What Drives Hispanic Voting Enthusiasm in the Year of 2000 - 2016

For the 2020 election (https://www.businessinsider.com/bidens-election-chances-with-hispanic-voters-in-texas-florida-arizona-2020-9), Latios' civic engagement is especially important. It is the first time that Latinos are projected to be the largest racial minority in a US presidential election, with a record of 32 million eligible to vote, accounting for 13.3% of the total eligible voters. They constitute a big part of the voting population in the swing states, with 30% in Texas, 24% in Arizona, and 20% in Florida. Those swing states are crucial for President Trump to win to secure the White House. Also, Latino voters tend to cast their ballots early and by mail in 2018, which are two keys methods for voting this year due to the pandemic that is going on.

As Latino voters are increasingly important over the years, in this project, I am going to look at how Hispanics' voting enthusiasm has changed over time and what drives their decisions. As Hispanic (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hispanic) refers to people with a historical and cultural relationship with Spain, it would be interesting to see if cultural identity (race-ethnicity & language) and some other demographic factors(age, education, income (and tax attitude), etc) affect their voting choices.

To look at this, I used *American National Election Studies Time Series Cumulative Data file 1948-2016*. The *American National Election Studies* (ANES) are surveys of voters in the U.S. on the national scale. For each presidential election since 1948, ANES collects responses from respondents both before and after the election. The goal of ANES is to understand electoral behavior, political participation and public opinion.The *Time Series Cumulative Data* of ANES include answers, from respondents from different years, on selected questions that have been asked in three or more ANES' *Time Series* studies.A tremendous amount of effort has been put into data consolidation as variables are often named differently in different years.

Before dive right into it, one KEY NOTE (https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/15/who-is-hispanic/) is that many sources (such as Census Bureau and our ANES dataset) do not draw the different between Hispanic and Latino, and they use Latino and Hispanic interchangeably For those who draw the difference between the two, one of the common ways is that Hispanics are people who are from Spain or Spanish-speaking countries (which excludes Brazil), and Latinos are people from Latin America regardless of the language(which includes Brazil but excludes Spain)

How to identify Hisipanic Voters?

To look at the Hispanic voters' behavior, we need first to define the race-ethnicity group. I used VCF0105a as the variable for race-ethnicity (see below). Although there is another variable (VCF0105b) measures race-ethnicity, as it has only 4 categories and also 3942 people identified as Hispanic, I chose VCF0105a:

VCF0105a

Race-ethnicity summary, 7 categories

        1948,1952,1956-1970: Interviewer observation of Race.
        1972-1976: Interviewer observation of Race.
            In addition to being American, what do you
            consider your main ethnic group or nationality
            group?
        1978: Interviewer observation of Race.
            Interviewer observation: R of Hispanic origin.
            In addition to being American, is there another nationality or
            ethnic group that you feel you belong to?
            (IF YES:) What group is that?

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        1980,1982,1984,1986: Interviewer observation of Race.
            Interviewer observation: R of Hispanic origin.
            In addition to being American, what do you
            consider your main ethnic group or nationality
            group?
        1988-1998: Interviewer observation of Race.
            In addition to being American, what do you consider your
            main ethnic group or nationality group?
            [IF HISPANIC ETHNIC GROUP NOT MENTIONED] Are you of Spanish
            or Hispanic origin or descent?
        2000-2008: What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you?
            [MULTIPLE MENTIONS CODED BY IWR]
            In addition to being American, what do you consider your main
            ethnic group or nationality group?
            [IF HISPANIC ETHNIC GROUP NOT MENTIONED] Are you of Spanish
            or Hispanic origin or descent?
        2012,2016: Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?
            FTF ONLY: I am going to read you a list of five race categories.
            Please choose one or more races that you consider
            yourself to be: [MULTIPLE MENTIONS]: White / Black or
            African-American / American Indian or Alaska Native /
            Asian / Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander /
            Other.

1. White non-Hispanic (1948-2012)
2. Black non-Hispanic (1948-2012)
3. Asian or Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic (1966-2012)
4. American Indian or Alaska Native non-Hispanic (1966-2012)
5. Hispanic (1966-2012)
6. Other or multiple races, non-Hispanic (1968-2012)
7. Non-white and non-black (1948-1964)

9. Missing
INAP. question not used

```
summary(as.factor(anes_dat$VCF0105b))
```

```
##     1     2     3     4   NA's
## 46035  6906  3942  1466  1595
```

```
summary(as.factor(anes_dat$VCF0105a))
```

```
##     1     2     3     4     5     6     7   NA's
## 46035  6906   565   340  3942   561    55   1540
```

One thing to note is that before 1998, the interviewer observes race instead of asking. Beginning in 1988, the respondent was asked within the series of ethnicity questions for self-identification. So this could potentially introduce bias, as the interviewer could have stereotypical view on ethnicity.

So, after I identified the Hispanic voters, I looked at their voting participation. Even though it would be interesting to look at the turnout rate, as I do not have the number of eligible Hispanic voters, I just looked at the change of register and voting over the year.

VCF0105a

Race-ethnicity summary, 7 categories

       1948,1952,1956-1970: Interviewer observation of Race.
       1972-1976: Interviewer observation of Race.
          In addition to being American, what do you
          consider your main ethnic group or nationality
          group?
       1978: Interviewer observation of Race.
          Interviewer observation: R of Hispanic origin.
          In addition to being American, is there another nationality or
          ethnic group that you feel you belong to?
          (IF YES:) What group is that?

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       1980,1982,1984,1986: Interviewer observation of Race.
              Interviewer observation: R of Hispanic origin.
              In addition to being American, what do you
              consider your main ethnic group or nationality
              group?
       1988-1998: Interviewer observation of Race.
          In addition to being American, what do you consider your
          main ethnic group or nationality group?
          [IF HISPANIC ETHNIC GROUP NOT MENTIONED] Are you of Spanish
          or Hispanic origin or descent?
       2000-2008: What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you?
          [MULTIPLE MENTIONS CODED BY IWR]
          In addition to being American, what do you consider your main
          ethnic group or nationality group?
          [IF HISPANIC ETHNIC GROUP NOT MENTIONED] Are you of Spanish
          or Hispanic origin or descent?
       2012,2016: Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?
          FTF ONLY: I am going to read you a list of five race categories.
          Please choose one or more races that you consider
          yourself to be: [MULTIPLE MENTIONS]: White / Black or
          African-American / American Indian or Alaska Native /
          Asian / Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander /
          Other.

     1. White non-Hispanic (1948-2012)
     2. Black non-Hispanic (1948-2012)
     3. Asian or Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic (1966-2012)
     4. American Indian or Alaska Native non-Hispanic (1966-2012)
     5. Hispanic (1966-2012)
     6. Other or multiple races, non-Hispanic (1968-2012)
     7. Non-white and non-black (1948-1964)

     9. Missing
   INAP. question not used

Count of Hispanic Voter Participation Over the Years
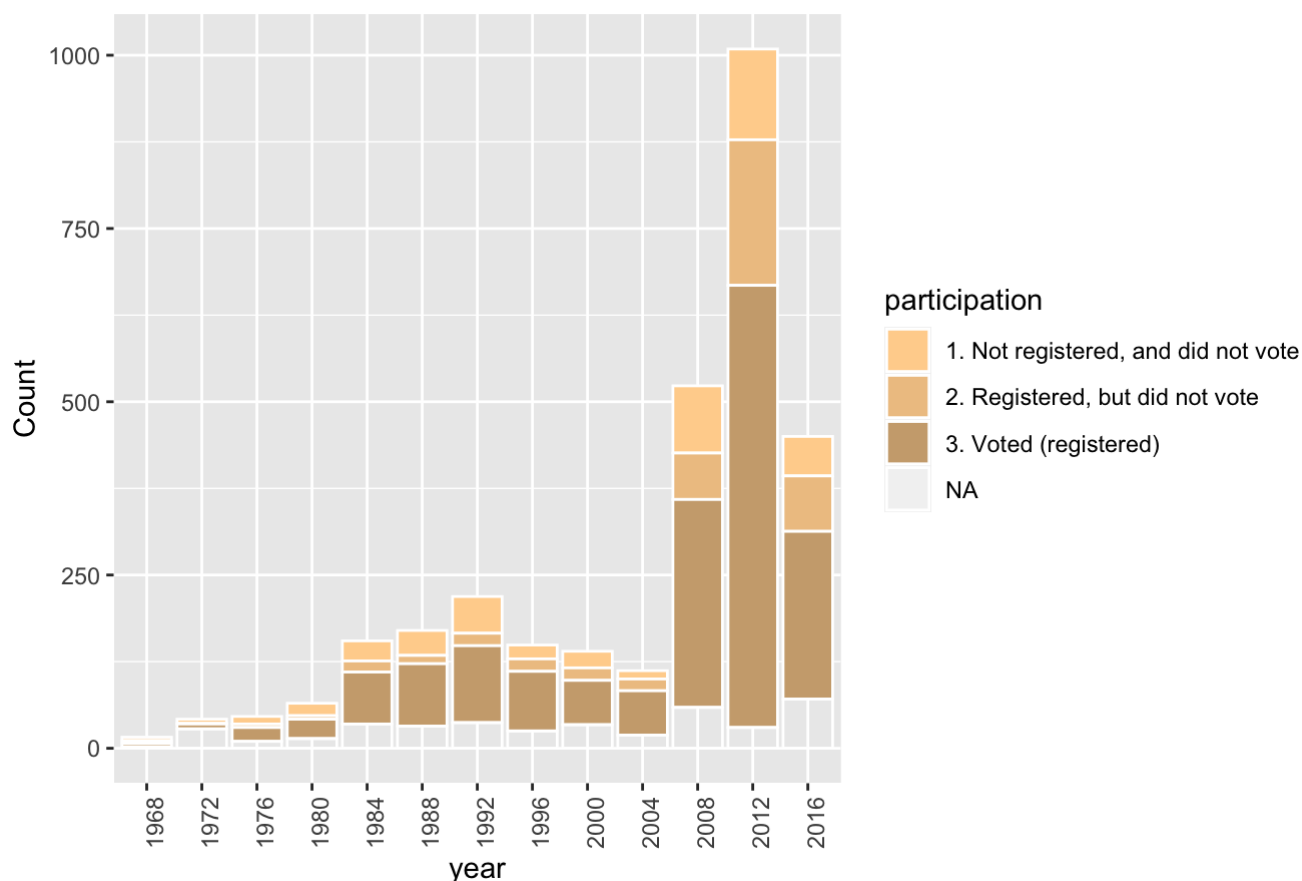
In general, the number of Hispanic respondents increased over the years from 16 in 1968 to 219 in 1992, followed by a decreasing trend until the year of 2004, with 114 responpondents surveyed. Then, There is a historical jump in the year of 2008, with 523 people being survey and the number almosted doubled in 2008, with 1,009 people surveyed. Such number droped again in 2016.

When looking at the number breakdown, we can see that every year more than half of the respondents voted. I am curious to see which political party did they vote for over the years, and comparing them to other race.

Number of Hispanic Voters Over the Years
 and Who did they vote for
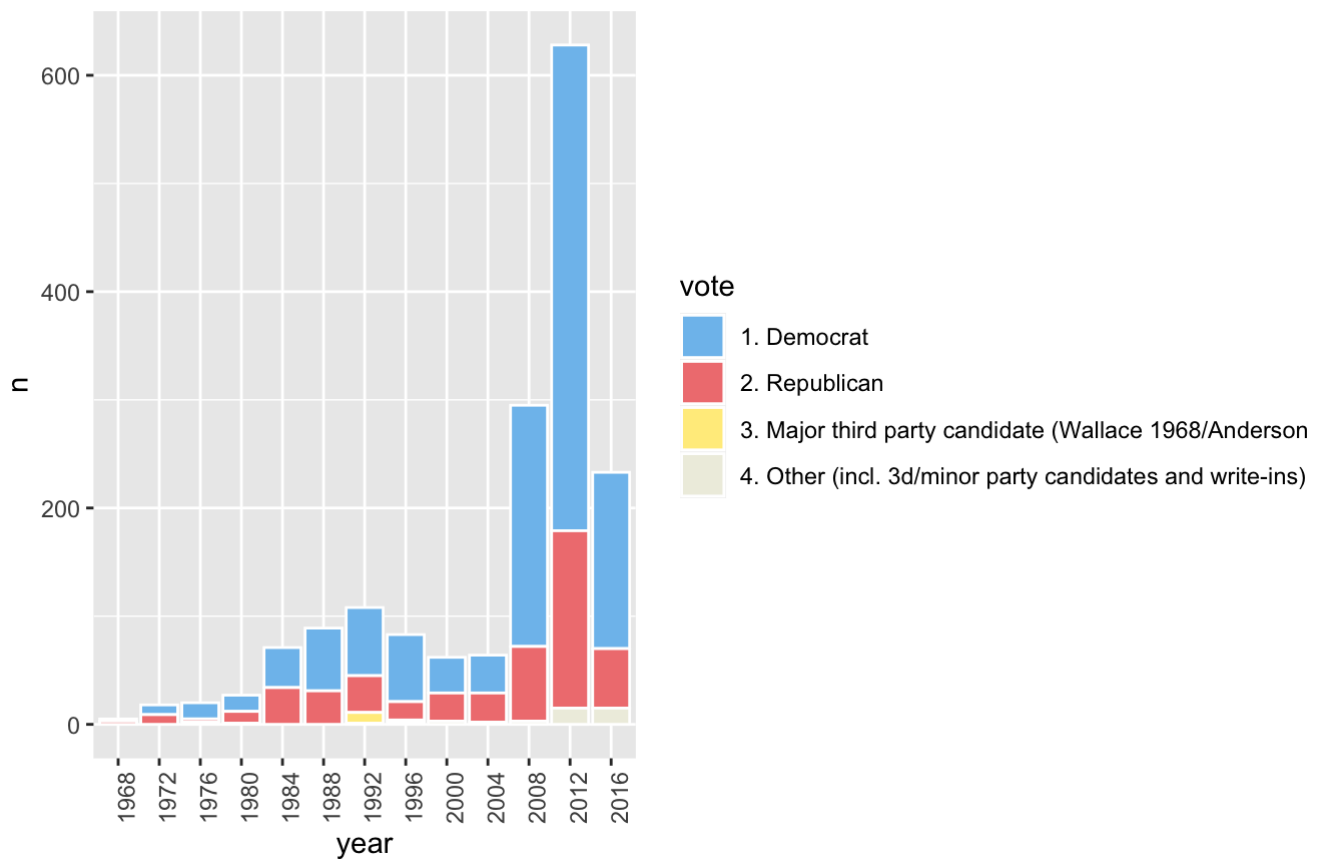
Who did Hispanics vote for in the election
 over the years?
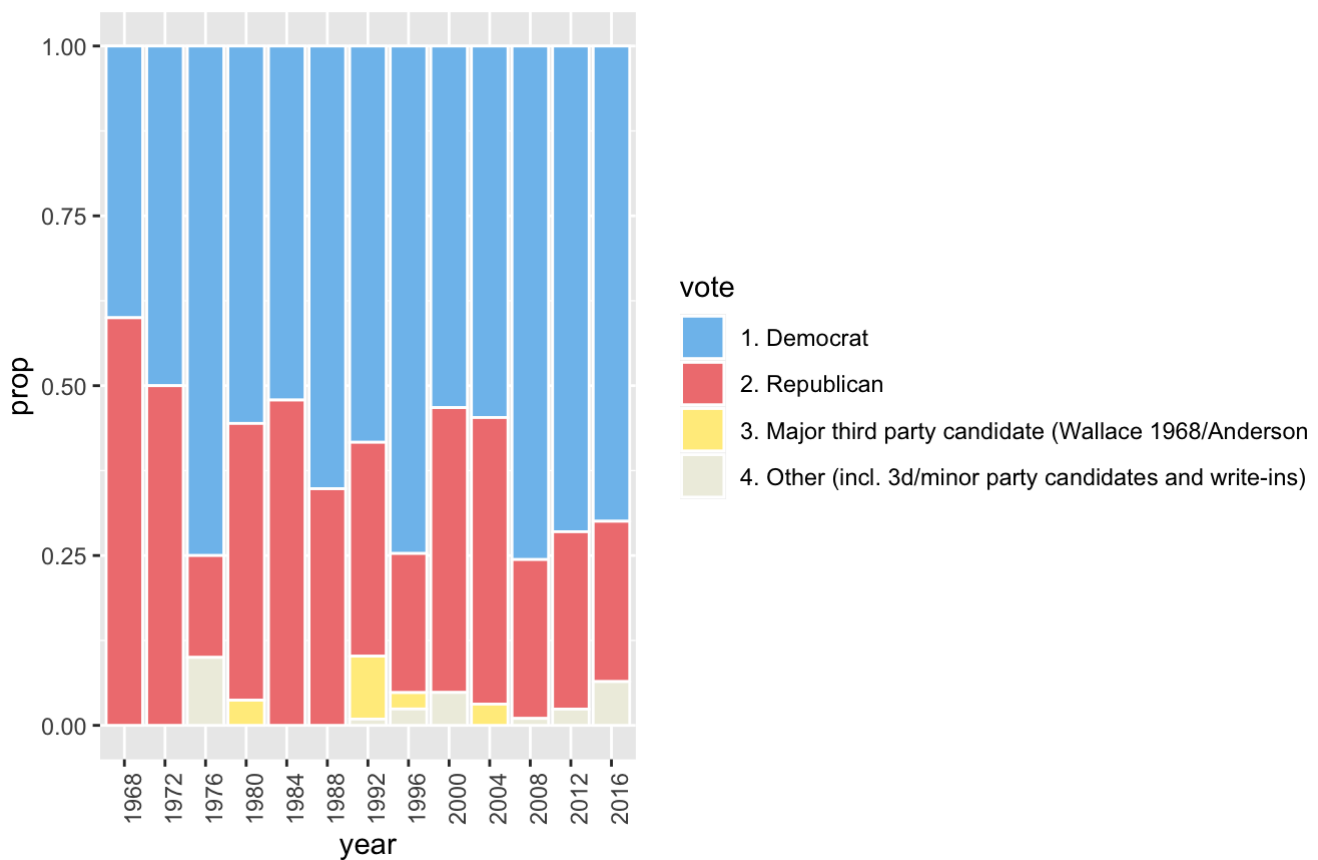
From the graphs, we can see that at the start of the survey, only 5 Hispanics voted, with 60% of them voted for Republican. Up till 1992, more and more Hispanic voters voted, and most of them voted for Democrat. However, there is a decreasing amount of people voted till 2004, with from 2000 - 2004, nearly half of the voters voted for republican.

What is noticeable is that there is a historical jump in the voter turnout in 2008, with 4.6x the number compared to 2004, with 295 voted and 75.6% voted for democrats. What's more, the number of voters even doubled in 2012, culminated in 628 voters with 71.5% of them voted for Democrat. However, the number of voters decreased in 2016, even though 70% of them still voted for Democrat.

In this study, I am going to focus on the year range from 2000 - 2016. One reason is that there are fewer Hispanics voted before, second is that from 2000, there are almost half of the people voted for Republicans, but after 2000, even though more people voted, 70% of them voted for Democrats.

In order to understand the Hispanic voter behavior in the year of 2000 to 2016, I look at some basic demographics of Hispanic voters. The first demographic variable I am interested in is the birth place of the Hispanic voters. The question and answer scale are shown below:

VCF0107

Respondent - Hispanic Origin Type

> **1988-2008:**
> **In addition to being American, what do you consider**
> **your main ethnic group or nationality group? (IF NO HISPANIC GROUP**
> **MENTIONED:) Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent?**
> **IF YES:) Please look at the booklet and tell me which category best**
> **describes your Hispanic origin.**
> **2012:**
> **Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino? (IF YES:) Are you Mexican,**
> **Mexican-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Cuban-American, or**
> **some other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino group? (IF 'OTHER' FOR ANY**
> **MENTION:) What is the name of your other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino**
> **group? (IF MORE THAN 1 MENTION:) Which group do you most closely**
> **identify with?**
> **2016:**
> **Families of Hispanic or Latino background in the United States come**
> **from many different places. Which Spanish-speaking or Latin American**
> **country or territory does most of your family come from? (IF MORE**
> **THAN 1 MENTION:) You said your family comes from _____. Which one**
> **of these does most of your family come from?**

> 1. Yes, Mexican/Mexican-American/Chicano
> 2. Yes, Puerto Rican
> 3. Yes, other Hispanic
> 4. Yes, Hispanic but DK/NA type
> 7. No, not Hispanic

> 8. DK if Hispanic
> 9. NA if Hispanic
> 0. Short-form 'new' Cross Section (1992)
> INAP. question not used

Notice that there is aswer for not hispanic and NA. Even though I already selected Hispanic as my study group in the previous question, I still wanted to doouble check ifI defined the Hispanic group correctly.

When first look at this data, what stood out to me is that for 10 people who previously self-identified as Hispanic in the questions "What racial or ethnic group best describes you" are now identified as not Hispanic. At the start of 2000, for the questions related to race and ethnicity, the respondents identified themselves instead of interviewers observation of race. So I think one of the potential reasons why this happens is that this study fails to differentiate between Latino and Hispanic. As in the previous race and ethnicity identification question, there is not a choice of Latino, those who are from Brazil, for example, could categorize them as Hispanic in the previous question but identified as not Hispanic in this question. Also, most of these people tend to be female, with high education and above medium level income.

y... participation	vote
<fctr><fctr>	<fctr>
2000 3. Voted (registered)	1. Democrat
2000 3. Voted (registered)	1. Democrat
2000 3. Voted (registered)	2. Republican
2000 3. Voted (registered)	2. Republican
2000 3. Voted (registered)	2. Republican
2000 3. Voted (registered)	1. Democrat
2000 3. Voted (registered)	1. Democrat
2008 3. Voted (registered)	1. Democrat
2008 3. Voted (registered)	1. Democrat
2008 3. Voted (registered)	2. Republican

1-10 of 12 rows | 1-3 of 11 columns   Previous   **1**   2   Next

There are also two people who did not respond to this question. To avoid the confusion, I dropped those who identified as Not Hispanic and NA from the analysis in the rest of the project.

Culture Identity

Q1: Who did Hispanics with different birthplace vote for in the election?

Figure 1.1: Hispanics Political Party Preference With Different Birthplace
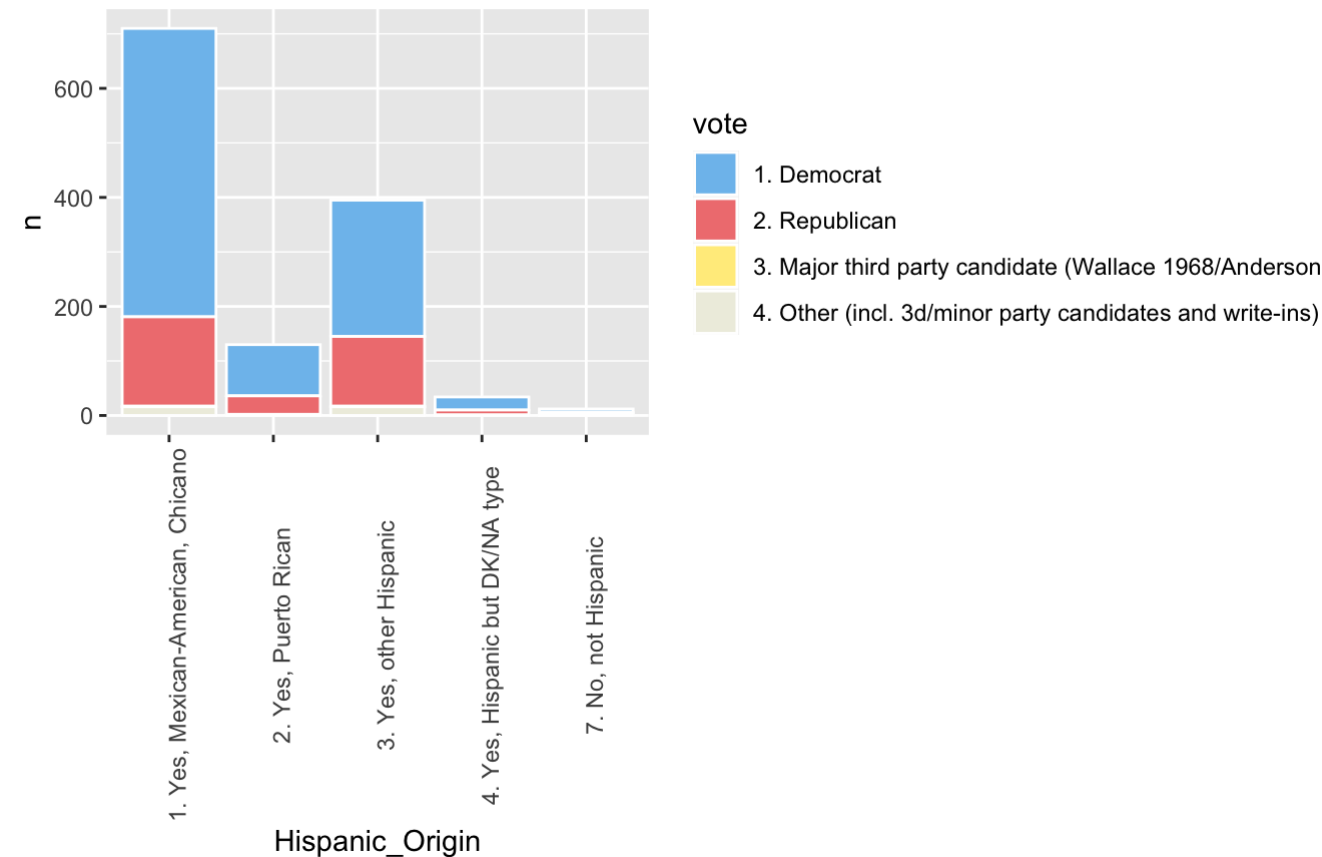
Figure 1.2: Hispanics Political Party Preference By Birthplace
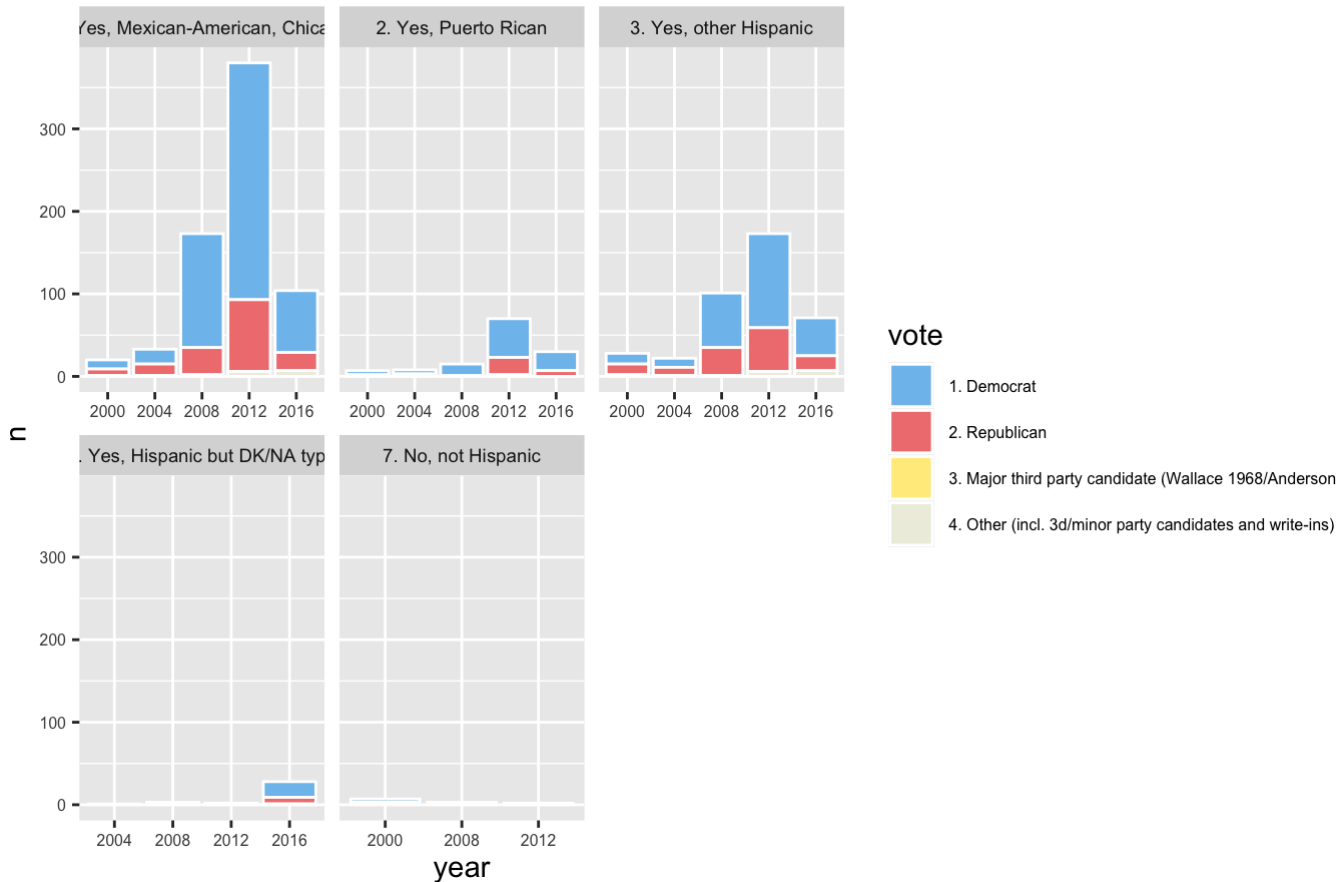
Among all groups, they all have increasing participation till 2012 and decrease in 2016. Comparatively, Mexican-Americans are the most active voters over the years, and they constitute approximately 60% of the Hispanic voters every year. Starting 2008, around 70% + of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican voted for Democrats.

Q2: Who did Hispanics with different information news source vote for in the election

After looking at birthplace, another cultural identity factor that comes into my mind is the language. In the context of voting behavior, I am interested in looking at if information news source language would affect the political party preference. The survey and answer scale shown below:

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(HISPANIC Rs) For information about politics does R get the most information from Spanish or English language television, radio, and newspapers

**For information about politics would you say you get the most
information from Spanish-language television, radio, and newspapers,
or from English-language TV, radio, and newspapers?**

1. English more
2. Both Equally (Bilingual) {VOL}
3. Spanish more
7. Other {SPECIFY}

-8. DK
-9. RF; NA; Inap
INAP. Inap. question not used

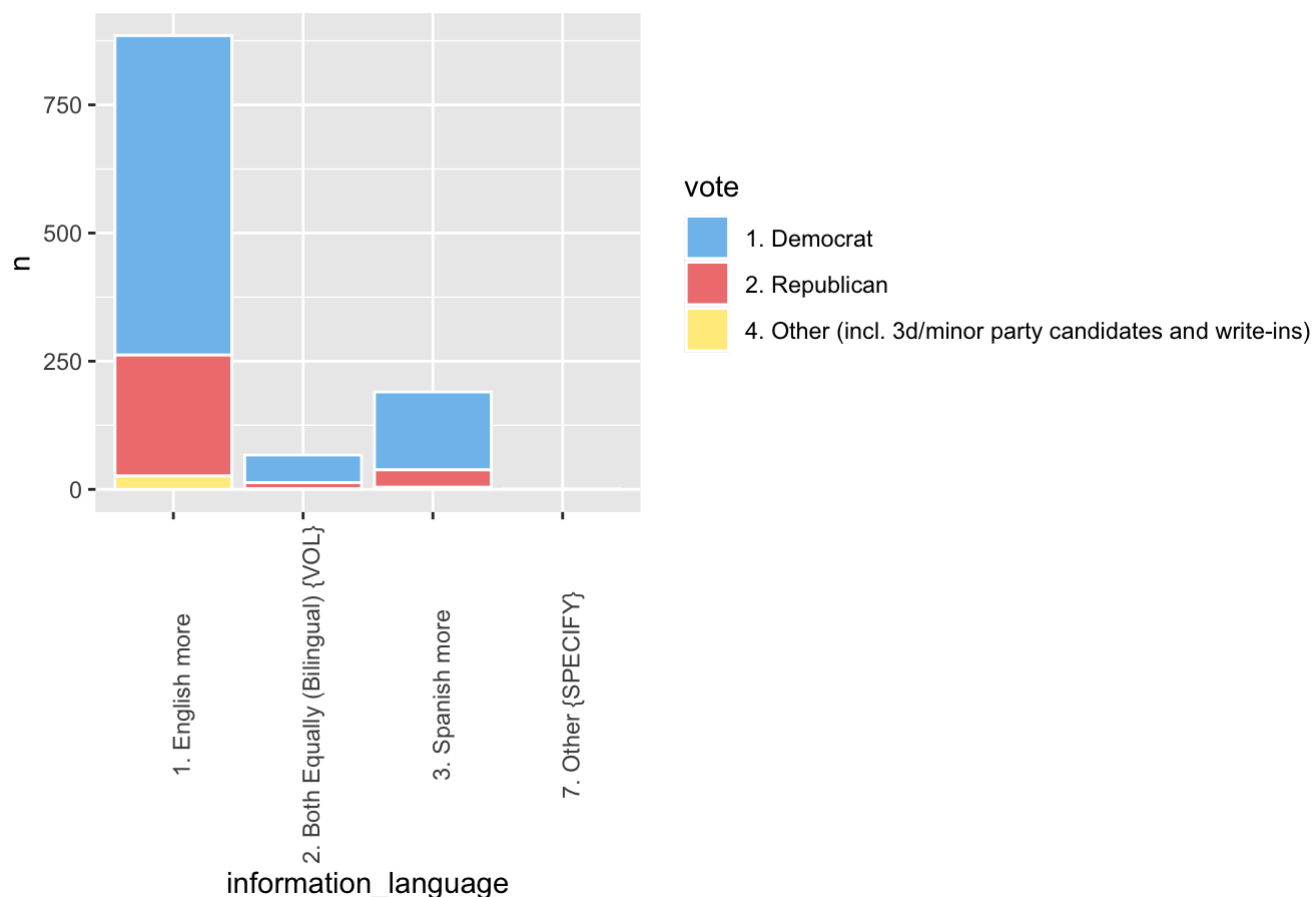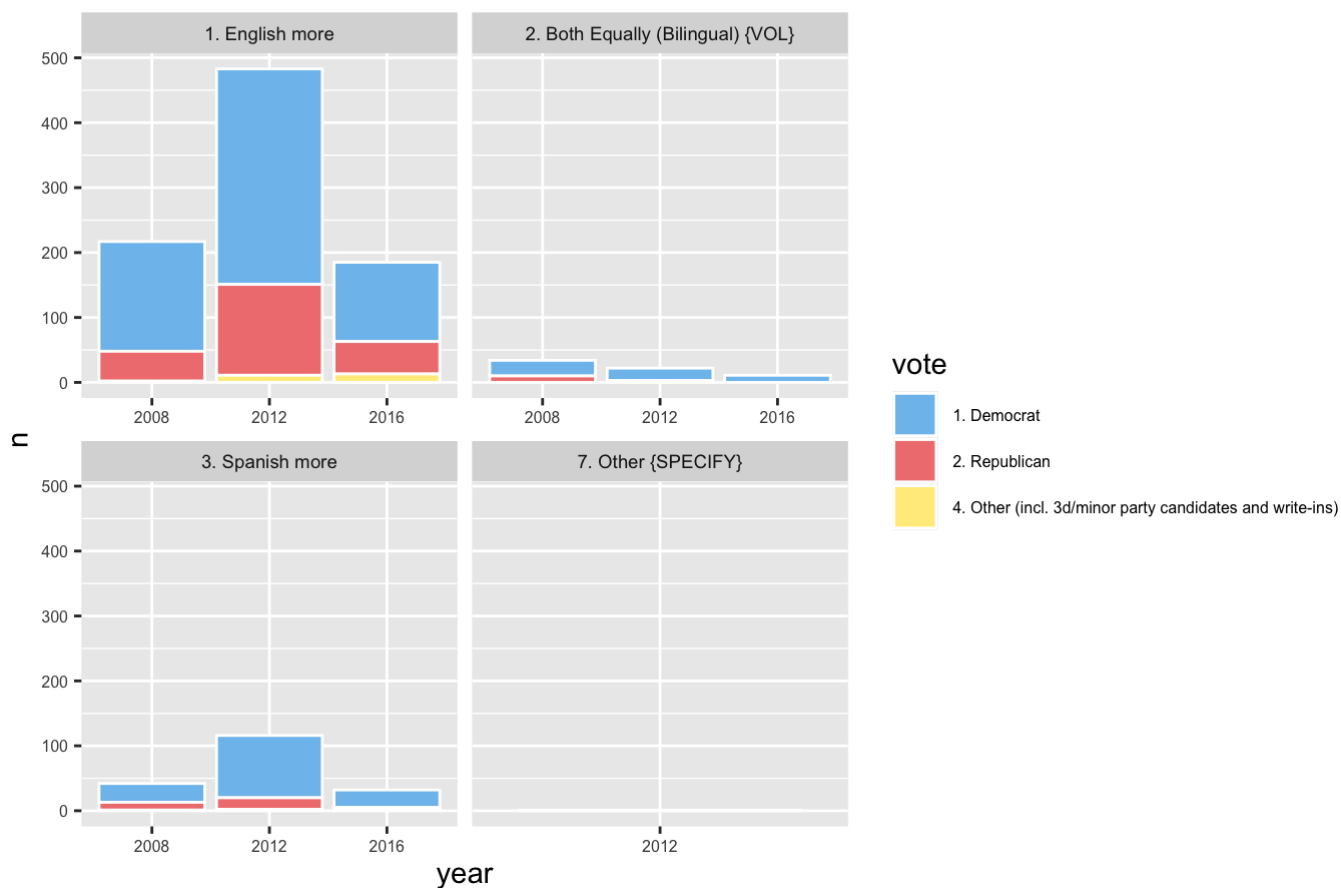## Figure 2.1 Who did Hispanics with different birthplace vote for in the election?

Figure 2.2: Hispanics Political Party Preference By Information Language

By looking at Figure 2.1, its seems like most Hispanic voters (total count = 885) look at English news source, with 70.4% of them supports Democrats. Even though there are fewer voters who watch bilingual and Spanish news sources, over 80% voted for Democrats. Over the year, it seems like English new source audiences are 10% proportionally less supporting Democrats, especially in the years 2012 and 2016.

Other Demographic Variables

Q3. Who did Different Age Hispanics Vote for in the Election?

After looking at the cultural identity factors, I am interested in looking at whether the age of Hispanic voters affects their political party preference. To look at the age effect, I used the survey question on birth year to investigate whether people of the same age holds a similar preference, and the survey question is detailed below:

VCF0103

Respondent - Cohort

1964-1976: What is your date of birth?
1978-1982: What is the month and year of your birth?
1984-LATER: What is the month, day and year of your birth?

1. 1991 - present
2. 1975 - 1990
3. 1959 - 1974
4. 1943 - 1958
5. 1927 - 1942
6. 1911 - 1926
7. 1895 - 1910
8. Before 1895

0. NA; DK; RF; no Pre IW
INAP. question not used

Figure 3.1: Who did Different Age Group Hispanics vote for in the election over the years?
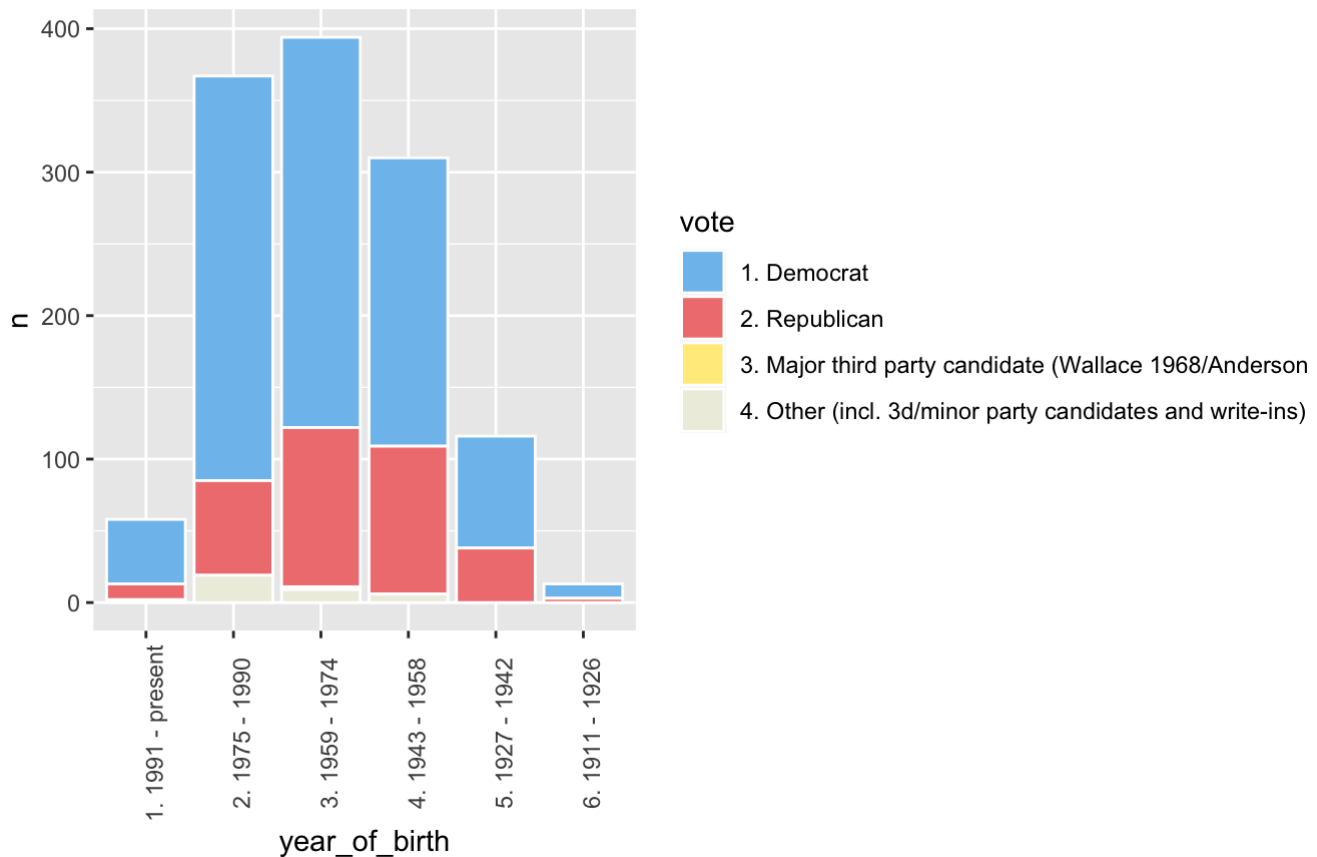

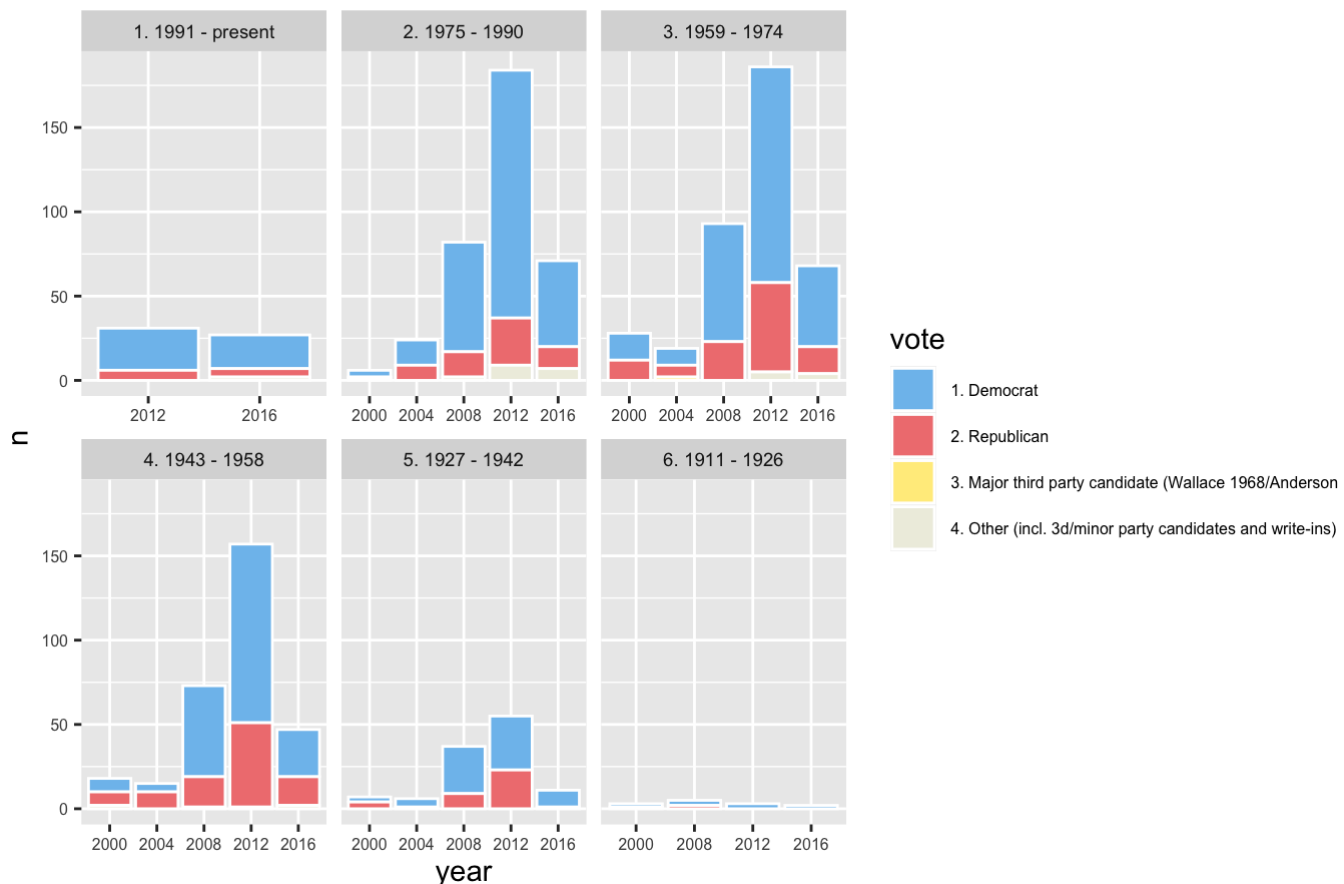## Figure 3.2: Hispanics Political Party Preference By Age Group Breakdown

Figure 3.3: How did Different Age Group Hispanics vote for in the election
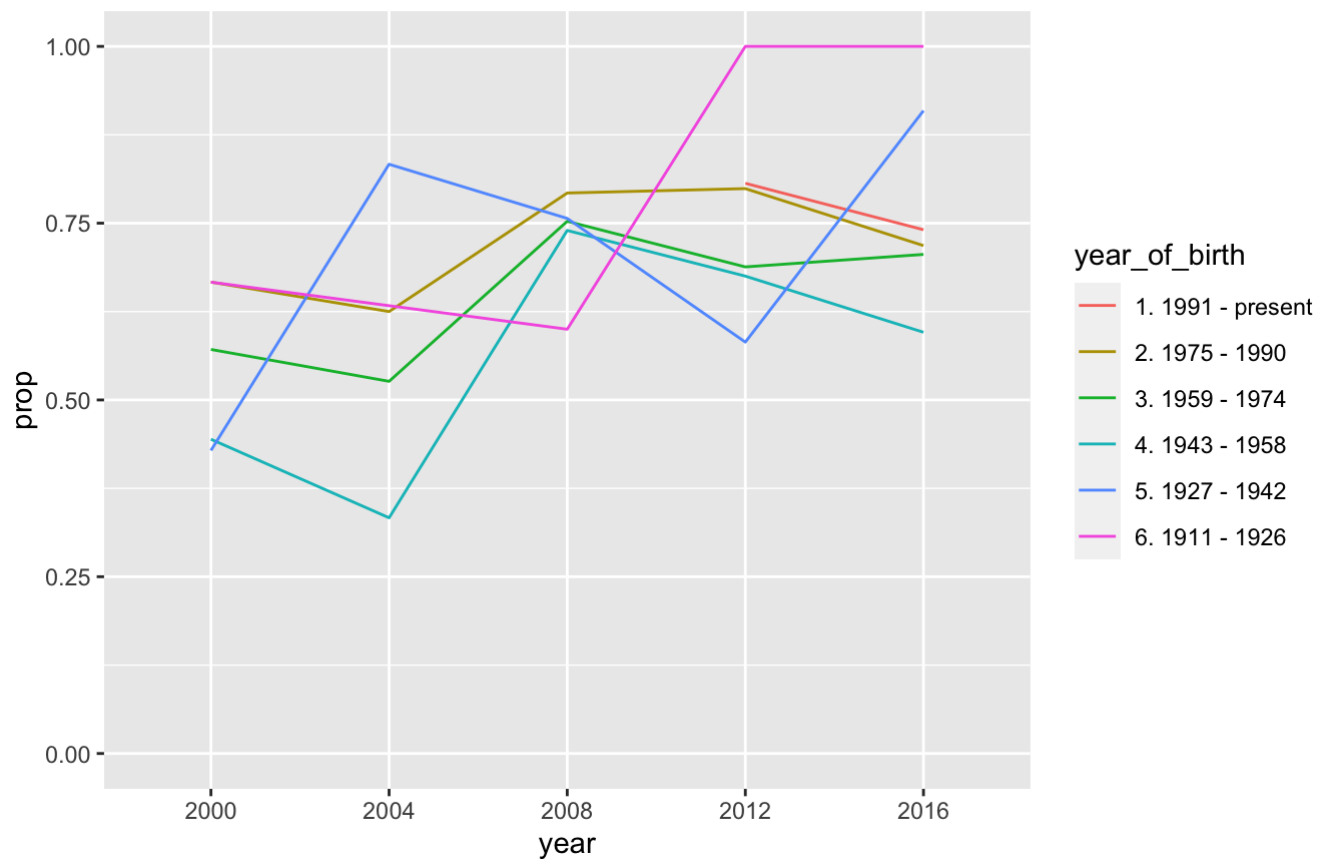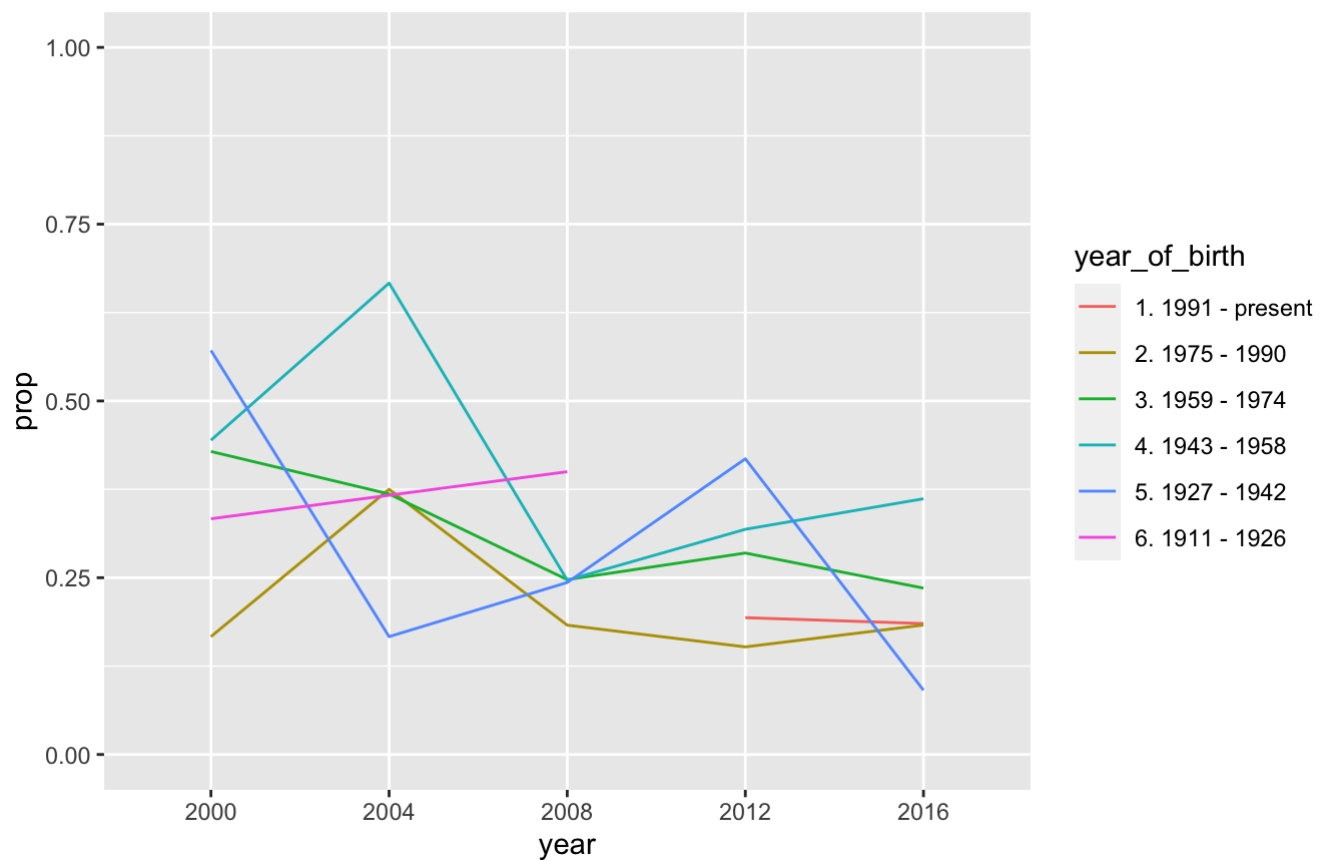
over the years? - Democrat

Figure 3.4: How did Different Age Group Hispanics vote for in the election over the years? - Republican

From Figure 3.1, most of the voters are born between 1942 - 1990. In each election year, younger people are more likely to vote for Democrats, especially for those who are born after 1975, more than 76.8% of them voted for Democrats.

I further looked at the trend of different age group's voting choices over years in Figures 3.3 and 3.4. One thing that stood out to me is the shift of political preference for people born between 1943 - 1958 and people born between 1927 - 1942 at the year of 2004. In 2000, in both groups, almost half of them support Democrats and half support Republicans. However, in 2004, more people born between 1927 to 1942 support Democrats (around 80%), and fewer of people born between 1943 - 1958 support Democrats (around 35%).

Q4: Who did Different Education Group Hispanics vote for in the election?

After looking at the age, I find out that people who are born between 1942 - 1990 are more politically active, and younger people are more likely to support Democrats(especially for those born after 1975). I am also curious to see if education plays a part.

VCF0110

Respondent - Education 4-category

1952-1972: How many grades of school did you finish?
1974,1976: What is highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test? Do you have a college degree? (IF YES:) What degree is that?
1978-1984: What is highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test? Do you have a college degree? (IF YES:) What is the highest degree that you have earned?
1986-2008: What is highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test? What is the highest degree that you have earned?
2012: What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

1. Grade school or less (0-8 grades)
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college training if applicable)
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;
    1948 ONLY: college, no identification of degree status)
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)

0. DK; NA; no Pre IW; short-form 'new' Cross Section
    (1992)
INAP. question not used

Figure 4.1: Who did Different Education Group Hispanics vote for in the election over the years? - count
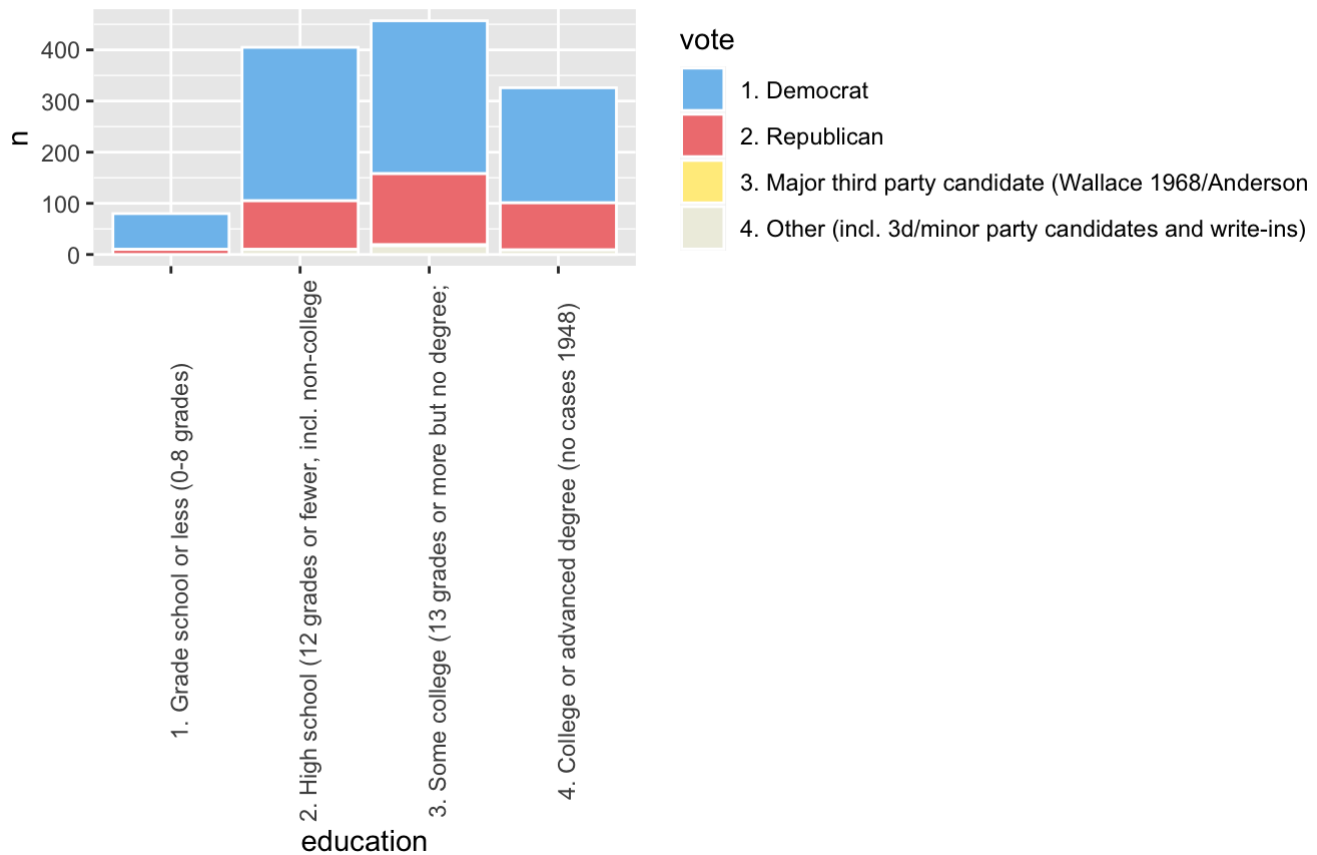
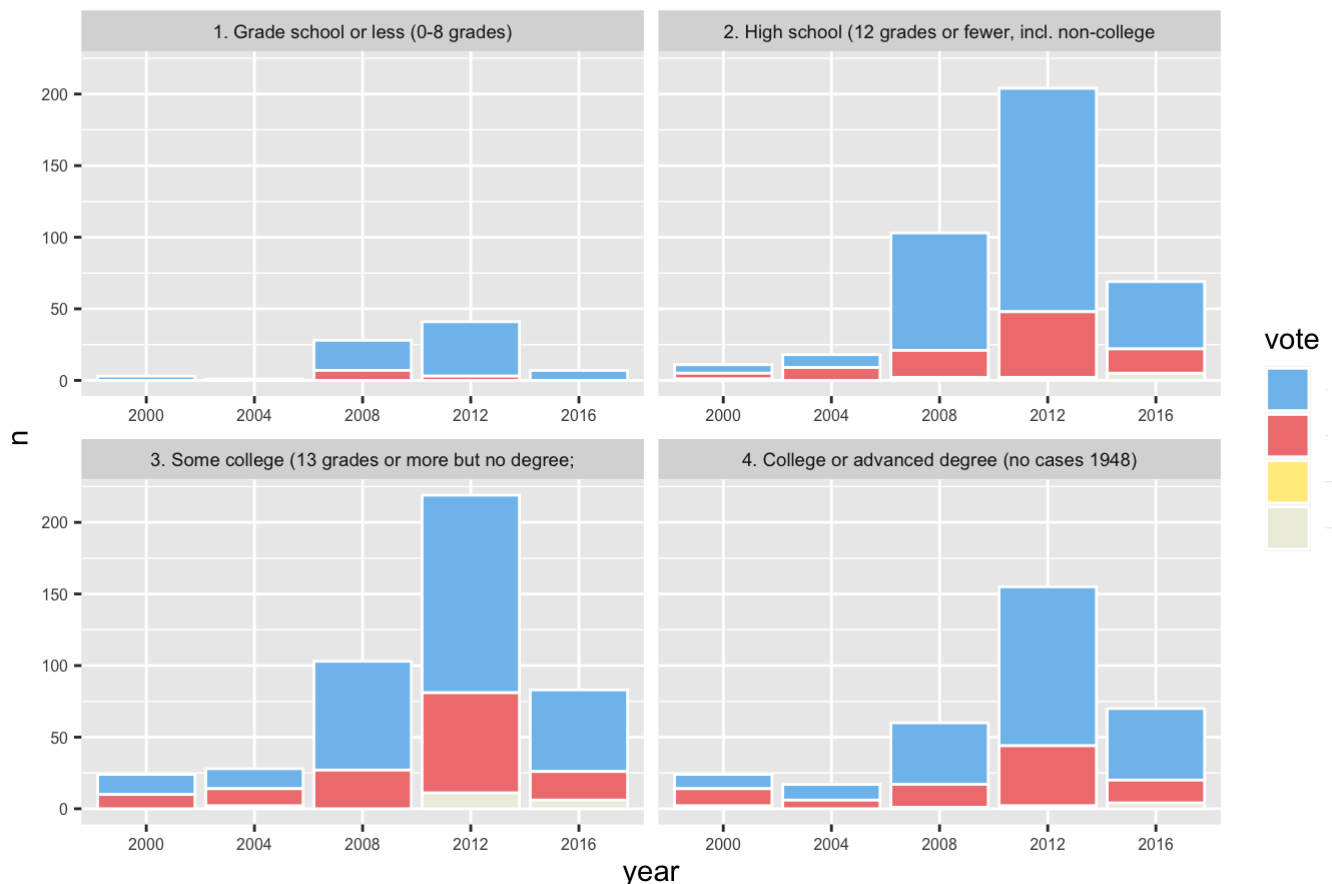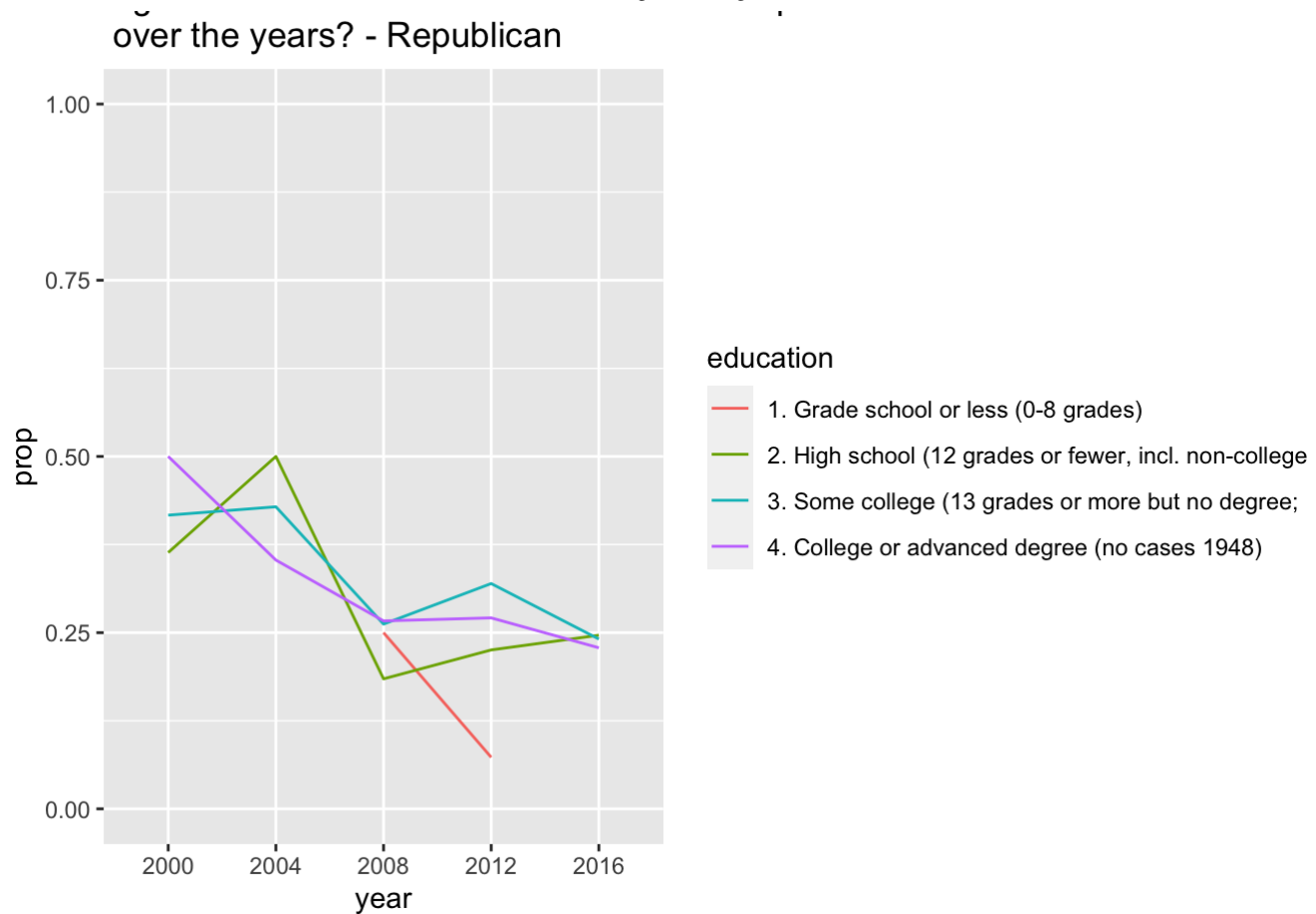Hispanics Political Party Preference By Education Breakdown

Figure 4.2: How did Different Education Hispanics vote for in the election

over the years? - Republican

From Figure 4.1, most of the participants are with high school degrees or above. I see an interesting turn in attitude for people who attend grade school or less. Before 2004, nearly none of them participated in the casting the ballot. However, starting 2008, up till 2012, there is an increasing amount of people voted, with 70%+ of them voted for Democrats. Proportional wise, as evidenced by Figure 4.2, over the years all groups are less likely to vote for Republicans.

Q5: Who did Different Hispanics with Different Income Level Vote for in the Election?

Would it be possible that higher education is linked to higher income, and thus there is a differenec in voting behavior?

VCF0114

Respondent Family - Income Group

> **1952,1956-1960:**
> About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself
> and your immediate family?
> **1962:**
> Would you tell me how much income you and your family will be making
> during this calendar year, 1962. I mean, before taxes.
> **1964,1968:**
> About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself
> and your immediate family. Just give me the number/ letter) of the
> right income category.
> **1966,1970:**
> Many people don't know their exact (1966/1970) income yet; but would you
> tell me as best you can what you expect your (1966/1970) income to be--
> before taxes? You may just tell me the letter of the group on this card
> into which your family income will probably fall.
> **1972-1990, 1992 LONG-FORM,1994-2008 EXC. 2000 TELEPHONE:**
> Please look at this card/page (2000 FTF: the booklet) and tell me the
> letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of
> your family living here in [previous year] before taxes. This figure
> should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all
> other income. (IF UNCERTAIN:) What would be your best guess?
> **1992 SHORT FORM:**
> Can you give us an estimate of your total family income in 1991 before
> taxes? This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends,
> interest and all other income for every member of your family living in
> your house in 1991. First could you tell me if that was above or below
> $24,999? (IF UNCERTAIN: what would be your best guess?) (IF ABOVE/BELOW
> $24,999:) I will read you some income categories, could you please stop
> me when I reach the category that corresponds to your family situation?
> **2000 TELEPHONE:**
> I am going to read you a list of income categories. Please tell me which
> category best describes the.total income of all members of your family
> living in your house in 1999 before taxes. This figure should include
> salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.
> Please stop me when I get to your family's income.
> **2012:**
> Information about income is very important to understand how people are
> doing financially these days. Your answers are confidential. Would you
> please give your best guess?
> The next question is about [the total income of all the members of your
> family living here / your total income] in 2011, before taxes.
> This figure should include income from all sources, including salaries,
> wages, pensions, Social Security, dividends, interest, and all other
> income. What was [the total income in 2011 of all your family members
> living here / your total income in 2011]?

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(IF DK/RF:) Was it $40,000 or more, or less than that?
(IF LESS THAN 40,000:) Was it $20,000 or more, or less than that?
(IF LESS THAN 40,000 AND LESS THAN 20,000:) Please mark the answer that
includes the income of all members of your family living here in 2011
before taxes.
(IF LESS THAN 40,000 BUT MORE THAN 20,000:) Please mark the answer
that includes the income of all members of your family living here
in 2011 before taxes.
(IF MORE THAN 40,000:) Was it $70,000 or more, or less than that?
(IF MORE THAN 40,000 BUT LESS THAN 70,000:) Please mark the answer
that includes the income of all members of your family living here
in 2011 before taxes.
(IF MORE THAN 40,000 AND MORE THAN 70,000:) Was it $100,000 or more,
or less than that?
(IF MORE THAN 40,000, MORE THAN 70,000, BUT LESS THAN 100,000:)
Please mark the answer that includes the income of all members
of your family living here in 2011 before taxes.
(IF MORE THAN 40,000, MORE THAN 70,000 AND MORE THAN 100,000:)
Please mark the answer that includes the income of all members
of your family living here in 2011 before taxes.

1. 0 to 16 percentile
2. 17 to 33 percentile
3. 34 to 67 percentile
4. 68 to 95 percentile
5. 96 to 100 percentile

0. DK; NA; refused to answer; no Pre IW
INAP. question not used

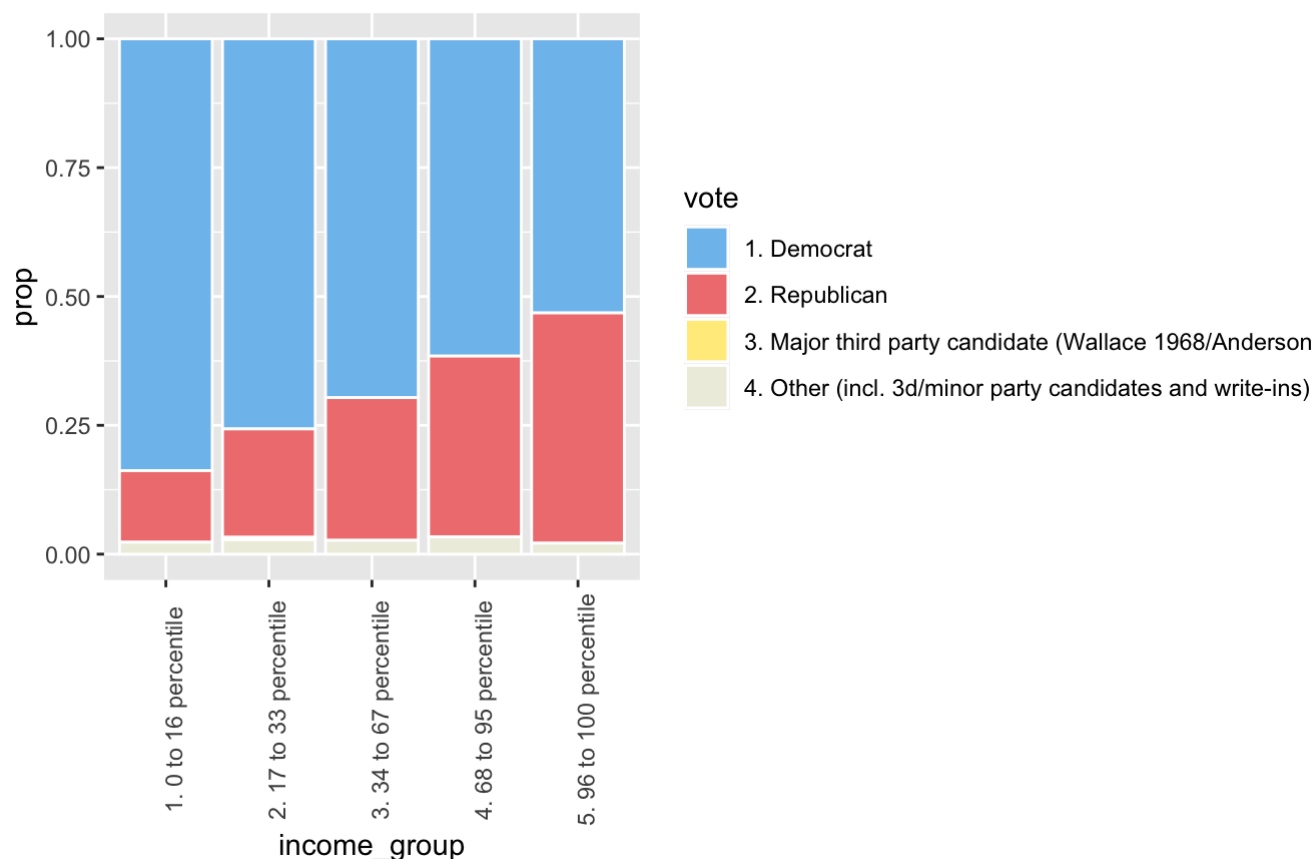Figure 5.1: Who did Hispanics with different income level vote for in the election over the years

Figure 5.2: Who did Hispanics with different income level vote for in the election over the years? - Proportion for Republicans
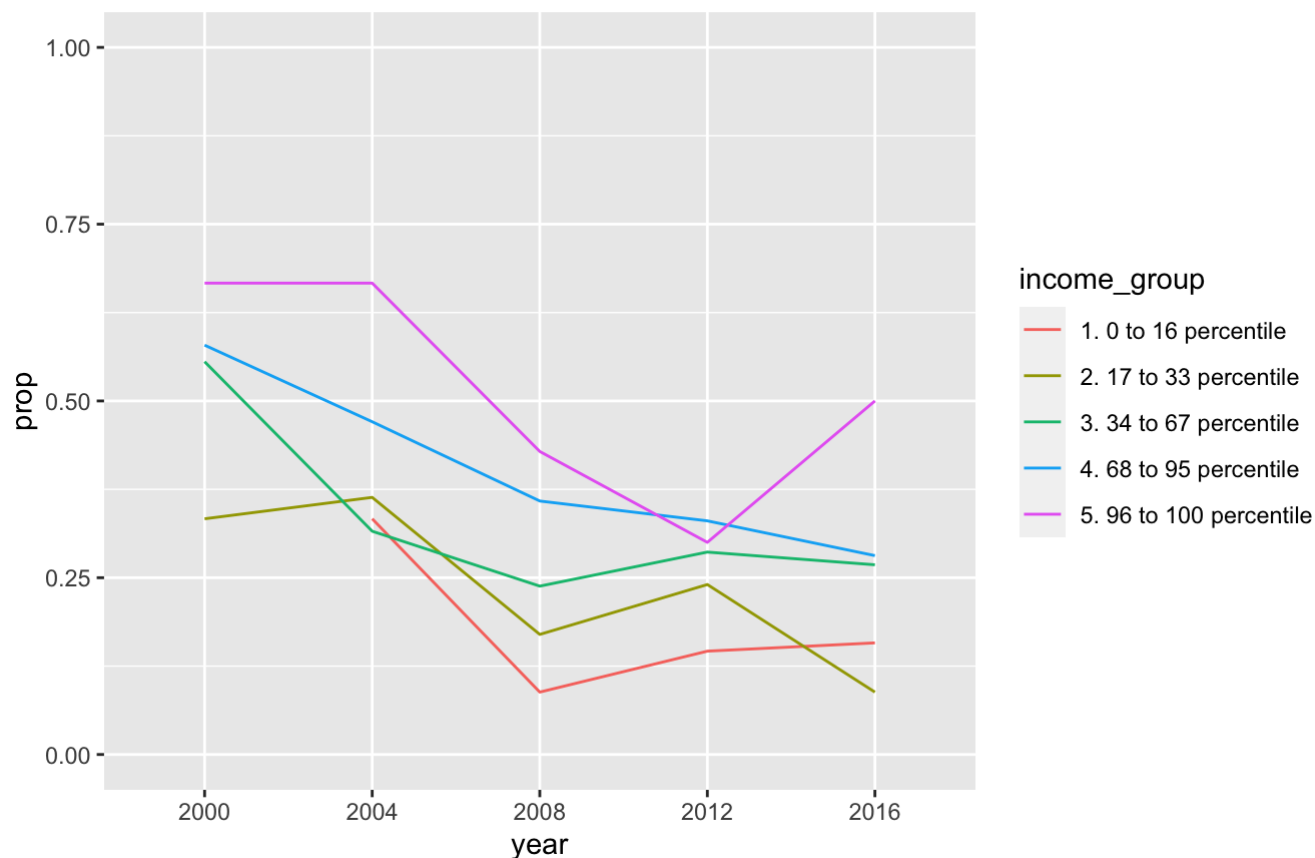

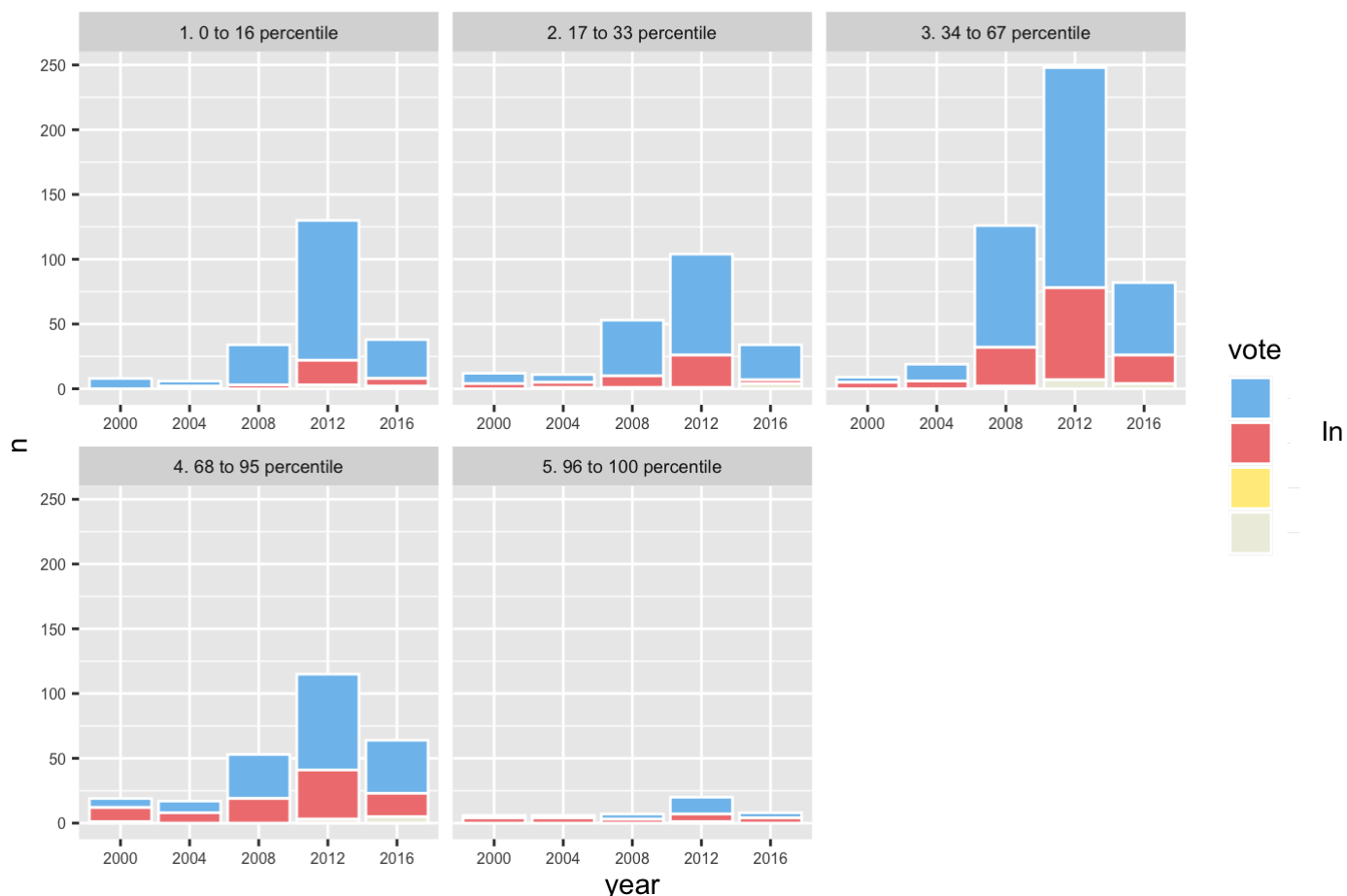Figure 5.3: Hispanics Political Party Preference By Income Level

Figure 5.1 & 5.3, I see that people from different income groups are more supportive over Democrats, except from the highers income level. People who are in the middle class are particularly active. Comparatively, those who are at the 96 - 100 percent are less likely to vote.

It also indicates that, in general, the proportion of Republican support rate incases as income leve increase, and this is persistent over time, as we can see from Figure 5.2, the line indicating high income would be higher in the graph.

Q5 Follow Up - Is the difference cased by Difference in Tax Attitudes?

So, it seems like people who have lower income tend to be more active voters and favors more on Democrats, and people who are at the top income level tend to be less active and percentage-wise vote more for Republicans. Why this is the case? Would it relate to tax attitudes?

VCF0606

How Much Does the Federal Government Waste Tax Money

**Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay
in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?**

-   ANES Cumulative Data File -

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not very much
9. DK

0. NA; no Post IW; abbrev. telephone IW (1984: See VCF0015b)
INAP. question not used

Figure 6.1: Who did Hispanics with different tax attitudes vote for in the election over the years
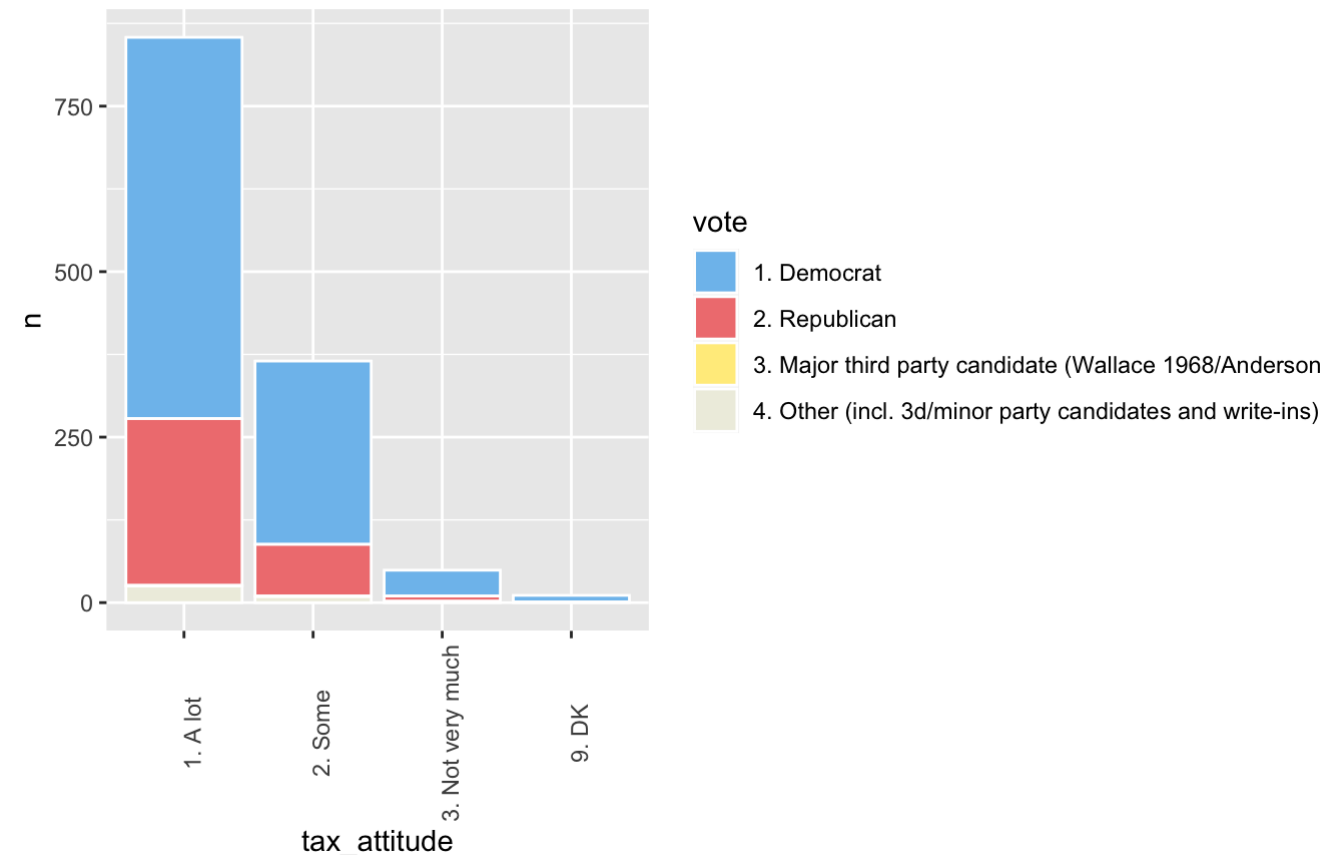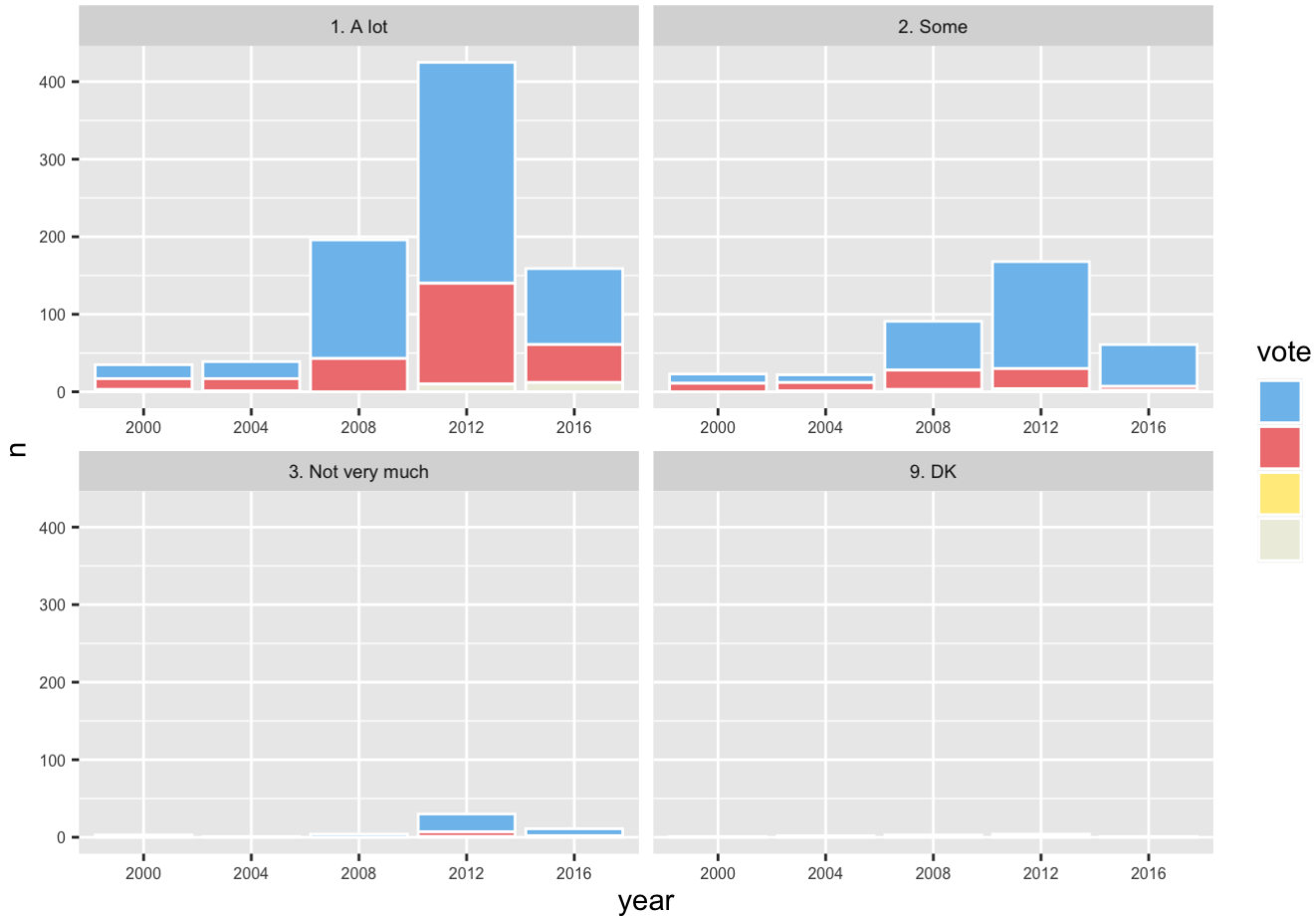

Figure 6.2 Hispanics Political Party Preference By Tax Attitude

From Figure 6.1, comparatively, there are more voters (total 821) think that the government spends on a lot of taxes. Compared to all groups, those who think government waste a lot of tax money tend to have a higher support rate for republicans compared to other groups, and this is more salient in the year of 2012.

Bottomline & Summary:

In this project, I provided a holistic analysis on how Hispanics' voting enthusiasm has changed over time period of 2000 to 2016 and what drives their decisions. Based on the definition of Hispanic identity, I fist looked at how cultural identity (race-ethnicity & language) affects voting choices. One note when looking at my result is that as this study does not differentiate Latino and Hispanic, and it did not include enough diversity within the Hispanic group, so there might be misclassification error, as some people identified as Hispanic in some questions and identified as Non-Hispanic in others. In future studies, the study shouls include more factors for measuring culture identity.

In general, Hispanics are increasing voting for Democratics. When looking at cultural identity (race-ethnicity & language), I found out that Hispanics from all groups are more likely to vote for Democrats, with Mexican - Americans are most active. For information language, audience from all news source favors Democrats more, with English Audience are less likely to choose Democrats proportionally compared to Spanish/Bilingual news audiences.

When looking at other demographic factors(age, education, income (and tax attitude), etc) , across all those factors, they voted more for Democrats. When looking closely at proportions, comparatively across groups, younger and those with lower-income people are more likely to vote for Democrats, and those with higher income are of higher proportion to vote for Republicans. I further plotted another interactive graph to look at the relationship among these factors. It seems like for those who are at the top income level (96 - 100 percentile), they are born between 1927 to 1943. For people who are born between 1911 to 1926, they tend to have a lower education level and lower-income.

1. 0 to 16 percentile   2. 17 to 33 percentile   3. 34 to 67 percentile   4. 68 to 95 percentile   5. 96 to 100 percentile

income_group