bicultural and more likely to identify as female than Disinterested Non-Voters, as shown below:



Additionally, *We Are Texas* researchers found that Engaged voters were more likely to be bilingual or speak Spanish at home (52%) than their Disengaged non-voters counterparts, that are primarily English speakers. Engaged Voters are more bilingual and bicultural, many with strong ties to the culture and issues pertaining to the immigrant population, DACA, healthcare, racial and ethnic equality, and more. See Figure 10:

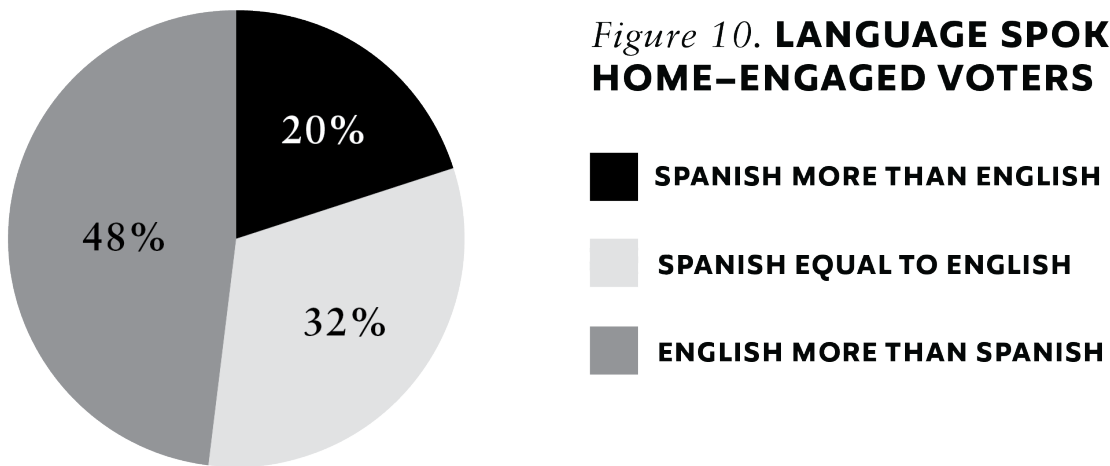


Figure 10. **LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME—ENGAGED VOTERS**

SURE VOTER

Monica, San Marcos, Age 21



“I live and attend school in San Marcos, Texas at Texas State University. I am currently working on obtaining a Bachelor of Science in Public Relations and Mass Communication. I am a first-generation student originally from Houston. I vote because my elected representatives make decisions that directly impact my life, if I do not agree with their policies or decisions then I have the power to change that through my vote. My senior year in high school, I registered to vote through my civics class and was ready to vote for the 2014 midterms. When I moved to San Marcos, I reapplied to be able to vote in Hays County. Before the election, I made sure that I my research so that I could make an informed decision, as everyone should do.”

SOMETIMES VOTER

Kyle, Austin, Age 22^d

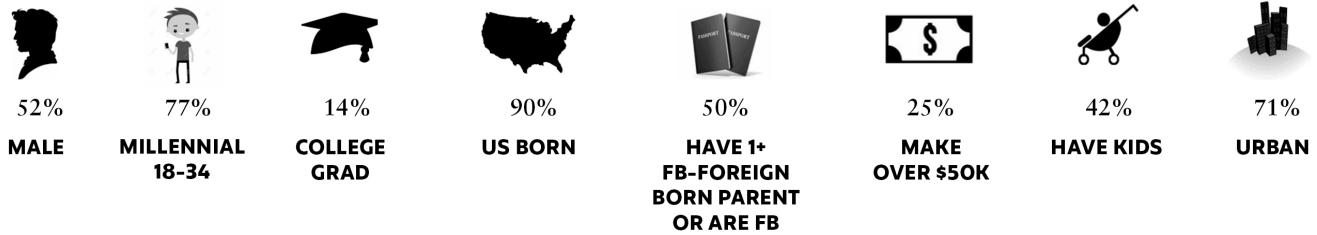


Studying to be a nurse at Austin Community College. Kyle often talks with friends about politics, despite that, he doesn't have definite opinions because he feels he doesn't know enough. His family watches the news but feels they are biased so he takes their comments with “a grain of salt.” He says that while voting is very important, it takes a lot of effort and between the lack of knowledge and his busy schedule, he doesn't turn out for all elections.

“I vote only in presidential elections. The information about Governors and other elections is not out there. The only people who know when voting happens are those who search for it... When I am tired and school is difficult, I have no desire to take part in tasks outside of myself.”

^d Some names were changed to protect the privacy of respondents.

DISINTERESTED NON-VOTERS were more likely to be younger, single, male, have fewer kids, and less formal education than Engaged Latino voters, as shown below.



As mentioned above, *We Are Texas* researchers found that most Disinterested Non-Voters lived in English dominant households (60%), see figure 11 below. They also had ties to Latino culture and their top issues included healthcare, immigration, and racial equality and justice.

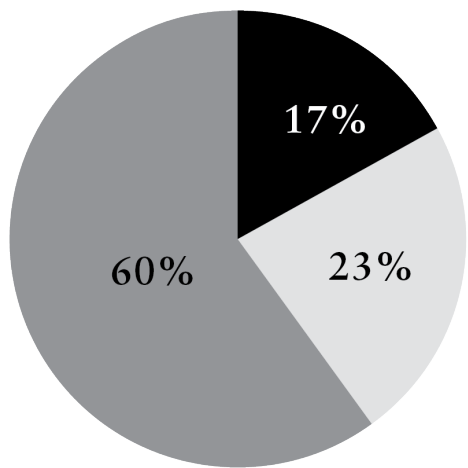
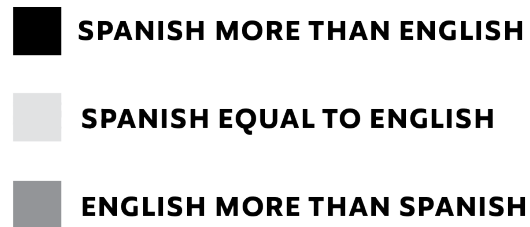


Figure 11. **LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME—DISENGAGED VOTERS**



RARE VOTER

Tony, San Antonio, Age 31



Tony is a plumber. He doesn't usually discuss politics with friends and family unless it is a presidential election. Instead, he likes to joke about or make bets on the election outcome. Tony voted in the 2016 presidential election because of talk about the border wall. Tony has a lot of family members that were born in Mexico and he was worried about them. The border wall, immigration, and deportation issues get him motivated as well as gun control. He told *We Are Texas* researchers he wanted to "keep his guns to protect [his] family." Tony believes that there are too many barriers to voting, and that his vote doesn't matter because politicians are dishonest.

"Whoever they are, they are just going to do whatever they want. My vote doesn't matter."

YET TO REGISTER

Alyssa, McAllen, Age 22



Alyssa is a student at South Texas College in McAllen, Texas. She works at a call center for a bank and is studying to be a legal court interpreter for the hearing impaired. She explained to *We Are Texas* researchers why she doesn't vote. According to Alyssa:

"No person's vote would make a difference, the only change I've seen is Trump but he's making things worse by making mean comments. People get angry when they ...want to get their person elected... I don't have [a] strong political view and they're [others that are opposed to my opinions] already bashing me for it. For me [politics] is not worth arguing with someone, i don't want to get involved in an argument.... President after president promise so much, and once they [get elected] they don't stick to their words, in reality, they don't get anything done, they cause a lot of division, it divides people. people taking sides, I don't see any unity that voting brings it brings the opposite of what [our country is] trying to accomplish."

ISSUES YOUNG LATINOS SAY MATTER MOST

Disinterested Non-Voters were as likely as Engaged Voters to prioritize the same issues: healthcare, DACA, and racial equality and justice. These two segments were also similar in 2nd tier issues like raising the minimum wage and boosting jobs and the economy. While concern over the issues was similar for both segments, that alone was not enough to motivate the Non-Voter.

We Are Texas researchers asked respondents to rate their top three issues. Respondents were given a range of issues to identify, including those that are traditionally seen as liberal or conservative issues. Figure 12. shows the issues that were among the most important to Latinos.

We Are Texas researchers found that the issue that most motivated respondents was “Healthcare for all,” this may be due to the fact that Latinos have the highest uninsured rate in Texas – one in three Latinos do not have health insurance.²⁹ In qualitative interviews, many young Latinos talked about affordable healthcare as a basic need and top priority.

“We’re being taxed but we don’t have healthcare. I’m a server in a restaurant... how do you expect me to pay \$400 per month? Meet us halfway.” –Jose, 31, Rio Grande Valley

*“We need healthcare for people of low income. I don’t have enough money for good insurance and it’s so expensive.. We don’t make an effort [to vote] because [politicians] don’t have good intentions and they don’t talk about really helping people who really need it.”
–Jesus, 26, Rio Grande Valley*

“Other countries have free healthcare and they’re doing great and we’re over here charging hundreds of dollars for medication

that people can’t live without and I can’t believe that.” –David, 28, Allen

“Healthcare is too expensive and not affordable. It needs to be made more affordable.” –Amy, 26, Dallas

Immigration was identified as another top priority from respondents surveyed – not surprising given Texas’ high foreign born Latino population, and that Texas has the second largest undocumented population in the country. Our study found that in Texas, 62% of the Latino population surveyed were immigrants or the children of immigrants.³⁰ DACA was seen as an important and personal issue for many Latinos who are concerned about family and friends being affected. Latinos interviewed said...

“I have friends who depended on DACA and one friend was going to college and had dreams of doing what they wanted, and now they can’t. They are now working at some manual labor job so they can save money and prepare to get deported. It’s saddening that something like this can happen.” –David, 28, Allen

“I’m very upset that DACA people are getting attacked, that they are in fear of the government sending them back to a place they have never been.” –Jose, 31, Rio Grande Valley

“My husband is a DACA recipient, even the name illegal alien is discrimination.” –Alvarita, 22, Rio Grande Valley

“DACA is most important to me because I rely on my family. My husband wasn’t always legal. I rely on him to survive.” –Alma, 32, Houston

Respondents said racial and ethnic equality and justice was their third most important issue. While many issues can be categorized as related to racial and ethnic equality, that it was ranked a

top-issue is a new and growing trend among Latinos, as noted in a 2016 study from the University of Denver.³⁸ Many young Latinos reported feeling frustrated with the attacks on immigrants and Latinos, and saw them as racially motivated.

“I am directly affected as a minority. There is a lot of discrimination and I feel like it directly affects me in my life.” –Regina, 19, San Marcos

“We have only done so little since the 1960s in terms of social inequality. How Trump talks about Mexican and Hispanics -- he targets them in a manner that is considerably racist.” –Kyle, 22, Austin

<i>Figure 12</i> What political issues would motivate you to get involved politically? (1-10)	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters	Difference (Engaged vs Disinterested)
TOP RESPONSES				
HEALTHCARE FOR ALL	29%	30%	28%	-2%
PATH TO CITIZENSHIP FOR IMMIGRANTS LIKE DACA (<i>Dreamers</i>)	28%	19%	21%	-2%
RACIAL AND ETHNIC EQUALITY AND JUSTICE	20%	19%	21%	-2%
MORE JOBS AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY	16%	14%	12%	-2%
RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	13%	12%	14%	-2%
REDUCING CRIME	13%	10%	11%	-1%
EXPAND GUN CONTROL	12%	14%	10%	4%
POLICE BRUTALITY	11%	9%	10%	-1%
PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT	11%	12%	9%	3%
CANCELLING STUDENT DEBT	10%	10%	14%	-4%

Below is the full list of secondary issues from respondents. Our researchers found that, in order of importance, jobs, increasing the minimum wage, reducing crime and gun control ranked as top issues to Latino voters. *We Are Texas* found that abortion was not a top motivating issue for the majority of younger Latino voters.

<i>Figure 13</i> What political issues would motivate you to get involved politically?	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters	Difference (Engaged vs Disinterested)
SECONDARY RESPONSES				
LEGALIZING MARIJUANA	10%	10%	16%	-6%
ASSISTING HOMELESS/ CARING FOR THE NEEDY	10%	2%	13%	-11%
EQUAL RIGHTS AND FAIR PAY FOR WOMEN	8%	9%	11%	-2%
PROTECT BORDERS (THE WALL) & STRICTER IMMIGRATION POLICY	8%	9%	9%	0%
GUN RIGHTS, 2ND AMENDMENT	7%	8%	9%	-1%
PRO-LIFE/OPPOSE ABORTION	7%	12%	6%	6%
ANIMAL RIGHTS AND HUMANE PRACTICES	7%	6%	8%	-2%
PRO-CHOICE/ WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE	7%	10%	7%	3%
FOLLOWING CHRISTIAN VALUES	6%	7%	4%	3%
EDUCATION/TRAINING PROGRAMS AFTER DRUG ADDICTION, INCARCERATION, ETC.	6%	8%	7%	1%
FREEDOM FROM SEXUAL OR PHYSICAL HARASSMENT, #METOO	5%	4%	4%	0%
LGBTQ EQUALITY LIKE MARRIAGE BENEFITS, JOB DISCRIMINATION	4%	7%	6%	1%
RESPECT VETERANS	4%	6%	4%	2%
RIGHTS FOR PEOPLE OF ALL RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS	4%	6%	5%	1%
FAIR TREATMENT OF EMPLOYEES	4%	5%	4%	1%
RESPECT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT	3%	3%	2%	1%
SUPPORT THE DISABLED	3%	6%	4%	2%
DISASTER RELIEF	3%	2%	2%	0%
RESPECT AMERICA AND ITS FLAG	3%	4%	3%	1%
JOB RETRAINING PROGRAMS	2%	2%	4%	-2%

REQUIRING TRANSGENDER TO USE BATHROOMS OF GENDER ON BIRTH CERTIFICATE	2%	2%	3%	-1%
NONE MOTIVATE ME	3%	2%	3%	-1%

CANDIDATES AND PARTIES

Respondents were clear and well-informed about the issues they cared about and while the majority prioritized issues that were traditionally considered liberal issues, they did not demonstrate a strong party affiliation. Although respondents preferred the Democratic party (32%) over the Republican party (13%), most (34%) reported they did not know to which party they were affiliated. Independents and those unsure of their party accounted for 50% of respondents, demonstrating that both major parties had opportunities to better articulate where they stood on the issues that matter to Latino voters and do more outreach to the Latino community. Additionally, while Engaged voters leaned Democrat, Disengaged Non-Voters were unsure about party. For those who claimed a party, priority issues varied.

<i>Figure 14</i> Political affiliation	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters
DEMOCRAT	32%	44%	25%
REPUBLICANS	13%	19%	15%
INDEPENDENT	16%	19%	12%
NOT SURE	34%	12%	41%
OTHER	5%	6%	7%

When asked about what might *stop* respondents from voting for a candidate on issues seen as hot-button topics, such as abortion, LGBTQ rights, immigration and gun control, surveyed respondents proved to have nuanced views, a direct challenge to conventional understanding of Latino voters being highly motivated by religious issues.

Most Latinos said they would not vote for a candidate if they made comments against Latinos or immigrants. They felt that the criticism about Latinos is unfounded, and contradictory to what they believe to be Latinos substantial contributions to their communities. Since 2016, studies have shown that Latinos across the nation have increasingly felt that their contributions to American society were being undervalued.³⁹

“Recently there has been a lot of negativity towards Hispanics. Most of us are here because we want to succeed. It upsets me to hear Hispanics being dragged through the mud like we are all criminals. I want to stop anyone who is anti-Hispanic.” –David, 28, Allen

A third of respondents said they would not support candidates who are against LGBTQ rights. In fact, Latino millennials are the most likely of their age group to identify as LGBTQ.⁴⁰

“We need to live up to our duty as a country and be the upholder of human rights. I agree with LGBTQ rights and their social and economic issues. We should address racial, economic, and queer issues at the same time.” –Matt, 27, Brownsville

Among the Latinos *We Are Texas* researchers survey, abortion was not a priority issue. However, more respondents expressed support to guarantee women access to abortion; 29% would definitely not vote for a candidate who denied a woman’s right to choose and 21% would definitely not vote for a candidate who supported abortion access.

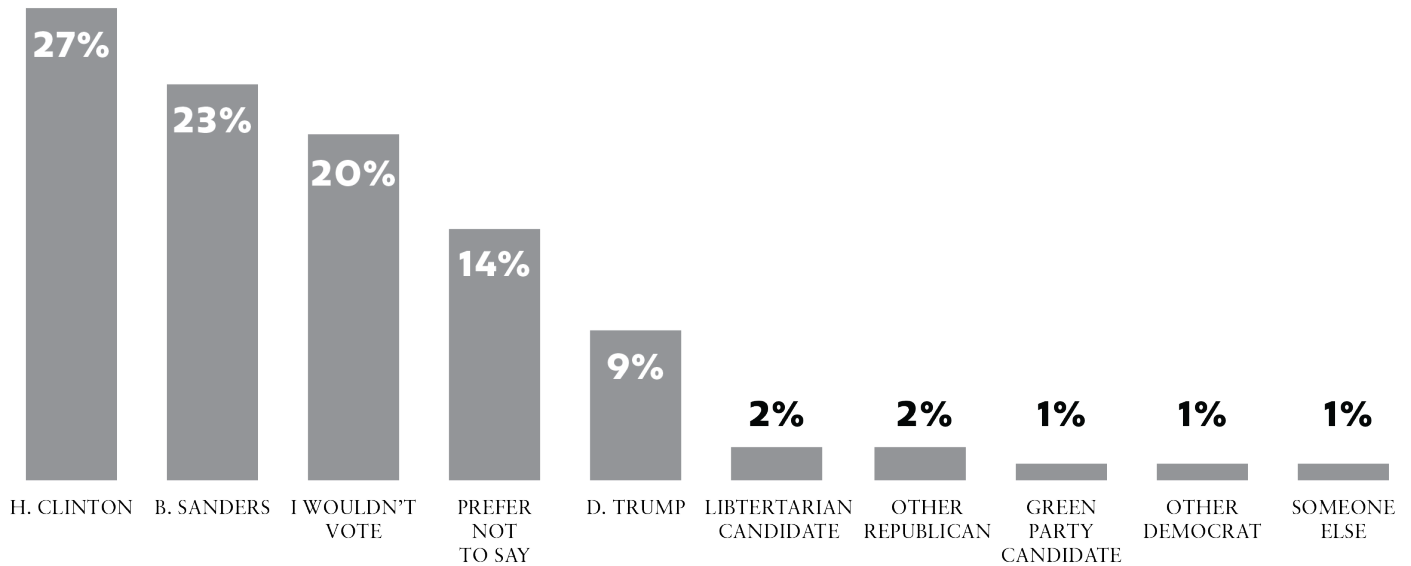
<i>Figure 15</i> Would the following stance on any of these issues STOP you from voting for a candidate? (Definitely)	Total Latinos
SAID COMMENTS AGAINST MEXICANS/LATINOS	53%
ANTI-IMMIGRANT	51%
AGAINST LGBTQ RIGHTS	33%
FOR GUN CONTROL	31%
AGAINST ABORTION	29%
FOR WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE	21%
NONE OF THESE	18%

Though nearly one in two Latinos reported no affiliation with a major political party when it came down to voting, the majority were most likely to vote for Democratic candidates; just 13% said they would vote for a Republican or Libertarian candidate, and 42% reported they would vote for a Democratic or Green Party candidate.

Nearly one in five reported they would not vote.

It is important to note the anti-Latino and anti-Mexican rhetoric at the national level seems to be impacting the behavior of Latino voters. For example, 44% of Texas Latinos voted for Republican Gov. Greg Abbott in 2014, but in 2016, 80% of Texas Latino voters cast ballots for Hillary Clinton.³⁴ If the presidential election were tomorrow, 27% said they would vote for Hillary Clinton, 23% said they would vote for Bernie Sanders, and less than 9% said they would vote for Donald Trump, as seen in Figure 16:

Figure 16. WHO LATINOS WOULD VOTE FOR TOMORROW



Additionally, most respondents surveyed (55%) strongly disapproved of how President Donald Trump was handling his job as President. Another 17% somewhat disapprove, taking his total disapproval rating to 72%. Just 5% of respondents strongly approved of how President Donald Trump was handling his job.

<i>Figure 17</i> How Donald Trump is handling his job as President?	Total Latinos
STRONGLY APPROVE	5%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE	13%
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	17%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	55%
DON'T KNOW	10%

PRIORITIES DIFFERED BY PARTY. Not surprisingly, priorities differed by party affiliation among respondents. Democratic respondents prioritized DACA, racial and ethnic equality, healthcare and gun control. Republicans were concerned with Christian values, protecting borders and gun rights; and Independents prioritize healthcare, DACA, jobs, and reducing crime.

Figure 18
What political issues would motivate you to get involved politically?

	Total	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Other
HEALTHCARE FOR ALL	29%	31%	16%	47%	25%
PATH TO CITIZENSHIP FOR IMMIGRANTS LIKE DACA (Dreamers)	28%	33%	17%	33%	27%
RACIAL AND ETHNIC EQUALITY AND JUSTICE	20%	32%	14%	19%	14%
MORE JOBS AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY	16%	12%	14%	24%	17%
RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	13%	19%	6%	13%	11%
REDUCING CRIME	13%	8%	20%	23%	11%
EXPAND GUN CONTROL	12%	26%	6%	4%	7%
POLICE BRUTALITY	11%	11%	5%	13%	12%
PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT	11%	10%	11%	5%	13%
CANCELLING STUDENT DEBT	10%	9%	8%	9%	13%
LEGALIZING MARIJUANA	10%	7%	8%	12%	13%
ASSISTING HOMELESS/ CARING FOR THE NEEDY	10%	9%	4%	4%	15%
EQUAL RIGHTS AND FAIR PAY FOR WOMEN	8%	9%	5%	10%	8%
PROTECT BORDERS (THE WALL) & STRICTER IMMIGRATION POLICY	8%	3%	23%	16%	4%
GUN RIGHTS, 2ND AMENDMENT	7%	2%	22%	5%	7%
PRO-LIFE/OPPOSE ABORTION	7%	4%	15%	6%	7%
ANIMAL RIGHTS AND HUMANE PRACTICES	7%	9%	4%	6%	6%
PRO-CHOICE/ WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE	7%	9%	2%	8%	6%
FOLLOWING CHRISTIAN VALUES	6%	2%	25%	4%	5%
EDUCATION/TRAINING PROGRAMS AFTER DRUG ADDICTION, INCARCERATION, ETC.	6%	3%	14%	6%	5%

FREEDOM FROM SEXUAL OR PHYSICAL HARASSMENT, #METOO	5%	9%	5%	3%	3%
LGBTQ EQUALITY LIKE MARRIAGE BENEFITS, JOB DISCRIMINATION	4%	7%	1%	5%	3%
RESPECT VETERANS	4%	1%	8%	4%	5%
RIGHTS FOR PEOPLE OF ALL RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS	4%	3%	4%	1%	5%
FAIR TREATMENT OF EMPLOYEES	4%	2%	3%	5%	4%
RESPECT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT	3%	7%	3%	1%	1%
SUPPORT THE DISABLED	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%
DISASTER RELIEF	3%	2%	2%	1%	5%
RESPECT AMERICA AND ITS FLAG	3%	3%	5%	1%	3%
JOB RETRAINING PROGRAMS	2%	2%	8%	1%	2%
REQUIRING TRANSGENDER TO USE BATHROOMS OF GENDER ON BIRTH CERTIFICATE	2%	1%	4%	0%	2%
NONE MOTIVATE ME	3%	0%	0%	0%	7%

CONCLUSION

We Are Texas found that younger Latino voters were highly motivated by issues such as health care for all, protecting immigrants/DACA, and racial equality. However, respondents reported strong disapproval of President Trump and just 13% of respondents reported being affiliated with the Republican Party, a significant portion did not know which party they aligned with (34%) or reported they were Independents (16%). Just 42% of younger Latino voters qualified as engaged voters. *We Are Texas* research indicated a greater need from both major political parties to effectively communicate and reach Latino voters on the issues that matter most to them.

CHAPTER 4. BARRIERS TO CIVIC PARTICIPATION

INTRODUCTION

We Are Texas researchers sought to understand the major barriers to voting for Latino voters in Texas by surveying and interviewing them about their beliefs and knowledge of politics and voting, as well as reviewing demographic trends based on identity, income, and immigration. In this section *We Are Texas* researchers discuss four primary reasons why young Texas Latinos reported they did not vote at higher rates:

- **CYNICISM:** Half of surveyed respondents reported that they were cynical about politics, saying they did not trust politicians, they believed their vote did not matter and that “people like me don’t have a say about what government does.” In today’s world of contradictory information and controversy, many Texas Latinos had lost trust in politicians’ ability and genuine willingness to fix the issues that affect them personally.
- **LACK OF INFORMATION AND CONFIDENCE:** A significant portion of respondents said they lacked the information and/or confidence to vote (37%), pointing to a need for greater educational resources directed at Latino voters. They struggled to find understandable information that is fair-minded and provides facts without spin.
- **LACK OF IDENTIFICATION WITH CANDIDATES:** Nearly one in four respondents did not identify with the candidates running for office, showing a lack of relatability to Texas Latinos; and
- **NOT A CIVIC DUTY:** Many respondents did not see voting as their civic duty, demonstrating the high level of detachment from our political system.

BARRIERS TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

We Are Texas researchers surveyed respondents about their beliefs, understanding and experience with politics and voting. Several key barriers kept many respondents from voting, including a high level of distrust of politicians and government’s ability to be responsive to their needs, a lack of identification with candidates and importantly, a general lack of information about the political process.

The high level of distrust of politicians was identical among Engaged Voters and Disinterested Non-Voters, however, Engaged Voters were much more likely to believe that their vote could make a difference. According to Angela, 21, San Marcos, “*I’m not motivated to vote because the politicians don’t care so even if I did voice my opinion it wouldn’t matter, it’s a waste of time.*” Additionally, Tony, 31, San Antonio, voiced a common belief by many of those we surveyed and interviewed, who said “*Whomever [candidate] wins is just going to do what they want.*” Not surprisingly, *We Are Texas* researchers found that the barriers to voting for Disinterested Non-Voters were the highest in all categories.

Many respondents felt they did not have enough information to be informed voters, and thus, sat on the sidelines during key elections instead of risking making an uninformed decision. According to Vanessa, 22, San Antonio. *“I feel like my vote wouldn’t really be a voice....I only know certain information about Democrats and Republicans. I do not know both sides. I do not know what I’m voting for.”*

“I would like to vote but sometimes don’t have enough time to research all the candidates. If don’t know policies, then how can I vote?” –Madelynn, 20, Austin.

“I feel like if I’m not making an educated vote, then it’s not helping anybody.” –Lauren, 26, Houston.

However, *We Are Texas* researchers also discovered that many wanted to vote but did not know where to find accurate information about elections and candidates. *“I don’t know anything about either candidate and that’s the issue. I want to know their intentions to help me to decide [who to vote for], but I know nothing about them at all.”* –Edgar, 38, San Antonio

While many Latinos interviewed said they wanted more information so they could vote, the reality is that most will never be contacted by any candidate or campaign, even during key elections. In fact, a 2016 national study showed that 64% of Latinos reported that they were not contacted by any campaign or party to register or to vote.³⁵ This lack of investment in Latino voters creates a cyclical problem — candidates do not prioritize reaching Latino voters because of their low voter participation, but Latinos don’t vote because they don’t know where the candidates stand.

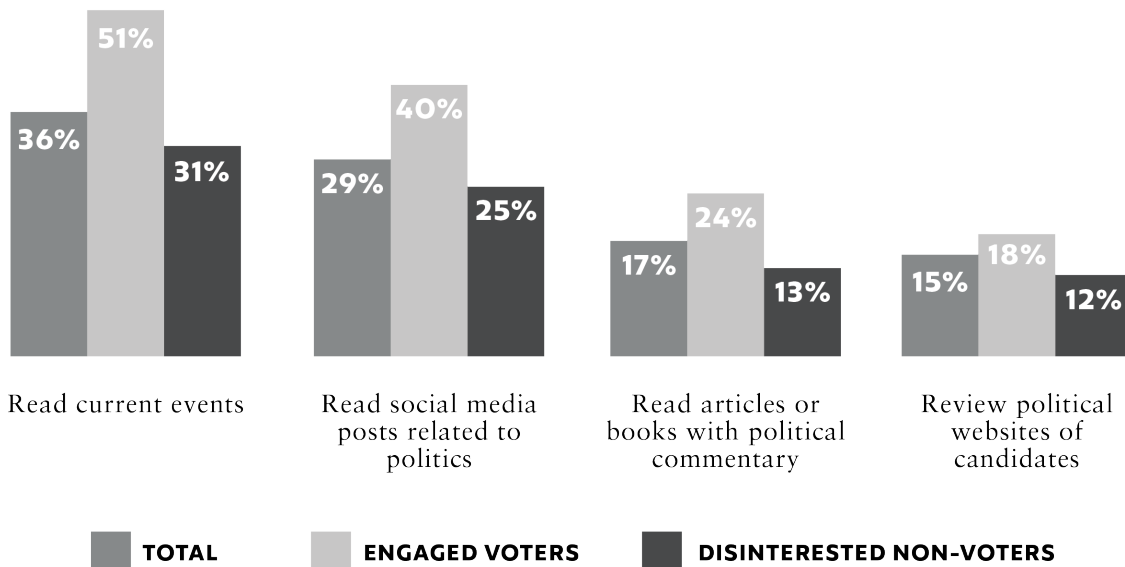
Figure 19 Barriers to Civic Participation	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters	Difference (Engaged vs Disinterested)
1. CYNICAL ABOUT POLITICS NET	50%	43%	50%	-7%
DO NOT TRUST POLITICIANS	32%	35%	35%	0%
PEOPLE LIKE ME DO NOT HAVE A SAY ABOUT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES	23%	15%	20%	-5%
DO NOT THINK IT WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE	15%	12%	22%	-10%
2. LACK OF EDUCATION AND CONFIDENCE NET	37%	26%	45%	-19%
TOO COMPLICATED	24%	20%	28%	-8%
DON'T KNOW ENOUGH	15%	9%	21%	-12%
DON'T KNOW THE CANDIDATES	14%	8%	21%	-13%
DON'T KNOW MY OWN POLITICAL VIEWS	9%	5%	14%	-9%
3. DON'T IDENTIFY WITH THE CANDIDATES NET	28%	30%	35%	-5%
CANDIDATES ARE TOO EXTREME	19%	20%	19%	1%
DON'T IDENTIFY WITH THE CANDIDATES	19%	16%	25%	-9%
4. NOT AS LIKELY TO SEE VOTING AS THEIR CIVIC DUTY NET	33%	11%	32%	-21%
AGREE THAT VOTING IS BEING A GOOD CITIZEN*	33%	11%	32%	-21%

*Net: Average percentage of respondents who say these statements definitely apply to them

MEDIA CONSUMPTION MATTERS

Many respondents reported not feeling informed about the topics or candidates to vote. In-depth interviews revealed that while many Latinos wanted more information on candidates and voting, they did not know where to find unbiased information. Additionally, during interviews many reported being wary about engaging in the divisive and negative nature of politics today. Many told us they preferred to wait until right before the election to read about current events. Thirty six percent of respondents read current events daily, and just 15% reviewed the political websites of candidates; see Figure 20.

Figure 20. **ENGAGE IN CURRENT EVENTS OR POLITICAL NEWS DAILY**



In qualitative interviews, many Latinos expressed a frustration about either a lack of knowledge or about the aggressive nature of today’s politics. Sociological studies have shown that Latinos are more culturally “collectivistic” than their non-Latino counterparts who are more “individualistic” in their value set.³⁶ Collectivistic cultures are more conflict averse, and prefer to implicitly, rather than explicitly, address conflict.³⁷ While, more research is needed about the role these cultural differences may have on the political engagement of Latinos, our researchers found that many of those interviewed expressed concern over the negative and divisive nature of politics, and the potential strain political discussions might place on their personal relationships with family and friends.

“I don’t get involved because I’ve never had knowledge about politics. I see it on TV, but I don’t really understand the differences between Democratic vs Republican. Voting and politics have never been an issue in my house.” –Maggie, 29, Austin

“I don’t want to get into big debates and I don’t want to jump into the fray. Good friends have fallouts over disagreements. I have seen it happen with friends and family. People still don’t speak to each other [after political arguments].” –Jessica, 23, Bastrop

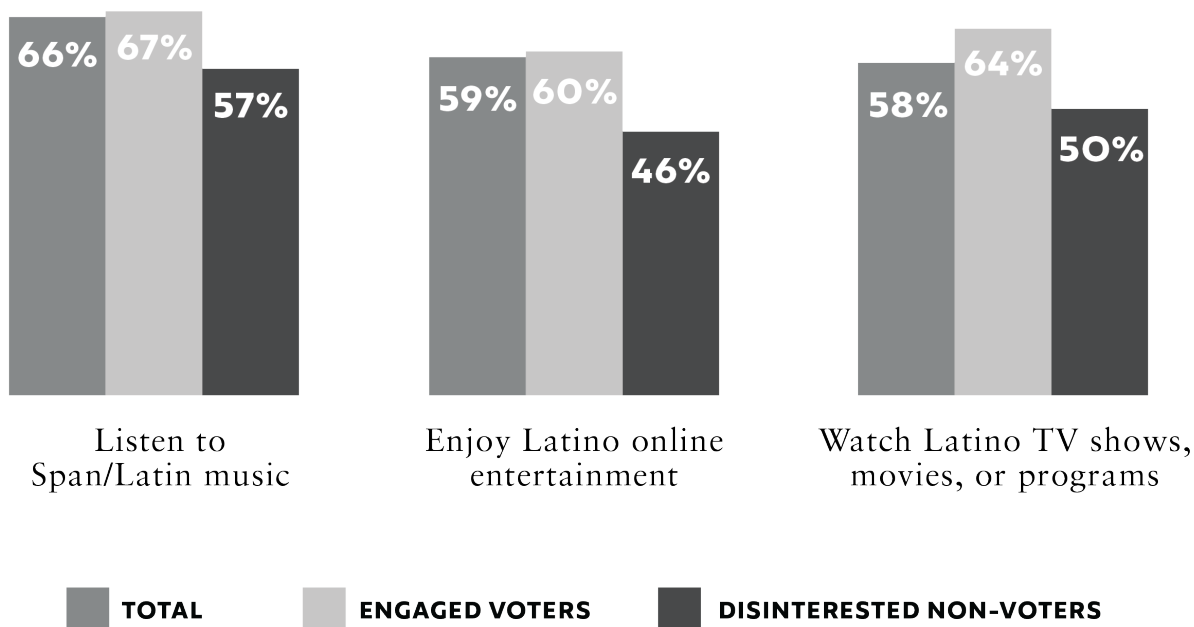
“I vote only in Presidential elections. Voting for Governor and District stuff, the information is not out there. The only people who know when voting happens are those who search for it.” –Kyle, 22, Austin

“I had discussions with friends during the Trump election that sometimes get pretty heated so sometimes you just have to walk away...people can get pretty defensive.” –Leslie, 34, Brownsville

“I don’t have a strong political view and they’re already bashing me for it. Random people just get so crazy about it. For me it’s not worth arguing with someone.” –Claire, 24, McAllen

We Are Texas researchers also found that Latino media is an important avenue to reach Texas Latinos. Two-thirds of Engaged Voters consume Latino content daily or weekly. About half of Disinterested Non-Voters also consume Latino media regularly. Cultural and Spanish media can be a valuable channel for distinctive messaging or boosting Latino reach, see Figure 21:

Figure 21. **LATINO MEDIA CONSUMPTION DAILY/WEEKLY**



CONCLUSION

We Are Texas researchers found that Latino voters face several key barriers keeping them from voting, including being cynical about candidates and the political process. Many reported that they felt too uninformed to vote and that they did not know much about the candidates, or when, where or how to vote. However, we also found that respondents had a high-level of interest to learn more, were quickly motivated by others to want to vote and become more involved. These barriers can be overcome by candidates and parties investing more resources in Latino outreach and education. Additionally, greater investments by philanthropic institutions in non-partisan voter education and registration can help overcome these present barriers.

CHAPTER 5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BUILDING A STRONG DEMOCRACY

The *We Are Texas* report is one of the most comprehensive studies of Latino voters in Texas. Today, Latinos make up nearly 40% of the state's population, and by 2022 will be the largest ethnic group in the state.³⁸ While Latinos have made important cultural and economic contributions to Texas, their voices are underrepresented in our government, in part due to low voter turnout. As one of the largest and fastest growing ethnic groups in the state, it is critical that their voices and issues be represented in our democratic process in order to tackle the major challenges and opportunities we face. Especially critical is the engagement of younger Latino voters — Texas' largest and fastest growing eligible voter population.

Based on the data, Jolt Initiative developed a series of recommendations for policymakers, candidates and parties, and philanthropists to ensure stronger civic participation of young Latinos in Texas:

Policies for a Strong Democracy

In addition to overturning recent legislation making it harder and more complicated to vote, voter ID laws and reducing polling locations and hours for example, policymakers at the federal, state and local level are uniquely positioned to introduce creative and smart policies that will help drive voter engagement and education, and build a stronger Texas, including:

MAKE ELECTION DAY A NATIONAL HOLIDAY Studies have found that a significant number of Americans do not vote because they are unable to make it to the polls due to conflicts with work or school.³⁹ Many other countries, including Germany, France and South Korea, make election day a national holiday and many hold their elections on Sundays to ensure greater participation.

MAKE VOTER REGISTRATION EASY Texas legislators should modernize the state's voting system to make voter registration easier, more efficient and cost effective. Texas should join a growing movement of states that have passed policies for automatic voter registration by which all eligible citizens are automatically registered to vote. Currently, there are 13 states that have automatic registration.⁴⁰ Texas should also modernize its voter registration system by allowing for online registration. Currently, most states allow for secure online voter registration — Texas is behind the curve. Lastly, Texas should adopt policies that allow for Americans to register to vote on election day, so that no Americans are stopped from exercising their constitutional right to vote. Voting is a fundamental right of all Americans and policymakers are uniquely positioned to knock down major hurdles in the voter registration process to ensure a more fair, open and representative democracy.

VOTE BY MAIL Allowing vote by mail increases voter turnout, making it easier for rural voters, people with disabilities, the low-income and students to vote. Today, three states (Colorado, Washington and Oregon) offer vote by mail for all elections. Texas could join the growing movement of states that are expanding the electorate by allowing citizens to vote by mail.

ENGAGE YOUNG VOTERS Texas is a young state and so are its voters. On average over the next decade 210,000 Latinos will turn 18, 95% of them are citizens eligible to vote. Additionally, by 2022, one in three voters will be under the age of 30. Texas high schools are uniquely positioned to ensure young people are registered and informed about the democratic process. Under Texas law, high schools are required to offer eligible seniors the opportunity to register to vote twice a year, however, a recent study found that just one in six high schools leading up to the 2016 election requested voter registration materials from the Secretary of State.⁴¹ The Texas legislature should invest resources into high school voter registration to ensure compliance. Additionally, the Texas School Board should strengthen civics education curriculum by including more rigorous project and action based learning in all required middle school and high school government classes to increase the number of informed and educated Texans.

LOWER THE VOTING AGE There is a growing movement to lower the voting age to 16 years-old for local and federal elections in the U.S. Austria, Brazil, and Argentina are among countries that allow citizens at age 16 to cast ballots. Many proponents of lowering the voting age note that the U.S. has already lowered the age once, and that young people by age 16 have formed their core values and beliefs. Moreover, fifteen states have already lowered the voting age to 17 for primary elections, where eligible voters will be 18 on election day.⁴² Finally, studies have shown that younger voters are more likely to become life-long voters and that when young people vote, they increase the voter participation among their parents.^{43, 44}

PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

Parties and candidates have an important role to play in educating, engaging and mobilizing Latino voters in Texas. There are simple but significant steps that candidates and parties can take to build an electorate in Texas that represents are states' diversity and the needs of these communities, including:

INVEST IN THE GRASSROOTS The data is clear, the best way to get new or infrequent voters to the polls is by talking to them on their door steps.⁴⁵ Despite decades of data highlighting the effectiveness of field programs, most campaigns spend their money on expensive media buys on television and radio. To ensure more Latino Texans vote, candidates and parties must invest in field programs that directly connect with young people.

REACH LATINOS ONLINE AND IN ETHNIC MEDIA While *We Are Texas* researchers suggest campaigns invest most of their resources in door knocking operations to get out the vote, but we know it is also important to reach Latinos online and through Latino media, to let the community know where the candidate stands on the issues that matter to Latinos. To reach younger Latinos who primarily speak English and get their information through social media, candidates should target them online and also work with Spanish language and Latino media outlets to ensure their messages about the issues that matter to Latinos reach the community.

HIRE CULTURALLY COMPETENT STAFF Texas is a diverse state, campaigns and parties should work harder to reflect the diversity of Texas to ensure more culturally competent outreach and messaging. Staff that come from Texas' diverse population are highly likely to understand the key issues impacting their community.

PHILANTHROPY

Private and community foundations can also play an important role in increasing voter participation by strategic investments in younger voters and new American communities, including:

NON-PARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION While young Latinos will make up half of all new eligible voters coming of age in Texas over the next decade, they are the least likely to be registered. Philanthropic institutions could close this gap by making sizable and strategic investments in voter registration organizations. Foundations can maximize their impact by investing in youth civic engagement organizations that are culturally competent and best positioned to reach and relate to young Latinos.

VOTER EDUCATION *We Are Texas* researchers identified a clear need for further education on the voting process, candidates and major parties about the issues that most matter to young Latinos. Investing in the development and distribution of unbiased, non-partisan voter materials by Texas-based organizations could prove incredibly useful. Materials should be distributed both in print and through social media to broadly reach a young audience.

NATURALIZATION: In other states, such as California and New York, significant investments from philanthropic institutions, as well as local and state governments helped an increased number of eligible immigrants become citizens, supporting thousands of qualified immigrants to naturalize.^{46, 47} With an estimated half a million Latino immigrants that qualify for citizenship in Texas, strategic investments in naturalization would not only increase the state's national standing in voter turnout, but would also grow the state's economy, by helping increase the tax-base, home ownership, and the earnings of immigrant families.^{48, 49}

If you would like to learn more about how you can help build a more diverse and stronger democracy visit

WWW.JOLTINITIATIVE.ORG

APPENDIX

A total of 1,016 surveys were conducted of Latinos in Texas. Figure 23 outlines the demographics of they *We Are Texas* survey sample, balanced to be representative of the Texas Latino population according to the U.S. Census.

	Total	Engaged Voters	Disinterested Non-Voters
GENDER			
MALE	50%	42%	52%
FEMALE	50%	58%	48%
AGE			
AGE 18-24	28%	22%	40%
AGE 25-34	38%	39%	37%
AGE 35-44	34%	39%	23%
GEOGRAPHY			
HOUSTON	30%	25%	26%
DFW	17%	15%	14%
SOUTH TEXAS BORDER	15%	13%	12%
CENTRAL TEXAS	23%	26%	29%
REST OF TEXAS	15%	21%	19%
ORIGIN			
MEXICAN ORIGIN	83%	87%	88%
NON-MEXICAN ORIGIN	17%	13%	12%
NATIVITY			
U.S. BORN	60%	90%	90%
FOREIGN BORN	40%	10%	10%
LANGUAGE			
SPEAKS SPANISH HALF THE TIME OR MORE	58%	53%	40%
SPEAKS SPANISH LESS THAN HALF THE TIME	42%	47%	60%

EDUCATION			
LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	8%	1%	12%
HIGH SCHOOL	28%	12%	37%
SOME COLLEGE OR TECHNICAL SCHOOL	31%	38%	37%
COLLEGE GRADUATE OR MORE	33%	49%	14%
CULTURE TIES			
AMERICAN LEANING	18%	23%	22%
AMBICULTURAL	64%	70%	71%
LATINO LEANING	18%	7%	7%
INCOME			
\$25,000 OR LESS	18%	16%	42%
\$25,001 TO \$49,999	30%	33%	34%
\$50,000 OR MORE	32%	51%	24%
CHILDREN OR NO CHILDREN			
YES, I HAVE KIDS	48%	50%	42%
NO, I DON'T HAVE KIDS	52%	50%	58%

¹ U.S. Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016." United States Census Bureau. May 2017.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ura, Alexa, and Naema Ahmed. "Hispanic Texans on pace to Become Largest Population Group in State by 2022." The Texas Tribune. June 21, 2018. <https://www.texastribune.org/2018/06/21/hispanic-texans-pace-become-biggest-population-group-state-2022/>.

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¹⁰ U.S. Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016."

¹¹ Ibid.

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¹⁵ U.S. Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016."

¹⁶ Texas State Data Center, Projections of the Population of Texas and Counties in Texas by Age, Sex and Race/Ethnicity for 2010-2050, November 2014. Rate of citizenship for 2016 to 2014 is based on 2016 estimates from the American Community Survey and projections created by US-ness

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¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Gonzalez-Barrera, Ana. "Mexican Lawful Immigrants Among the Least Likely to Become U.S. Citizens. Pew Research Center- Hispanic Trends. June 29, 2017. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2017/06/29/mexican-lawful-immigrants-among-least-likely-to-become-u-s-citizens/>

²² U.S. Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016."

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Estimates of the Lawful Permanent Resident Population in the United States: January 2014 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2017)

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ U.S. Census Bureau. "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016."

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

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³³ Ibid.

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