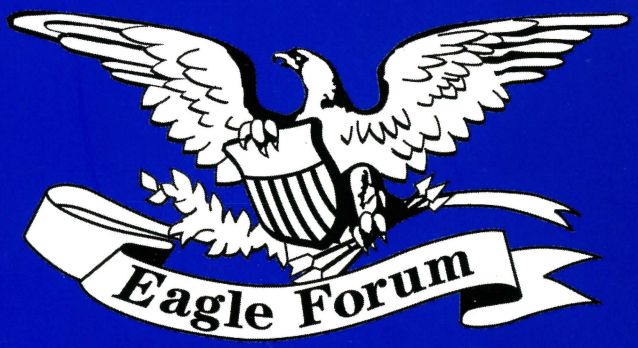
How Mass (Legal) Immigration Dooms a Conservative Republican Party



A large volume of survey data shows that, in general, immigrants and their children, from every part of the world and of every race, are significantly more liberal than the average American voter.

Immigrants and their children are more supportive of government expansion, Obamacare, affirmative action, gun control, greater environmental regulation, and of other issues championed by the Left.

Each decade, current policy adds about 11 million new legal immigrants and potential voters with that ideological profile. Being liberal is not a moral failing on the part of immigrants; it is simply reflective of their backgrounds. But if future immigration is not reduced, it will be virtually impossible for Republicans to remain nationally competitive as a conservative party. That's why the Democrats work so hard to keep immigration high.

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Foreword, by Phyllis Schlafly

People come to America because it is a remarkable oasis of freedom, prosperity, and opportunity for foreigners — no matter what socioeconomic rank they were assigned in their native country. Republicans and conservatives recognize that the principal reason for our unique abundance is our constitutional restraints on the power of government. As Thomas Jefferson said, "In questions of power, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

Accordingly, Republicans and conservatives believe in limited government, constitutional separation of powers, balanced budgets, and a minimum of government supervision and interference in our daily lives. Other countries have constitutions that list what the government should do *for* individuals, whereas the U.S. Constitution recites what government cannot do *to* us.

This approach has stood the test of time: Our Constitution is the longest-lasting constitution in history. Republicans recognize this as the major factor in our economic successes.

Current immigration policies are adding thousands of people every day whose views and experience are contrary to the conservative agenda of limited government, reducing Republicans' ability to offer an alternative to big government.

As this report makes clear, current immigration policies are adding thousands of people every day whose views and experience are contrary to the conservative agenda of limited government. Most immigrants come from countries where the only government they knew was one that played a much larger role in the economy and society.

By itself, the 1.1 million legal immigrants that arrive each year under the current system will create 5.1 million new potential voters by 2024 and 8.4 million by 2028. Congressional Budget Office (CBO) projections indicate that under the Senate Gang of Eight's S.744 bill the total additional potential voters would rise to 9.7 million by 2024 and 17.9 million by 2028.

The influx of these new voters will reduce or eliminate Republicans' ability to offer an alternative to big government, increased government spending, higher taxes, and favorite liberal policies such as Obamacare and gun control. New voters will lean on our hard-pressed health care system and overcrowded public schools to demand more government spending.

Amnesty advocates point to the assimilation of large numbers of immigrants in the early years of the 20th century. But that was followed by a national pause and slowdown of immigration from the 1920s to the 1960s that allowed newcomers to assimilate, learn our language, and adapt to our unique system of government.

Furthermore, most of those earlier immigrants arrived eager to become Americans. Many became almost 200 percent Americans, typified by Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" and by those who dominated Hollywood in those years. Still, it took seven decades and Ronald Reagan before descendents of many of those immigrants voted Republican.

There is nothing controversial about this report's conclusion that a significant majority of immigrants arriving today generally agree with the Democrats' big government agenda. And it is for this reason that they vote two-to-one for Democrats. This report not only cites a large body of survey research showing this is the case, it also quotes numerous academics and political observers making the same point. Immigration has created a greatly expanded leftist Democratic electorate.

The 2008 National Annenberg Election Survey found that 62 percent of immigrants prefer a single, government-run health care system. The 2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study found that 69 percent of immigrants support Obamacare, and the Pew Research Center found that 75 percent of Hispanic and 55 percent of Asian immigrants support bigger government.

A Harris poll found that 81 percent of native-born Americans believe the schools should teach students to be proud of being American compared to only 50 percent of immigrants who had become naturalized U.S. citizens.

Only 37 percent of naturalized citizens (compared to 67 percent of native-born citizens) think our Constitution is a higher legal authority than international law.

A Pew survey reported that 75 percent of Hispanics prefer a "bigger government providing more services" rather than a smaller government. Pew also reported that 55 percent of Asians prefer "bigger government providing more services," and only 36 percent prefer a smaller government. So it's no surprise that the 2012 exit polls conducted by Edison Research for major media outlets reported that 71 percent of Hispanics and 73 percent of Asians favored Obama.

The *New York Times* Washington bureau chief admitted that "The two fastest-growing ethnic groups — Latinos and Asian Americans — are decidedly liberal." The Pew Research Center reported in 2011 that, of all groups surveyed, Hispanics have the most negative view of capitalism in America — 55 percent. This is higher than the share among self-identified liberal Democrats, even higher than the supporters of Occupy Wall Street. The Pew Research Center found that 68 percent of Muslims prefer a bigger government providing more services, and only 21 percent want a smaller government. Pew also found that American Muslims are not particularly conservative even on social issues.

The data also do not support the notion that immigrants are social conservatives. Heather Mac Donald of the Manhattan Institute points out that it "is not immigration policy that creates the strong bond between Hispanics and the Democratic Party, but the core Democratic principles of a more generous safety net, strong government intervention in the economy, and progressive taxation."

Another important conclusion of this report is that there is no evidence that amnesty or inviting more immigration will produce Republican votes and abundant evidence that it will produce more Democratic votes. After Ronald Reagan signed the 1986 amnesty, George H.W. Bush received only 30 percent of the Latino vote in 1988, seven percentage points fewer than Reagan in 1984. The current level of immigration, even without S.744, will add nearly 15 million new potential voters by 2036, a large share of whom will favor the Left. To allow this to happen will make Republicans a permanent minority party. It will alienate the Republican base, at least four million of whom stayed home in 2012.

Defeating amnesty and the additional immigration that all amnesty bills include would also be good policy for the benefit of the 60 million American citizens of working age who are not working. A reduction in immigration would take pressure off our already overloaded health care systems and schools, and it would facilitate the assimilation of immigrants and their children who are already here.

Looking at the political motivation of the groups pushing higher immigration and amnesty, it's obvious that the Democrats promote large-scale immigration because it produces more Democratic votes. A recent Gallup poll found that "Hispanics in the United States identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party over the Republicans Party by about a two-to-one margin, regardless of whether they were U.S.-born." If the Republican Party is to remain a party that is conservative and nationally competitive, it must defeat amnesty and any proposed increases in legal immigration. Further, conservatives must work to significantly reduce the number of legal immigrants allowed into the country from the current level of 1.1 million a year.

Acknowledgments

This report is a collaborative effort of many people and is primarily a compilation of surveys, government data, commentary, and research from many other organizations. The Eagle Forum staff is pleased to take the lead in pulling this material together and would like to thank all those individuals and organizations who assisted, particularly Decision Demographics of Arlington, Va., for its analysis of Census Bureau data. We would also like to acknowledge the major organizations whose surveys and analysis form the backbone of this report, including the Pew Research Center, the Pew Hispanic Center, Gallup, NBC News, Harris polling, the Annenberg Policy Center, Latino Decisions, the Center for Immigration Studies, and the Hudson Institute.

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Overview

This report examines immigrants' support for liberal policies and the reasons for it. A large volume of survey data shows that in general immigrants and their children are significantly more liberal than the average American voter on a host of policy issues. The data indicate that voters in immigrant communities support expanding the size of government, Obamacare, affirmative action, gun control, greater environmental regulation, and other issues championed by the Left. In a democracy, public policy has to reflect the overall orientation of the electorate. Change the electorate through immigration, and public policy must eventually follow.

Each decade under current policy, about 11 million new legal immigrants arrive and become potential voters. If immigration is not reduced, it will be virtually impossible for Republicans to remain nationally competitive as a conservative party.

The key conclusion of the report is this: For conservatives, there is no issue more important than reducing the number of immigrants allowed into the country each year.

This report focuses on the policy preferences of Hispanics and Asians in the United States. Three-fourths of all recent immigrants are Asian or Hispanic; 71 percent of voting-age Hispanics and 93 percent of voting-age Asians are either foreign-born or have at least one foreign-born parent. Where possible, the report distinguishes between the views of the foreign- and native-born. However, the term "immigrant communities" is used to refer to native- and foreign-born Hispanics and Asians collectively.[1]

Immigration in General — Not Race — Is the Issue

The limited data for other immigrants — including Europeans and Muslims — indicates that they, too, generally hold views well to the left of the average American voter. Thus, the problem for conservatives is not race or ethnicity, but immigration in general.

Democrats Agree that Immigrants Are Liberal

Although most Republicans have been reluctant to directly address the partisan implications of current immigration flows, Democrats have been quite open about how much immigration is improving their ability to win elections by importing massive numbers of liberal voters. As Eliseo Medina, a top official with both the SEIU union and Democratic Socialists of America, has noted, expanding the Democratic electorate through immigration "will solidify and expand the progressive coalition for the future."[2]

Medina is correct. The Pew Research Center has found that 55 percent of Hispanics have a negative view of capitalism, the highest of any group surveyed. Pew also found that 75 percent of Hispanics prefer a bigger government providing more services, as do 55 percent of Asian Americans. This compares to just 41 percent of the general public. While the general public was divided in 2012 on Obamacare, 66 percent of Hispanics support it; and three times as many Asian Americans had a favorable opinion of the program as had an unfavorable opinion of it.

For this reason, Ruy Texeira of the liberal Center for American Progress observes that Hispanic "opinions on the role of government" are "very much aligned with the Democratic Party."[3] For Republicans to simply change positions on immigration will not make much difference, he said, because Republicans must "move on the role of government" if they are to have any chance of making inroads with immigrant voters.

Most liberal institutions and Democratic leaders seem to understand this well. This is partly why nearly all of them favor continued high levels of immigration, and even substantial increases like those in the Senate Gang of Eight's S.744 bill. This, despite the fact that immigration tends to harm those the Democratic Party traditionally has claimed to want to help the most, such as less-educated workers and minorities.

Why Immigrants Tend to Be Liberal

Most immigrants come from countries where the government plays a larger role in the economy and society. Their support for expansive government is reinforced by liberal elites in immigrant communities and the liberal urban areas in which so many settle. Further, immigrants' liberalism often reflects self-interest, as many benefit from affirmative action and welfare. Unfortunately, some immigrants are also attracted to the Democratic Party's support for identity- and grievance-based politics. In short, the factors contributing to immigrants' liberalism are largely outside of the Republican Party's control.

New Immigration Overwhelms GOP Recruitment Efforts

Republicans have compelling reasons for bolder and more intensive outreach to increase their support among Asian, Latino, and other immigrant Americans. But nothing in the U.S. history of mass immigration suggests that Republicans can turn previous immigrants and their children into conservatives faster than a policy of 11 million legal immigrants a decade can bring in new liberal voters.

Immigration Is Not Inevitable

What Republicans can more easily influence is how many immigrants are added each year. Even without future immigration, the changing demography of the United State due to post-1970 immigration and the higher fertility of some groups will tend to work against Republicans. But the additional millions of liberal voters that would result if current immigration policy is allowed to continue over the coming decades is not inevitable. The level of immigration is determined by Congress and it can be changed at any time.

Of Course, Not All Immigrants Are Liberal

As with any large group of people, all political views are represented among our fellow citizens who have recent roots abroad. Many immigrants and children of immigrants are active and valued members of the conservative movement, working tirelessly to protect our liberties, our Constitution, and our sovereignty. But there is no dispute that solid and persistent majorities of Hispanic and Asian immigrants and their children share the policy preferences of the modern American Left.

Immigrants' Liberal Views Are Not a Moral Failing

The fact that significant majorities of voters in immigrant communities hold liberal views does not mean they are bad people or even that their views are outside the mainstream. Many Americans not of recent immigrant origin share their preference for government expansion. Nor should immigrants' generally liberal views be trivialized as something that can be overcome simply by the right 30-second radio ad or by running candidates from Asian or Hispanic backgrounds. These things may help, but the political values and preferences of the immigrant community are sincerely felt and not easily changed.

Most Immigrants Are Not Socially Conservative

Some Republicans think that immigrants are social conservatives and, if only the contentious immigration issue were not standing in the way, they would stop voting for Democrats. But survey data show U.S.-born Hispanics and Asians tend to be supportive of abortion and gay rights for example, while foreign-born Hispanics and Asians are divided. More importantly, polls show that immigrants and their children do not vote for candidates based on social issues. Polls indicate that Republicans' social conservatism does not particularly help or hurt them with voters in immigrant communities.

"Comprehensive Reform" Means Big Increases in Legal Immigration

All immigration bills of the last decade that have been called "comprehensive" would not only amnesty millions of illegal immigrants, but these bills would dramatically accelerate legal immigration, adding additional liberal voters each year. It is the huge volume of legal immigration, more than illegal immigration or amnesties, that has been the primary cause of the changing electoral demographics that disadvantage the Republican Party.

Blocking "Comprehensive Immigration Reform" Is Not Enough

While defeating amnesty and big increases in legal immigration would prevent an acceleration of negative demographic shifts for the party, it would still leave in place the current immigration policies that are driving the rapid additions of liberal voters to the country. It also would maintain a loose labor market that keeps wages lower and slows the movement of immigrants into the middle class where they would be more likely to entertain Republican arguments. An aggressive championing of the benefits of immigration reduction for all workers, particularly those in low-wage jobs, would give Republicans an attractive image to workers who typically gravitate to the Democratic Party.

Republicans' Problem in California Is Not Proposition 187

The idea that Republicans' support for Proposition 187 two decades ago is what continues to cost the party the state ignores the fact that voters in immigrant communities support Democrats because they largely agree with them on policies other than immigration. Analysis by political scientist James Gimpel across counties nationwide shows that the "partisan impact of immigration is relatively uniform throughout the country, even though local Republican parties have taken different positions on illegal immigration." The real problem is that immigration has created a far larger liberal electorate in California. If legal immigration is not reduced, the same thing will happen across the country.

What about Chris Christie's Success?

Some Republican amnesty advocates argue that New Jersey Governor Christie's capture of about half the Hispanic vote in his 2013 re-election while sporting a reputation as being soft on illegal immigration makes him the model for conservatives trying to attract higher immigrant support. But his victory as an incumbent against a very weak under-funded opponent — in a race where immigration was barely mentioned -- largely reflects the immense popularity of his handling of Hurricane Sandy and in no way undermines the arguments in this paper. Hispanic voting followed the pattern of liberals, Democrats, and black voters who also swung strongly toward Christie.

Without Immigration Reduction, New York and San Francisco Are the Future

These are two of the most intensely immigrant-settled cities in America — one-third of their residents are foreign-born. The governments of both cities are solidly left-wing, combining high taxes and oppressive business regulation with the Left's cultural agenda and race-based grievance politics. The immigrants in both cities are quite different, with San Francisco being predominately Asian while New York's immigrants are very diverse, with Hispanics being the largest share. Yet, there has been no significant political pushback against liberal policies from immigrant voters in either city. In fact, Hispanics and Asians are part of the dominant Democratic coalition in both places. New York and San Francisco show how voters in immigrant communities can live with the most extreme manifestations of the Left's social and economic agenda and remain enthusiastic Democrats.

Good Policy and Good Politics

Republicans' message of lower immigration must not disparage our fellow Americans who were born abroad. One way to do this, which is both valid as a matter of policy and also politically appealing to a broad group of voters, is to frame the issue as standing up for wage earners — especially immigrants already here — who will be harmed by future immigration flows. With a record number of working-age Americans not working, most Americans are very skeptical of the view that the country needs more workers.[4] Arguing for less immigration on populist economic grounds would demonstrate concern for the working class, something that would be particularly appealing to many swing-vote groups. Equally important, like the slowdown in immigration from the 1920s to the 1960s, a reduction today would facilitate the assimilation of immigrant communities.

This report does not attempt to prescribe the details of future immigration policy or how Republicans should argue for those changes to their best political advantage. But the findings are clear: If Republicans are to remain a party that is both conservative and nationally competitive, they must work to defeat anything like the Senate Gang of Eight bill, and push for substantial reductions in the level of future legal immigration. Those advocating that Republicans should promote mass immigration are in effect arguing that the party should support admitting millions of voters into the country who largely disagree with a limited-government agenda and then somehow convince these new voters that their policy preferences are wrong.

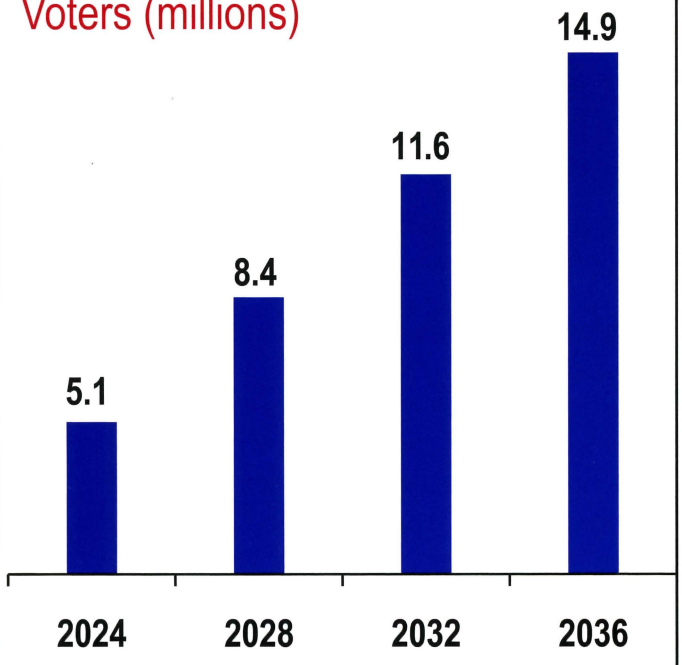
Projecting Immigration's Impact on the Electorate

Present Level of Immigration Dooms Conservatives

As with any policy issue, it's best to begin by trying to understand the scope of the problem. Figure 1 reports the results of a recent Center for Immigration Studies projection of the number of potential voters that the current level of immigration will create through the 2036 election if the law remains unchanged. The figure shows that current immigration policy will add 5.1 million new potential voting-age citizens between 2014 and 2024, 8.4 million by 2028, and 14.9 million by 2036. At present, 1.1 million new legal permanent immigrants are allowed into the country with the so-called green card. In most cases after five years, green card holders can become citizens and vote. It is only three years for the spouses of U.S. citizens.[5]

Of course, none of these individuals have yet been given permanent status. Most are not even in the country, as they represent future arrivals. Therefore there is nothing inevitable about these numbers. They represent a policy choice that Republicans would be foolish to continue to support. If we consider that the last four presidential elections were decided by an average of 4.5 million votes we can see just how high the stakes are for Republicans. The arrival of 11 million permanent immigrants each decade has enormous long-term electoral consequences. Even if only a modest share of these potential voters actually votes, the impact will be decisive.

Figure 1. Without a Reduction in Level, Current Legal Immigration Will Add Millions of Potential New Voters (millions)



Source: "How Many New Voters Would S.744 Create? A look at the electoral implications of the Gang of Eight immigration bill," Center for Immigration Studies, 2013.

If S.744 Becomes Law

Based on CBO projections, the Center for Immigration Studies also estimates that S.744 will add an additional 4.6 million new potential voters by 2024 and 17.3 million by 2036. About a third of this increase is due to the bill's amnesty provisions; the rest is due to the bill's substantial increases in legal immigration.

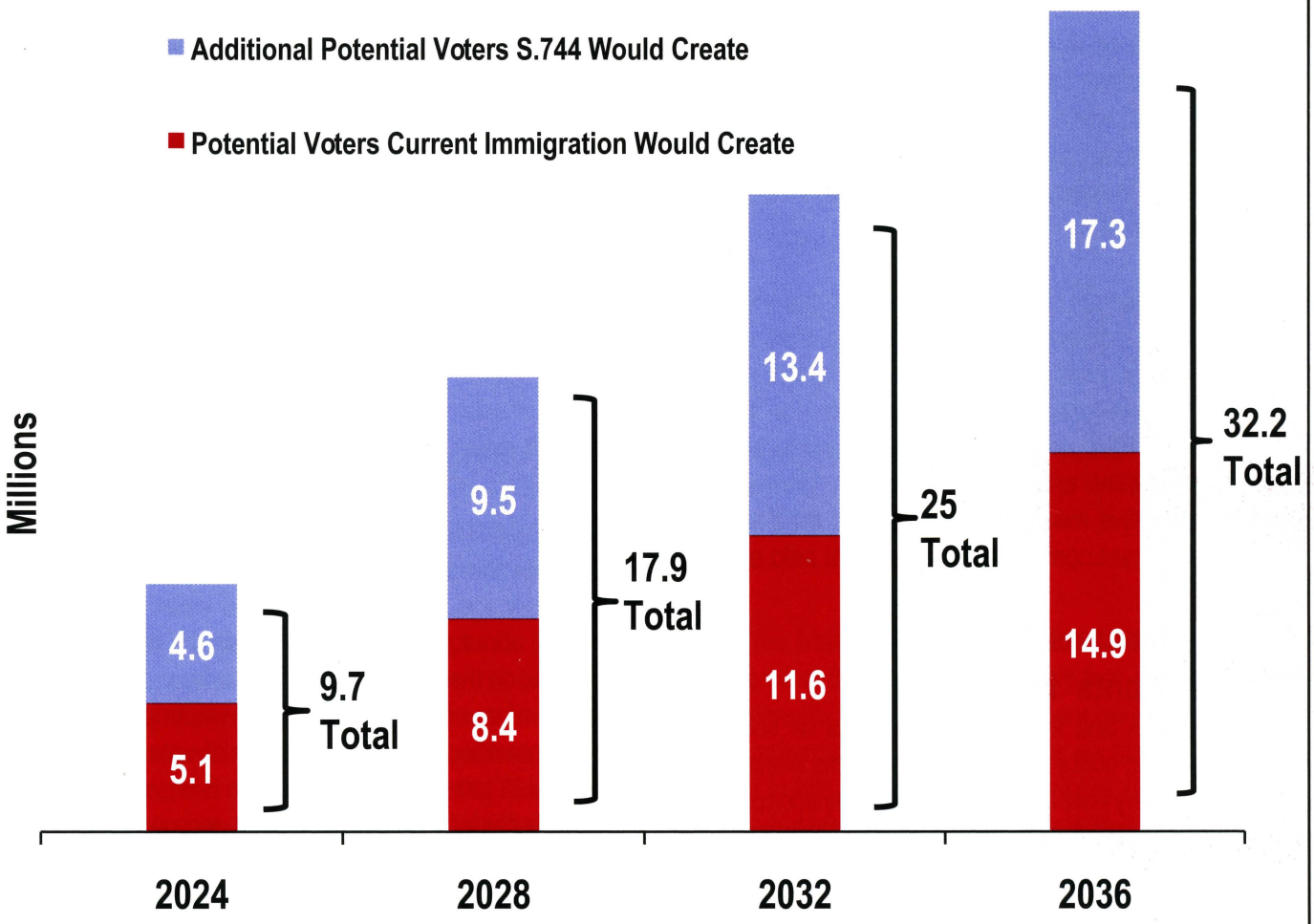
Current Law Plus S.744

Figure 2 shows the combined effect of current immigration levels plus the effects of S.744. The figure shows that the two together would add nearly 10 million potential new voters by 2024 and more than 32 million by 2036. The 32 million potential voters that current immigration plus S.744 would create is slightly larger than the number of all Americans over age 65 who voted in 2012. It is also twice the size of the veteran vote and nearly triple the size of the Hispanic vote in 2012. Emily Schultheis, writing for *Politico*, pointed out in April 2013 that the passage of the Senate's Gang of Eight bill would "transform the nation's political landscape for a generation or more" by creating "an electoral bonanza for Democrats and crippling Republican prospects in many states they now win easily."[6]

It is unknown what share of these new immigrants will actually become citizens and vote, but there is no question that millions will do so. And given all that is known about the policy preferences of immigrants, the partisan impact of these new voters will be substantial. What's more, all of these individuals will be included in future censuses, which count all persons — not just citizens. Thus, future immigration will impact apportionment and redistricting in the U.S. House of Representatives as well as in state legislatures, city councils, and county commissions.

Some parts of S.744 would likely increase the Asian share of newly arrived immigrants while others would increase the Hispanic share. The precise new mix is not easily known. In any case, it's likely that about three-fourths of the new citizens that S.744 would create would be Hispanic or Asian. Since both groups are liberal in their policy preferences and vote Democratic in roughly the same proportions (as discussed in more detail below), the political effect of S.744 would be to dramatically increase the Democratic voter base, even if the ethnic composition of the immigration flow might change somewhat.

Figure 2. Current Immigration Law Plus S.744 Would Add Millions of New Voters



Source: "How Many New Voters Would S.744 Create? A look at the electoral implications of the Gang of Eight immigration bill," Center for Immigration Studies, 2013.

Political Opinion in Immigrant Communities

The political views of new voters are the central question for the survival of conservatism. If their views, and thus their voting behavior, reflected that of the public at large, there might be little political impact. If they were disproportionately inclined toward small government and were socially traditionalist, it might even help Republicans.

Unfortunately, there is no question that immigrants tend to be liberal in their policy preferences. This is not simply a matter of whether they identify themselves as "liberal" or "conservative" when asked by pollsters — the foreign-born may not employ those terms in the modern American sense. Rather, immigrants express clear and convincing support for the policies favored by the Left.

Even on social issues such as abortion and gay marriage, immigrants are not conservative, although they are not lopsidedly liberal, as is the case with their views on economic and size-of-government issues. (More on this below.) Whatever their views, social issues tend to be a low priority for Hispanic and Asian immigrants. So while the social conservative message does not hurt the party with voters in immigrant communities, it does not help either.

Near Consensus Exists On Immigrants' Liberalism

That immigrants and their children tend to be liberal on matters of public policy — and that this is the reason they disproportionately vote Democrat — is widely accepted and not a subject of any dispute among scholars and reporters. As political scientists R. Michael Alvarez and Lisa Garcia Bedolla argue, Latino support for the Democratic Party "is based on policy issue preferences" and their strong support for Democrats is unlikely to change "unless the parties fundamentally change their issue positions."[7] After looking at the opinions of both Asian and Hispanic voters, Gary Segura of Stanford University and Shaun Bowler of the University of California-Riverside observe, "Minority voters and white voters have markedly different expectations regarding the vigor and reach of government."[8] Summarizing several surveys to explain why Asians voted overwhelmingly for President Obama, Mark Mellman of the *Hill* newspaper points out that Asian Americans are "quintessentially liberal" on a host of policy issues.[9]

As the Washington bureau chief of the *New York Times* David Leonhardt has observed, "The two fastest-growing ethnic groups — Latinos and Asian Americans — are decidedly liberal."[10] Ruy Teixeira, whose Center for American Progress unfortunately race-baits on immigration, has made clear that Republicans "quite simply" have to "become less conservative" to survive in the new political reality immigration is creating.[11] As a liberal, Democrat Teixeira's argument may be self-serving, but all the available evidence supports his conclusion. After analyzing several surveys, University of Alabama Professor George Hawley concludes, "immigrants are well to the left of the American public on a number of key issues."[12]

Continually adding millions of voters whose core principles are largely in line with the Democrats' liberal agenda has profound implications for Republican electoral prospects and the future direction of public policy. Increasing the number of such voters by passing the Senate immigration bill would make things much worse.

Limitations of Survey Data

Public opinion surveys typically ask individuals their race and if they are Hispanic, but only a small number ask a question about citizenship or whether the respondent was born outside the United States. So data on the policy preferences of immigrants in particular are much more limited than information about preferences of voters by race and ethnicity. In most cases, even when it is possible to identify immigrants, the sample size is too small for reliable results. However, the National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) and the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) are large-sample surveys that do identify immigrants.

National Annenberg Election Survey

The top of Table 1 reports figures from the public-use file of the NAES. The lower portion of the table reports results from the public-use file of the CCES. On the policy issues asked about in the surveys, immigrants are significantly to the left of the native-born population on most issues, with the exception of cultural issues like abortion or gay marriage, where the two groups are much more similar.

The NAES shows that immigrants are much more likely than the native-born to favor government-provided health

Table 1. Most Immigrants Have Liberal Policy Preferences

2008 National Annenberg Election Survey

Issue	Native-Born Americans	All Immigrants	Hispanic Immigrants	Asian Immigrants	Other Immigrants
% Favor Government Health Insurance	45%	62%	67%	59%	58%
% Favor Financial Bailout	30%	40%	37%	41%	43%
% Trust Federal Government All or Most of the Time	15%	23%	28%	26%	19%
% Favor Raising Taxes	16%	18%	14%	20%	22%
% Favor Full Marriage Rights for Homosexuals	28%	29%	25%	28%	32%
% Support Abortion for Anyone Who Wants One	31%	28%	13%	31%	39%

2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study

Issue	Native-Born Americans	All Immigrants	Hispanic Immigrants	Asian Immigrants	Other Immigrants
% Support Affirmative Action	35%	58%	63%	64%	52%
% Support Obamacare	52%	69%	64%	76%	69%
% Support for President Obama Stimulus Package	57%	66%	63%	69%	67%
% Support Embryonic Stem Cell Research	66%	67%	60%	77%	67%
% Support Making Abortion Always Available	45%	39%	29%	43%	43%

Source: George Hawley, "Liberalizing Immigration Will Liberalize the U.S." Real Clear Policy, October 24, 2013.
Table A1 in the Appendix reports sample size for both surveys. Table A2 reports survey wording for the NAES and Table A3 reports survey wording for the CCES.

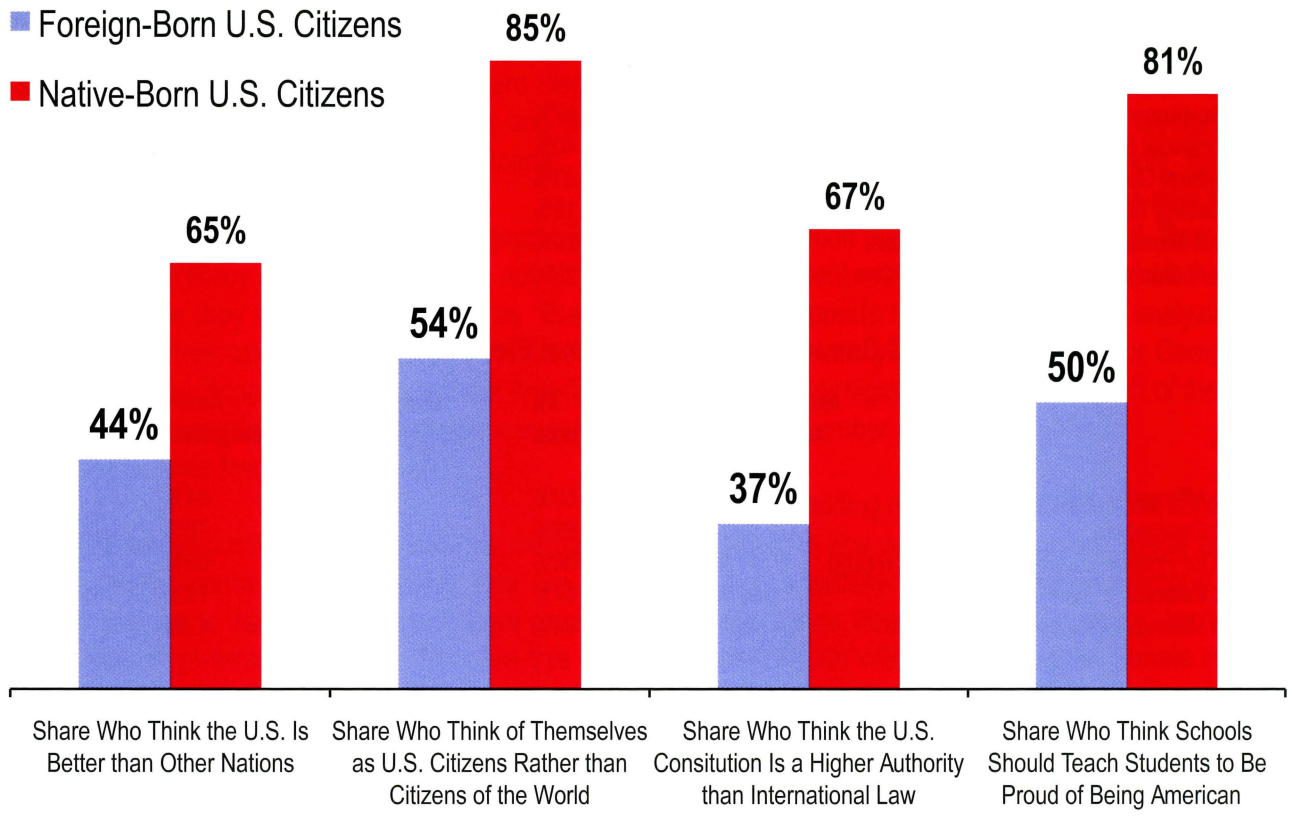
insurance, by a margin of 17 percentage points. Immigrants favored the bailout of financial firms in 2008 by 10 percentage points over natives. These results may not be too surprising given that the survey also shows that a larger share of immigrants than natives trust the federal government. Of course, immigrants are not liberal on every issue. Raising taxes is never popular and the NAES shows this is true for immigrants and natives alike. Though, as we will see, other surveys show big differences between Hispanics and Asians and the general public regarding the desirability of bigger government. On abortion and gay marriage, the NAES shows little difference between immigrants and native-born Americans.

Cooperative Congressional Election Study

The results from the CCES at the bottom of Table 1 show a similar preference among immigrants for liberal public policy. The CCES indicates a strong preference on the part of immigrants (58 percent) vs. natives (35 percent) for affirmative action programs designed to give "preference to racial minorities in employment and college admissions in order to correct for past discrimination." While it may be surprising to some, other research has also shown strong support for affirmative action among Asians in particular.[13]

The CCES shows a much larger share of immigrants (69 percent) supported Obamacare than natives (52 percent) at the time of the survey. Immigrants also favored the president's stimulus package by nearly 10 percentage points. However, on stem cell research and abortion there was little difference in the views of immigrants and natives. Like the NAES results on gay marriage and abortion, the CCES supports the idea that it is not the GOP's cultural conservatism that alienates immigrants. Rather, it is GOP resistance to issues like Obamacare, affirmative action, and other economic and redistributive policies that immigrants support, and this explains why significant majorities vote for Democratic candidates.

Figure 3. Republicans' Emphasis on Patriotism and American Sovereignty Likely Alienates Many Immigrant Voters



Source: "America's Patriotic Assimilation System Is Broken," Harris Interactive Survey done for the Hudson Institute, 2013. A significant share of respondents, especially immigrants, chose "not sure" as their answer to the questions.

Harris Interactive Survey

In 2012 the Hudson Institute analyzed a Harris Interactive survey specifically designed to measure the opinion of naturalized U.S. citizens. Figure 3 reports the results of the survey.[14] The gap between foreign-born and native-born citizens on measures of attachment to the United States is unfortunately very large. The figure shows a 21 percentage-point difference (65 percent to 44 percent) in the share of natives vs. naturalized immigrants on the question of whether America is "better" than other countries. Also, 85 percent of natives consider themselves American citizens rather than citizens of the world, but this is the case for only 54 percent of naturalized immigrants. The gap was 30 percentage points (67-37 percent) in the share of natives compared to naturalized immigrants who believe that the U.S. Constitution is a higher legal authority for Americans than international law. Finally, 81 percent of the native-born believe schools should focus on American citizenship rather than ethnic pride, in contrast to just 50 percent of foreign-born U.S. citizens.

It is worth pointing out that there is no requirement that an immigrant become a citizen. Permanent residents must first live in the country for at least five years (in most cases), pay a fee, and pass a civics and language test. Being an American citizen is a voluntary act and naturalized citizens are by definition not newcomers. On average they have lived in the United States for more than two decades.[15] Yet the gap between naturalized citizens and native-born citizens on measures of attachment to the United States is so large that the authors of a Hudson report concluded that the nation's "patriotic assimilation system" is broken. These results matter politically because patriotism and American sovereignty are central to the conservative message, but such a message is meaningless to a significant share of immigrant voters, or even likely to alienate them.

Surveys of Hispanics and Asians

There is an extensive survey literature on the policy preferences of Hispanics and to a lesser extent Asians, though most surveys do not distinguish between the native-born and foreign-born. As mentioned above, since most immigrants are Asian or Hispanic, and since most voting-age Asians and Hispanics are either immigrants or have immigrant parents, looking at these surveys can yield accurate insights into the views of immigrant communities.

Below we examine only a few of the very large number of these polls studying the policy preferences of Hispanics and Asians overall. The Pew Hispanic Center and the Pew Research Center have heavily surveyed the policy preferences of Hispanics, and other groups to a lesser extent. Their research paints a clear picture of Hispanics as a liberal constituency.

Gallup has found that both Asians and Hispanics are more likely to identify as "liberal" than the general public.[16] The Pew Hispanic Center has also found that both foreign- and native-born Hispanics are more likely to identify as liberal than the general public. This is especially true of U.S.-born Hispanics, 34 percent of whom said they were liberal, compared to 21 percent of the general public.[17] In the words of the *New York Times*' Washington bureau chief, "The two fastest-growing ethnic groups — Latinos and Asian Americans — are decidedly liberal."[18]

Size and Role of Government

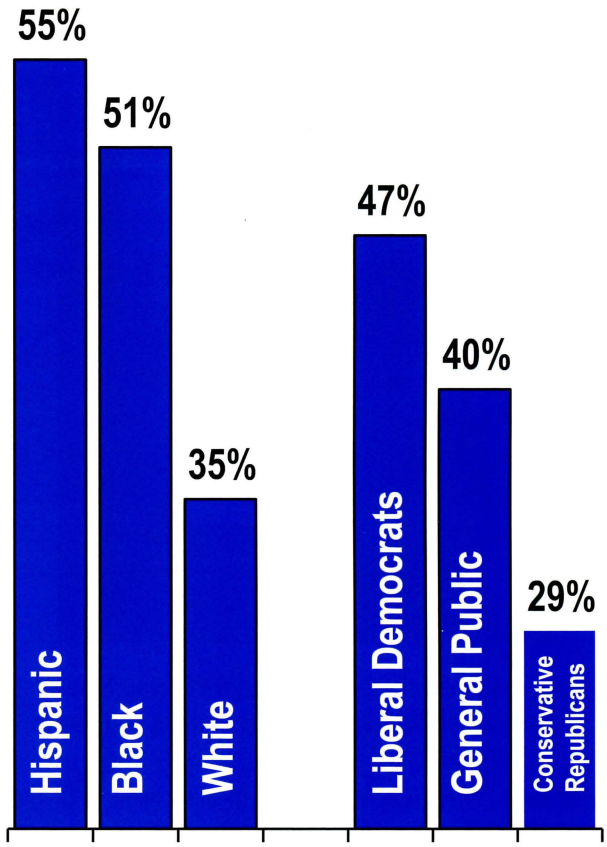
The Pew Research Center reported in 2011 that, of all groups surveyed, Hispanics have the most negative view of capitalism in America — 55 percent. As Figure 4 shows, this is even higher than the share among self-identified "liberal Democrats." It was also higher than the 47 percent of supporters of Occupy Wall Street who reported a negative view of capitalism. The survey also found that 44 percent of Hispanics had a positive view of socialism. While this was not as high as the 55 percent among black Americans, it was still much higher than the 24 percent of whites or the 31 percent of all Americans who had a positive view of socialism.[19]

Consistent with their negative view of capitalism and a relatively positive view of socialism, a 2012 survey by the Pew Hispanic Center found that 75 percent of Hispanics prefer "a bigger government providing more services" rather than "a smaller government providing fewer services" (Figure 5). This compares to just 41 percent of the general public who wanted a bigger government and 48 percent who wanted a smaller government.[20] On the question of the size of government, Hispanics are much more liberal than the average American.

Figure 5 also reports that 55 percent of Asian Americans prefer a bigger government providing more services, while only 36 percent chose a smaller government providing fewer services. It is true that Asians were not as liberal on this question as Hispanics, but they are well to the left of the general public on the size of government.[21]

Figure 6 reports opinions by generation for Hispanics, with an astonishing 81 percent of immigrant Hispanics wanting a bigger government and just 12 percent wanting a smaller government. This represents a profound difference with the general public. This is a powerful indication that the Hispanic share of the 32 million new potential immigrant voters S.744 would create are well to the left of the general public. The millions of Hispanic voters who will be created

Figure 4. Share Holding a Negative View of Capitalism

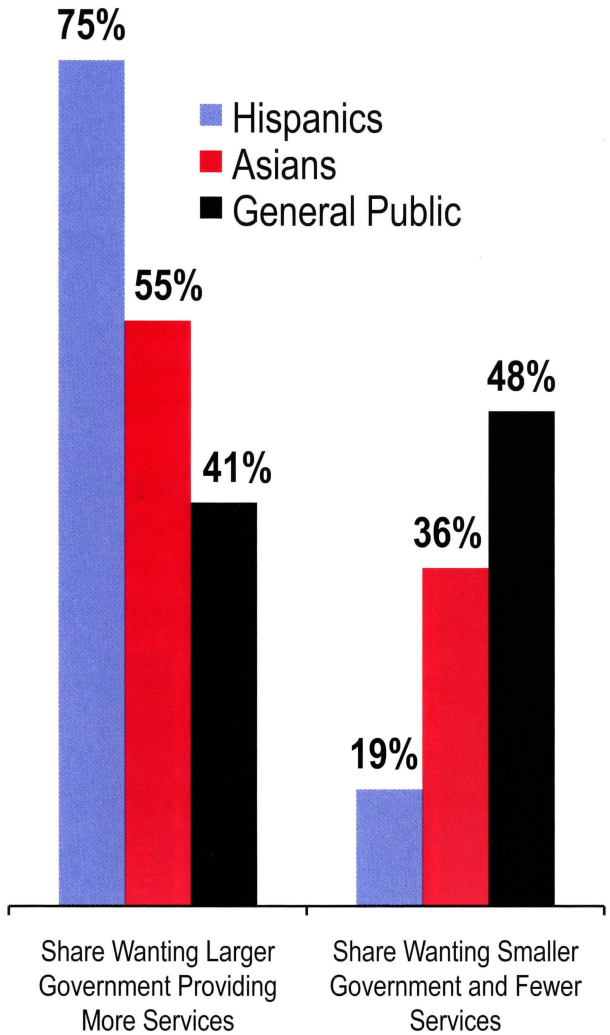


Source: "Little Change in Public's Response to 'Capitalism,' 'Socialism,'" Pew Research Center, 2011, p. 3.

by immigration, assuming no change in policy, would almost certainly increase political pressure for a more expansive role for government.

Figure 6 also shows less support for bigger government among U.S.-born Hispanics (second and third generation, i.e., the children and grandchildren of immigrants) than among immigrant Hispanics. However, it still shows that 72 percent of second-generation Hispanics prefer a bigger government, as do 58 percent of the third generation and beyond. It is worth pointing out that third-generation Hispanics are descendants of immigrants who arrived at least five decades ago for their grandchildren to have grown to adulthood and be included in the survey.[22] These immigrants arrived in a very different country, so it is an open question whether the children and grandchildren of today's Latin American immigrants will become somewhat less supportive of big government over the generations. But even if they do, the finding that 58 percent of third- generation Hispanics prefer a bigger government compared to 41 percent of the general public is still striking.

Figure 5. Hispanics and Asians Support Bigger Government



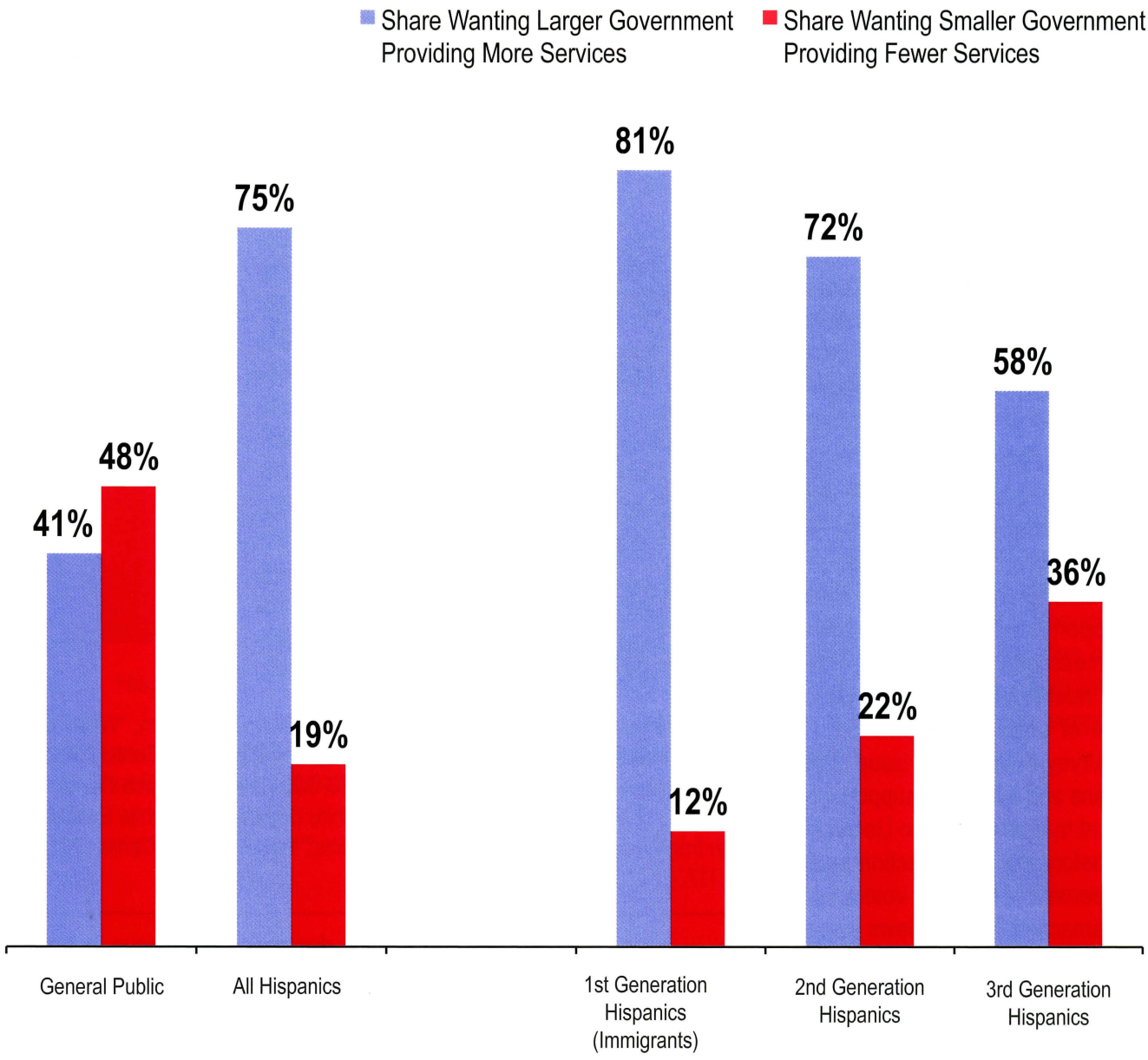
Sources: "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," Pew Hispanic Center, 2012. "Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths," Pew Research Center, 2012, p. 102. Page 117 of the same report has figures for U.S. Muslims.

What's more, the same Pew survey found that the share of Hispanics who self-identify as liberal is actually higher for the native-born (34 percent) than the foreign-born (27 percent). This compares to just 21 percent of the general public that identifies as liberal. The survey also showed that the share identifying as conservative fell from 35 percent among immigrant Hispanics to 28 percent among the native-born.[23] Thus, it is unclear if Hispanics who start out quite liberal as immigrants actually do become somewhat more conservative over the generations. What is clear is that both native- and foreign-born Hispanics are well to the left of the general public when asked about the size of government.

Latino Decisions is a left-of-center research organization that is strongly pro-amnesty and supportive of high levels of legal immigration, so their surveys might be dismissed as one-sided if their findings were not consistent with all the other research on the policy preferences of Hispanics. Looking at the results from a survey they did in 2011 shows that when asked about how to deal with the budget crisis, "Latino voters overwhelmingly lean in the direction of taxes." They found that 46 percent of Hispanics want tax increases on the wealthy, 37 percent favored a combination of tax increases and spending cuts, and just 8 percent favored the GOP's preferred solution of spending cuts. Writing for Latino Decisions, academics Gary Segura and Shaun Bowler correctly observe that "At their core, Latinos are progressives."[24] All the available evidence supports this conclusion.

Reporting results from their book, *The Future is Ours: Minority Politics, Political Behavior, and the Multiracial Era of American Politics*, Segura and Bowler observe that when asked why government has gotten so large, 74 percent of Hispanics said it was because the problems we face are bigger, while just 26 percent said it was because gov-

Figure 6. Both Foreign-Born and Native-Born Hispanics Prefer Bigger Government



Source: "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," Pew Hispanic Center, 2012, p. 31.

ernment has gotten involved where it should not be. The results were very similar for Asians, with 72 percent saying it was because problems were bigger, while only 28 percent said it was because government has gotten involved where it should not be. In contrast, whites were evenly divided on this question. When the question is whether government should do more or less, Segura and Bowler found "profound" differences across racial groups. Whites were again roughly evenly divided, but 69 percent of Asian Americans favor government doing more, as do 82 percent of Hispanics.[25]

Table 2. Question: Would You Rather Have a Smaller Government Providing Fewer Services or a Bigger Government Providing More Services?

	Share Wanting Larger Government Providing More Services	Share Wanting Smaller Government Providing Fewer Services
All Hispanics	75%	19%
Foreign-Born	81%	12%
U.S.-Born	66%	28%
All Muslims	68%	21%
Asian Muslims	65%	26%
All Asians	55%	36%
Asian Buddhists	62%	30%
Asian Catholics	60%	33%
Asian Evangelicals	51%	41%
Asian Hindus	46%	41%
All Whites	37%	52%
White Catholics	31%	61%
White Evangelicals	20%	71%
General Public	41%	48%

Sources: Figures for Hispanics and the general public come from, "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," Pew Hispanic Center, 2012, pp. 31, 50. Figures for whites are from a March 16, 2009, Pew Research Center press release, p. 17. Figures for Asians, Muslims, white Catholics, and white Evangelicals come from "Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths," Pew Research Center, 2012, pp. 102,117.

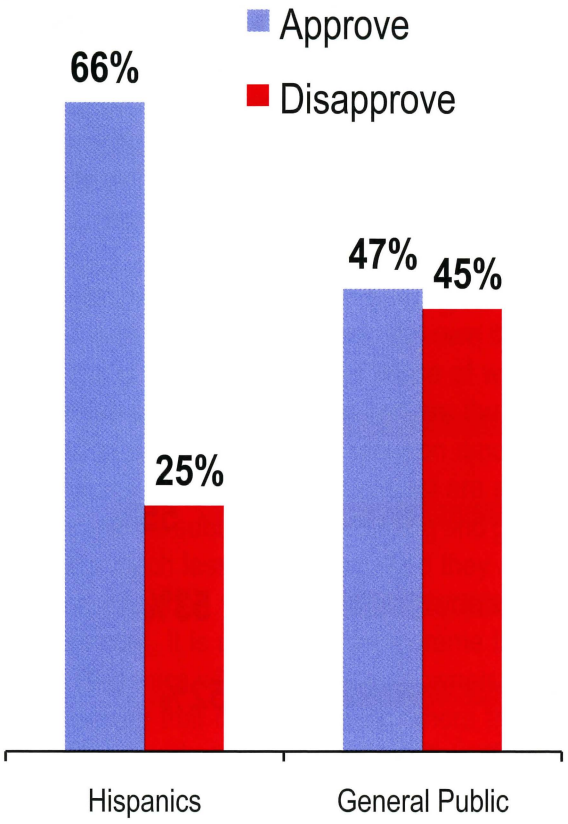
Obamacare

It is fair to say that the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act may be the most divisive public policy issue of recent years. Both parties have made their support or opposition to it central to their messages. Voter interest in the issue is relatively high and the public is aware of each party's position. All of the survey data on this issue show that Asians and Hispanics support it by significant margins. A Latino Decisions survey before the 2012 election found that 61 percent of Hispanic voters support Obamacare.[26] A Fox News survey at roughly the same time found that 62 percent supported it.[27]

The Pew Research Center did extensive polling on the law in 2012 and found that after black Americans, Hispanics were among the law's most ardent supporters. Figure 7 shows that when asked if they approved or disapproved of the health care law, the general public was about evenly divided, 47 percent to 45 percent. But 66 percent of Hispanics approved of the law while only 25 disapproved. Pew also asked what should be done with the law, and 49 percent of Hispanics said it should be expanded and 20 percent said "leave as is;" just 23 percent wanted it repealed. In contrast, 33 percent of the general public wanted it expanded, and 38 percent wanted it repealed.[28] On what has been the biggest domestic policy issue in American politics for the last five years, Hispanics are clearly on the liberal side of the issue. Adding more such voters through immigration means changing the electorate's views on the role of government in providing health care.

Republican leaders spend a lot of time worrying about how the party's position on immigration affects support among Hispanics. But all of the evidence indicates that if they want to attract more Hispanic voters they should spend more time worrying about the party's opposition to Obamacare and its impact on support in the Hispanic community. As the liberal *Los Angeles Times* pointed out in an article earlier this year, Latinos "are among the strongest backers of President Obama's health care law" because Hispanics "overwhelmingly see guaranteeing health care

Figure 7. Hispanics Overwhelmingly Approve of Obamacare



Source: "Romney Leads GOP Contest, Trails in Matchup with Obama," Pew Reserch Center, 2012, p. 35.

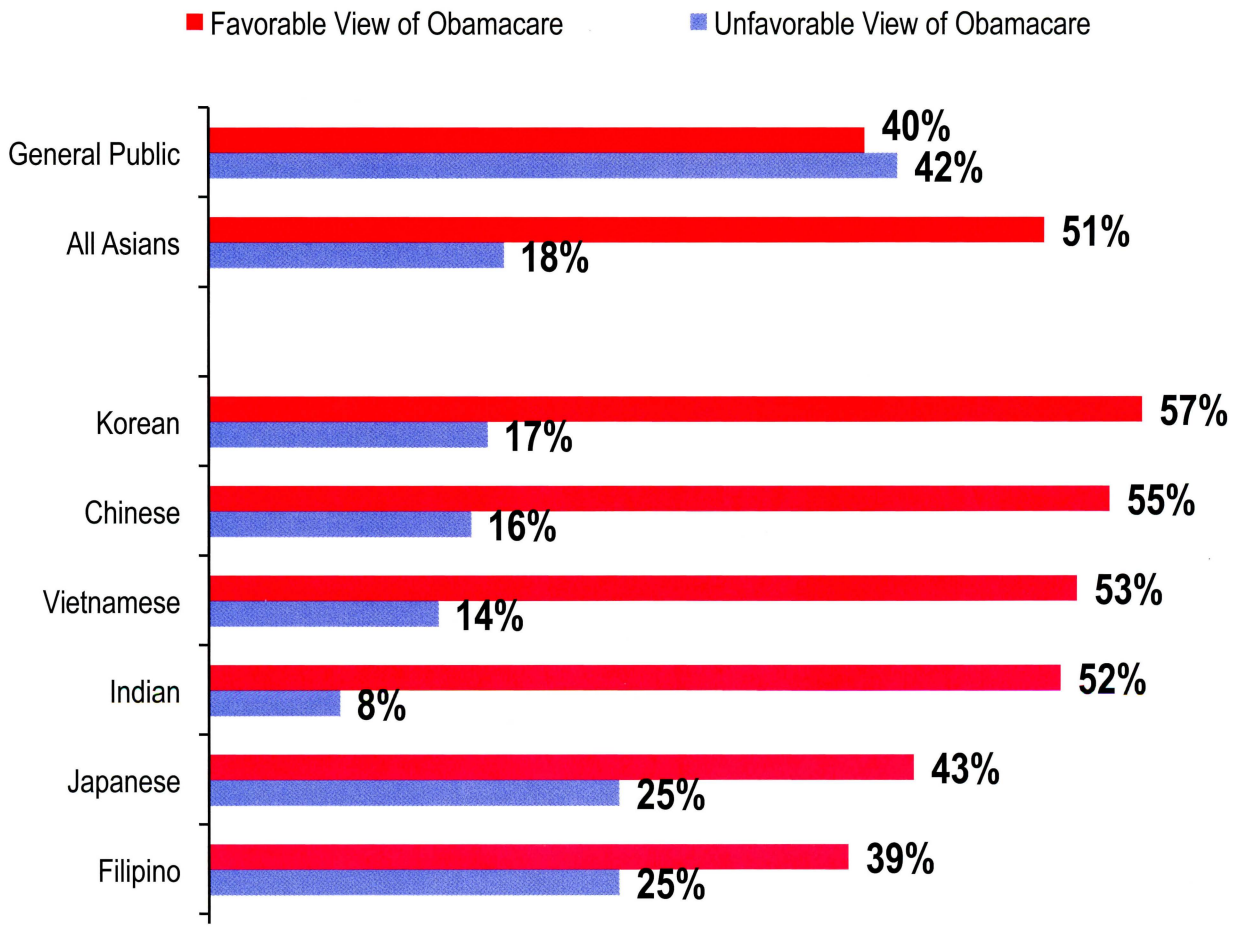
as a core government responsibility." Liberal blogger Greg Sargent of the *Washington Post* makes the same point.[29] The conservative *Human Events* agrees, stating that GOP outreach to Hispanics runs afoul of the party's efforts to kill Obamacare, which Hispanics strongly support. *Human Events* also observed that one of the reasons for this is that "A large portion of Hispanic voters fall into the income and unemployment groups that see nothing but upside to Big Government programs."[30] Such voters are very difficult for Republicans to reach.

Hispanics are not alone in their support for Obamacare. As already discussed, the CCES shows a significant majority of Asian immigrants support Obamacare. The National Asian American Survey (NAAS) found that nearly three times more Asian Americans had a favorable opinion of Obamacare (51 percent) than had an unfavorable opinion (18 percent), in contrast to the general public, which is roughly evenly split. In fact, a larger share of all the individual Asian groups surveyed in the NAAS had favorable opinions than had unfavorable opinions. As Figure 8 shows, Chinese, Koreans, Indians, and Vietnamese had the most positive opinion of Obamacare.[31] Republican opposition to the president's health care initiative costs the party significant support among Asians. More importantly, Asian immigration adds millions of new supporters of Obamacare each decade.

"A large portion of Hispanic voters fall into the income and unemployment groups that see nothing but upside to Big Government programs."

— *John Hayward,* Human Events

Figure 8. Asian Americans Are Much More Favorable Toward Obamacare than the General Public



Sources: Karthick Ramakrishnan and Taeku Lee, "The Policy Priorities and Issue Preferences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders," National Asian American Survey, September 25, 2012.
Figures for the general public are the average from the 2012 Kaiser Foundation health care tracking poll.

Gun Control

Gun control is one of the issues that has traditionally helped to define the two parties. In 2013, that was again demonstrated when Senate Republicans sustained a filibuster to kill legislation that would have required background checks on all gun purchases. And in September two Democratic state senators in Colorado were recalled over the issue. The Pew Research Center has found that just 29 percent of Hispanics favor protecting gun rights over controlling guns, compared to 57 percent of whites.[32] Latino Decisions finds significant majorities of Hispanics support background checks for gun purchases, establishing a national database of gun owners, limiting the capacity of magazines, and a ban on semi-automatic weapons.[33] These results may not be too surprising, since a 2013 Gallup poll found that just 18 percent of Hispanics own guns, the lowest of any racial/ethnic group surveyed (ownership for Asians was not reported).[34] Commenting on Hispanics' strong support for gun control, the *Huffington Post* has argued that "The prevalence of gun violence in Latin America may also be shaping Latino support for gun control in the United States."[35]

Nate Silver, formerly of the *New York Times*, pointed out shortly after the 2012 election that the 2008 presidential exit poll (the question was not asked in 2012) found that 47 percent of whites, 29 percent of Hispanics, 21 percent of blacks, and 15 percent of Asians owned a gun. Silver also observed, "Whether someone owns a gun is a more powerful predictor of a person's political party than her gender, whether she identifies as gay or lesbian, whether she is Hispanic, whether she lives in the South or a number of demographic characteristics."[36]

One of the reasons whites have such a strong commitment to gun rights is the much larger share who own them. The reason for this is that a much larger share of whites live in rural America or have roots there and are thus familiar with firearms in a way that is less common among urbanites. Asians and Hispanics in contrast are settling in cities and the suburbs where hunting and gun ownership are much less widespread. And they are coming from countries where firearms ownership is highly restricted. It is unlikely in the extreme that Asians and Hispanics will ever have gun ownership rates approaching that of whites given where they are coming from and where they are settling. This fact means that immigration unavoidably increases the share of the electorate that has no experience with guns. As a result, immigrants and their children will tend to be much more supportive of efforts to limit or even ban gun ownership. As is the case with other issues, continued high levels of immigration have important implications for the future of public policy.

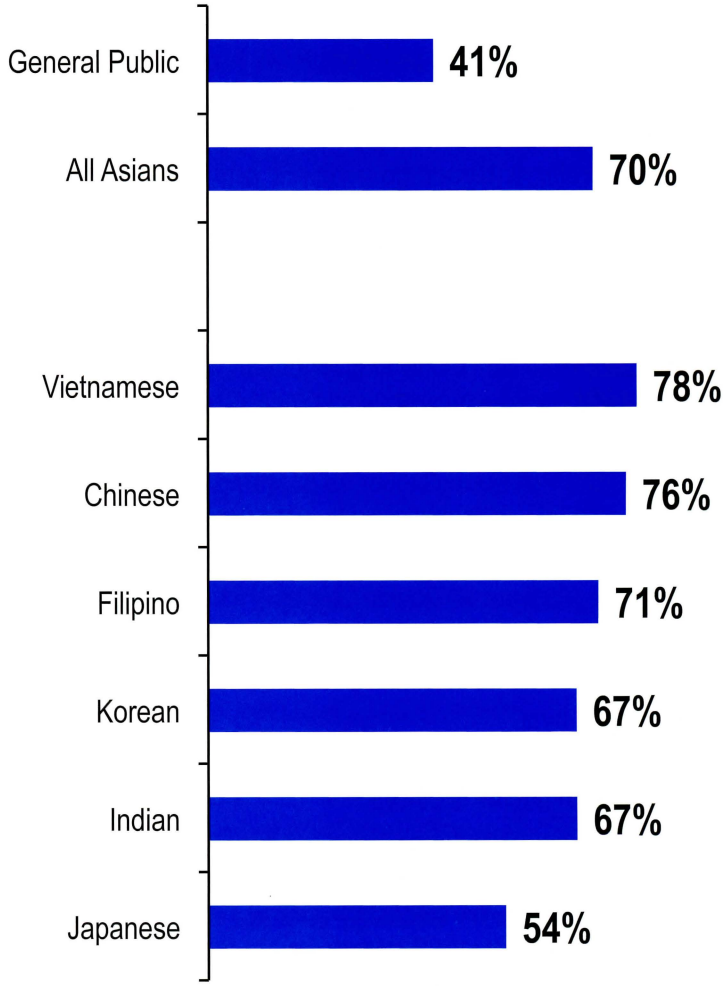
Environmental Policy

The environment is another area where Republicans and Democrats differ. The NAAS shows that 70 percent of Asian Americans consider themselves "environmentalists" compared to the U.S. average of 41 percent — a 29 percentage-point difference. A majority of every Asian group surveyed described themselves as environmentalists, with the exception of Cambodians (Figure 9). When asked, Asian Americans are also significantly more likely than the average voter in the United States to prioritize environmental protection over economic growth, with 60 percent choosing the environment compared to 41 percent of the general public.[37] The NAAS indicates that on issues related to the environment, Asian Americans are to the left of the political spectrum and closer to Democrats.

Latino Decisions surveys also have found that Hispanics tend to want government action to prevent climate change and are skeptical of the new method for oil and gas extraction known as fracking.[38] A Colorado College survey came to similar conclusions.[39] A 2010 *Los Angeles Times*-USC poll also found that both Hispanics and Asians are significantly more concerned about the environment than whites in California, who tend to be quite liberal on environmental issues.[40]

The generally liberal views of Hispanics and Asians on the environment may surprise some, but it should be pointed out that the Pew Research Center has found that surveys in Asia and Latin America show that the public in those countries see climate change as a much bigger threat than

Figure 9. Share of Asians Who Consider Themselves Environmentalists



Source: Karthick Ramakrishnan and Taeku Lee, "The Policy Priorities and Issue Preferences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders," National Asian American Survey, September 25, 2012.

does the public in the United States.[41] Immigrants bring this greater concern over climate change with them.

It is also likely that the large share of Hispanic and Asian immigrants who have settled in liberal areas of the country, where American politicians and the public are generally more concerned about the environment, plays a role in shaping the environmentalist orientation of the two groups. Whatever the reasons, adding more voters who generally agree with Democrats on the environment has important electoral and policy implications.

Muslim Immigrants

Another group of immigrants arriving in significant numbers are Muslims. The New Immigrant Survey indicated that about 8 percent of legal immigrants are Muslim.[42] A Pew Research Center survey in 2011 indicated that 63 percent of Muslims in the United States are foreign-born, and 78 percent are either immigrants or the children of immigrants.[43] The limited survey data available indicates that Muslims tend to be liberal. Gallup has found that with the exception of Jews, Muslims are more likely than any other religious group surveyed to identify as "liberal" or "very liberal."[44] Pew has also found that, when asked, 68 percent of Muslims prefer a bigger government providing more services, with just 21 percent wanting a smaller government — including a 65 percent to 26 percent split among Asian Muslims, mostly from Pakistan and Bangladesh.[45] Even on social issues such as evolution or acceptance of homosexuals, Pew has found that American Muslims are not particularly conservative.[46]

A Reuters/Ipsos Poll from October 2012 shows that just 12 percent of Muslims planned on voting for Mitt Romney.[47] A poll by the liberal advocacy group CAIR showed that 85 percent of Muslims voted for Obama.[48] Like Hispanic and Asian immigrants, the limited data on Muslims show they, too, are generally supportive of the Democrats' liberal agenda.

Other Immigrant Voters

There is very little data on the policy preferences of black immigrants. A number of prominent black Republicans have been of Caribbean ancestry, such as former Secretary of Defense Colin Powell. But in general black immigrants and their children have supported Democratic candidates and been part of the dominant Democratic coalition in New York City and New York State, where they are concentrated.

There are also still a modest number of new white immigrants coming into the United States. No good survey data on their policy preferences could be found for this report. However, Canada and Europe both have more generous social safety nets and more extensive regulation of businesses and individuals than does the United States. What limited data there are suggest white immigrants are liberal.[49] Given the high standard of living in Europe, Canada, and Australia, and the relative low fertility in these regions, the number of white immigrants entering the country for the foreseeable future will remain small, so their political opinions are of relatively little importance.

Asians Once Voted More Republican

It is true that in the 1980s a majority of Asian Americans voted for Republican candidates in presidential elections. There is very little data on their political preferences at that time, but we do know from the national exit polls that George H.W. Bush was the last Republican to receive a majority of the Asian vote.[50] In examining this trend, the important thing to keep in mind is that this group has been transformed by immigration. The Asian electorate that voted three-to-one for Obama in 2012 is not remotely the same group of voters from 30 years earlier. The 1980 Census showed 1.4 million voting-age Asians who were U.S. citizens, the American Community Survey shows that by 2011 it was 8.2 million. Growth of this size reflects massive immigration, not natural increase.

In 1980, 57 percent of voting-age Asian citizens were U.S.-born, by 1990 it was 40 percent, and by 2011 it was 34 percent. Detailed analysis shows that 32 percent of voting-age Asian citizens identified as Japanese in 1980; by 2011, Japanese were just 6 percent of potential Asian voters. Asian Indians were just 7 percent of the citizen voting-age Asian population in 1980 and were 15 percent by 2011. Other groups that were a tiny share of the Asian vote in 1980, like Koreans and Vietnamese, now comprise a large share of it.

Any discussion of the change in the voting pattern of Asians has to acknowledge the fundamental break in the continuity of the Asian vote created by an enormous wave of new immigrants. Whatever Asian American policy preferences were in the past, a very large share of the new Asian electorate that the federal government's immigration policy has created are generally in agreement with the Democrats' agenda.

Why Immigrants Are Liberal

This report has shown that a very large body of survey research shows that a significant majority of voters in immigrant communities support liberal policies. As a result, they vote disproportionately for Democrats. This section of the report examines the many reasons why such a large share of immigrants are liberal. Unfortunately, there is very little the Republicans can do to change the myriad factors contributing to the generally liberal political preferences of immigrants and their children, at least in the short and medium term. This does not mean that Republicans cannot work to change the mind of immigrants. But it does indicate why it is so difficult to reduce the numerical vote advantages that Democrats enjoy, and why it is almost impossible to do so when federal policies add more than a million new mostly-left-leaning immigrants to the population each year.

Immigrants Support Leftist Parties Around the World

Support by immigrants in the United States for liberal policies and the Democratic Party is very similar to the pattern we see among immigrants in other Western countries. In western Europe, Canada, and Australia, immigrants and their children tend to support parties on the political left.[51] There is sociological literature that examines why minorities in most countries tend to support left-of-center parties.[52] Given the large share of immigrants who have low incomes and access to public services, this may not be too surprising. Self-interest matters a great deal in politics.

However, a large share of immigrants who have higher incomes also tend to support an activist government out of a sense of social solidarity with low-income co-ethnics. As Judge Richard Posner has observed, Asians have relatively high incomes and research shows they "do not feel that discrimination is an obstacle to their advancement in American society." However they are "conscious of being a minority. And the Democratic Party is the party that racial and ethnic minorities tend to support and that courts their support."[53] Feeling a sense of solidarity with co-ethnics in a society where you are a minority should not be surprising, but it has unavoidable electoral consequences for the United States. It means that continued high levels of immigration will add voters to the country who support Democratic candidates and the liberal policies they advocate.

All of this is reinforced by the rise of grievance-driven identity politics in the United States. In fact, the dramatic growth in the Asian and Hispanic populations is one of the key reasons for the growth in identity politics.

Voting patterns can change over time, but only slowly. It has long been known that once ethnic voting patterns are established, they tend to endure for decades. After all, immigrants and their children will continue to be minorities even as collectively they become a majority. The Democratic Party and leaders in immigrant communities will do all they can to reinforce ethnic solidarity, a sense of grievance, and suspicion of the larger society, all of which are vital to the party's political future.

Immigrants' support in the United States for liberal policies is very similar to the pattern we see among immigrants in other Western countries.

It will likely take half a century or more for voting patterns to change among the children and grandchildren of today's immigrants. Even then, such a change only seems possible in the context of low levels of immigration. No one can say for sure what the voting patterns of the descendants of today's immigrants will be 50 or 100 years from now. But all of the evidence shows that, given the policy preferences of immigrants, if high levels of immigration are allowed to continue, or even increase by the passage of S.744, they will add significantly to the Democratic vote through the middle of this century.

Poverty, Income, and Welfare Use

Not surprisingly, immigrants tend to have higher rates of poverty and lower average incomes relative to natives. The public-use file of the 2012 Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) shows that 22 percent of immigrants and their children (under age 18) lived in poverty, compared to 14 percent of natives and their children. The same data also show that the average annual income of native-born adults (ages 25 and older) is 30 percent higher than that of adult immigrants. While immigrants certainly do better

the longer they reside in the country, their lifetime earnings and the share that will have lived in poverty at some point during their lives is much higher than that of the native-born. While immigrants overall are poorer than natives, there are very significant differences across immigrant groups. Hispanics, reflecting their relatively low levels of educational attainment, have the highest poverty rates and lowest incomes among immigrants, while Asians tend to have much lower poverty rates and higher incomes.

Of immigrant Hispanics and their children, 28 percent live in poverty, compared to 22 percent of U.S.-born Hispanics. While better off than their immigrant counterparts, native-born Americans of Hispanic origin still have much higher rates of poverty and lower average incomes than other natives. It is also the case that 47 percent of U.S.-born Hispanics have incomes below 200 percent of the poverty threshold, compared to 31 percent of non-Hispanic natives.[54] Those with incomes below 200 percent of poverty generally pay no federal income tax and are often eligible for welfare programs and cash payments from the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). In fact, 53 percent of households headed by Hispanic immigrants and 42 percent of households headed by Hispanic natives use one or more welfare programs, not counting the EITC. For non-Hispanic natives the figure is 24 percent.[55] Given the large share of Hispanics who qualify for and use means-tested programs, it is not surprising that such a large share are supportive of liberal economic policies championed by Democrats.

In contrast to Hispanics (native and immigrant), Asians have poverty rates, average incomes, and welfare use rates that are very similar to the national averages. So Asians' liberal political orientation is not explained by their lower socio-economic status. However, the large share of Hispanics, both immigrant and native, who have low incomes and use government assistance likely contributes significantly to their generally liberal views and support for Democrats. This can be most clearly seen with Obamacare. With 38 percent of Hispanic immigrants and 22 percent of Hispanic natives uninsured, figures nearly double and triple the rate for non-Hispanic natives, it is not surprising that a large share of Hispanic voters support Obamacare.[56]

There are many sound criticisms of that program, of course, but every poll of Hispanics shows the promise of free or subsidized health care is enormously attractive to Hispanics. Even Hispanics who are not poor or not in need of means-tested programs are aware that many members of their community or extended family use such programs. As we have seen, Republican skepticism of such programs and a desire to rein them in are not popular among Hispanics. Democrats, on the other hand, are in a much better position to push these programs and then appeal to Hispanics based on their commitment to an expanded safety net.

Political Culture in Sending Countries

Most immigrants come from countries where the government plays a much more active role in the economy than it does in the United States. The top sending regions for legal immigrants are Latin America, East Asia, and South Asia. It is true that there is often significant skepticism about these governments, many of which are corrupt, among immigrants. But this does not necessarily translate into a general skepticism about the role of government in alleviating poverty and regulating the economy. Moreover, immigrants are well aware that federal, state, and local governments in the United States are not plagued by the kind of corruption that exists in the developing world from which most immigrants come. This is one of the reasons the Pew Hispanic Center found that such a large share of Hispanics and Asians respond that they want a "government that does more and spends more" rather than a government that "does less and spends less."

Places Immigrants Settle Are Liberal

Immigrants tend to settle in and around urban areas that were liberal even before the immigrants arrived. Just 50 of more than 3,000 counties in the United States accounted for half of immigrant settlement from 2000 to 2010, even though these counties account for just 24 percent of the native-born population.[57] On average, these counties voted Democratic in the 2000 presidential election, 58 percent to 38 percent, in an election where Gore and Bush each received roughly 48 percent of the popular vote nationally. Immigrants, of course, have made these areas even more Democratic since 2000. But there is a significant political science literature showing that voters' preferences are shaped in part by those around them.[58] Immigrants and their children are like other voters, so the generally liberal political views in the areas in which a large share settle help to reinforce their own liberal tendencies.

As immigrants spread out into the United States they will likely settle more in less heavily Democratic areas. But this will not change the fact that for most immigrant families their first contact with the United States and its political system was in areas of the country with a liberal political culture.

Leadership in Immigrant Communities Is Liberal

Leadership plays an important role in shaping political opinion in any community and this is especially true of immigrants, who are newcomers to our country and political system. Journalists, community leaders, academics, authors, and elected officials in most immigrant communities are Democrats and have been for decades. The opinions of each new wave of immigrants are shaped by leaders already in place. Republicans may bemoan the partisan nature of elites in these communities, but these leaders are well-established.

Of course things can change over time, but for many of these leaders, claiming to speak for an aggrieved minority is the primary source of their legitimacy. Assimilation and abandoning ethnic-based politics would undermine their authority, so they have a strong incentive to work against such trends. The existence of so many liberal opinion leaders in immigrant communities means that Republicans will often have been forced into the nearly futile task of communicating through hostile elites as they try to reach out to immigrants.

However, if immigration levels are significantly lowered and immigrant communities allowed to mature without constant infusions of newcomers, the power of these elites may weaken, making voters more receptive to the Republican message of smaller government. But as long as there are large waves of new immigrants arriving to refresh ethnic awareness, the current crop of overwhelmingly liberal immigrant leaders will continue to be empowered.

Immigrants Are Not Socially Conservative

It is sometimes suggested that while immigrants may be economic liberals, they are social conservatives and this is the key to Republicans getting their support. There are two big problems with this argument. First, polling data show that immigrants are not especially conservative on social issues — they are divided on abortion, gay marriage, and other issues in a manner that is not dissimilar to the general public. Second, immigrants do not vote based on social issues. Economic issues are what are important to these voters; and in general they are supportive of the big-government, high-tax agenda of the Democratic Party.

Views Similar to the General Public

As shown in Table 1, both the 2008 National Annenberg Election Survey and the 2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study show that roughly the same share of immigrants and natives supported abortion, stem cell research, and full rights for gays to marry. Overall, while immigrants are not liberal on social issues, neither are they significantly to the right of the general public.

Pew has surveyed Hispanics on social issues for some time. Its 2012 poll showed that "virtually identical shares" of Hispanics (59 percent) and the general public (58 percent) say homosexuality should be "accepted by society."[59] On gay marriage, a series of NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*/Telemundo polls of Hispanics going back to 2009 have shown more Hispanics support allowing gays to marry than oppose it. Their poll from April 2013 found that 49 percent supported gay marriage and 43 percent opposed it, compared to a 53 percent to 42 percent for the general public.[60]

Pew has found that 53 to 35 percent of Asian Americans say that homosexuality should be accepted, similar to the 58 to 33 percent among the general public. Foreign-born Asians are significantly more likely to think it should be discouraged (41 percent) than native-born Asians, so what conservatism there is among Asians on homosexuality dissipates over the generations. Of U.S.-born Asians, 76 percent said it should be accepted — well to the left of the general public.[61]

Abortion remains a key dividing line in American politics. Hispanics tend to be somewhat more conservative on abortion than the general public, while Asians tend to be slightly more liberal than the public. Pew's 2012 poll of Hispanics found that 51 percent said it should be illegal in most or all cases, and 43 percent said it should be legal in most or all cases. This is to the right of the general public's 41-54 split in the other direction. But that relative conservatism disappears among those born here; U.S.-born Hispanics tend to be more liberal on abortion, with majorities saying it should be legal in all or most cases.[62] Pew has also found that 54 percent of Asians say abortion should be legal in most or all cases, while just 37 percent say it should be illegal in most or all cases. Both native- and foreign-born Asians tend to be supportive of abortion, with U.S.-born Asians well to the left of the general public.[63]

Social Issues a Low Priority for Immigrant Voters

Immigrant communities are certainly not hotbeds of social conservatism. But perhaps more importantly, immigrants and their children do not vote for candidates based on social issues. Surveys generally show that social issues rank low in priority. As Daniel Cox, research director at the Public Religion Research Institute, and Robert Jones, the institute's CEO, have both observed, social issues rank low in priority for minority voters.[64] Ruy Teixeira of the Center for American Progress agrees, arguing that Hispanics, "are actually much less likely than whites to vote on the basis of cultural issues."[65] The National Asian American Survey showed that when asked to rank the most important issues to them personally, less than 1 percent chose abortion, gay rights, or access to birth control.[66] Republicans' social conservatism may not be a significant liability with Hispanic and Asian voters; but it is unlikely to win them much support either.

Immigration Transforms Society in Ways That Help Democrats

Much of the discussion up to now has been about how immigration adds liberal voters and the reasons for it. But continued high levels of immigration are politically problematic for conservatives in another way — it transforms American society overall in ways that make those outside of immigrant communities more inclined to vote Democratic.

Adding to the Poor and Uninsured

Over the course of the last decade, immigrants and their American-born children accounted for fully two-thirds of the national increase in the number of people without health insurance.[67] This massive growth in the uninsured was one of the main justifications Democrats used for Obamacare. This growth makes moderate and independent voters more sympathetic to proposals for government to "fix" this problem. As political scientist Fredo Arias-King has written, "Immigration is a source of power" for Democrats because "the consequences of immigration from poor countries fundamentally reinforce their argument for state intervention."[68]

Immigration is creating both an enormous new clientele for government programs and also a voting block to support it.

Consider also that one-third of all children in poverty today live in immigrant households.[69] There is also the issue of wages. While there is debate about the size of the impact immigration has on wages, there is general agreement that it reduces wages for the least-educated American workers. The role of immigration in adding to social problems will generally not be acknowledged by Democrats or a compliant media. Even if it is acknowledged, once the immigrants have been allowed into the country, Democrats can argue that their "needs" have to be met. Of course, Republicans can and should argue against the expansion of state power. But massive growth in poverty or the uninsured makes doing so much more difficult.

Democrats understand all of this very well. As Democratic strategist Simon Rosenberg points out, "No group will benefit more from the ACA [Affordable Care Act] than Hispanic Americans." He also rightly argues that Republican opposition to the ACA will be seen by many Hispanics as denying them health insurance.[70] Immigration is creating both an enormous new clientele for government programs and also a voting block to support it. Perhaps more important, by growing the poor and uninsured population, immigration cannot help but provide powerful justification for new government programs that will sound reasonable even to many Americans who are not likely to use such programs.

Balkanizing Society

Finally, immigration increases support for big government by adding to society's diversity. Robert Putnam of Harvard has shown that increased diversity results in less civic engagement and attachment. Putnam's work shows that as diversity increases, people of all groups become less trusting of one another — even less trusting of members of their own group. He concludes that people in diverse communities tend "to withdraw even from close friends, to expect the worst from their community and its leaders, to volunteer less, give less to charity and work on community projects less often, to register to vote less, to agitate for social reform more, but have less faith that they can actually make a difference, and to huddle unhappily in front of the television."[71] A society in which private citizens do less for themselves but want more from the government is tailor-made for Democrats. Federal immigration policy, if it is allowed to continue, will move America further in this direction.

When private citizens do less for themselves or for others, the vacuum is filled by government. Yes, immigration adds many new Democratic voters. But it also makes the rest of the electorate more inclined to support the Democrats' statist agenda.

Proposition 187 Is Not the Problem in California

The media and some in the GOP often argue that Republicans are no longer competitive in California because they alienated Hispanic voters in 1994 by supporting Proposition 187, championed by then-Gov. Pete Wilson, which denied public services to illegal immigrants. A parallel argument is that if Republicans do not support amnesty today, or if they were to advocate reducing legal immigration, they would alienate voters in immigrant communities and dig themselves a deep electoral hole.

Immigrants Are Mostly Liberal

There are numerous problems with the above argument. First, as we have seen, voters in immigrant communities vote for Democrats because they largely agree with that party's broader policy agenda, not because of immigration. If the GOP does not change course and work to reduce the number of people allowed into the country, it will share responsibility for continuing to add millions of voters who generally agree with Democrats on policy. This is what happened in California.

Prop. 187 Is Not the Reason Republicans Lost California

It is true that some Republican candidates did get a larger share of the Hispanic vote in California in the 1980s than they do now.[72] But Proposition 187 enjoyed strong majority support in the state; also, roughly a third of Hispanics voted for it. Nevertheless, it is likely that supporting it did cost Republicans a share of the Hispanic vote in the state temporarily. But the thesis that Pete Wilson's stance nearly two decades ago is what continues to cost Republicans the state makes no sense. If that were true we would expect the share of Hispanics supporting Republicans to be significantly lower in California than elsewhere. Yet in 2012 Mitt Romney's share of the Hispanic vote was the same in California as in the nation as a whole — 27 percent. In fact, he did much better among Hispanics in California than he did in both New York and Illinois, where there has been nothing like Proposition 187.[73]

California Is Similar to Other States

University of Maryland professor James Gimpel's analysis of counties across the country shows that from 1980 to 2008 as the foreign-born share of a county grew, so did the Democratic vote. He concludes, "The partisan impact of immigration is relatively uniform throughout the country, even though local Republican parties have taken different positions on illegal immigration."[74] If Proposition 187 were the reason for the Republican Party's continuing weakness in California we would expect the state to show a more pronounced shift to Democrats that is different from other areas of large-scale immigrant settlement. This is not the case; other states with large immigrant population follow the same general pattern as California.

The Hispanic Electorate Has Changed

It is also important to understand that the California Hispanic electorate has itself been changed by large-scale legal immigration. The number of voting-age Hispanic citizens in the state increased from 1.7 million in 1980 to 3.8 million in 2000 — more than a 120 percent increase in just 20 years. This dramatic increase largely reflects immigration and births to immigrants. What's more, the share of voting-age Hispanic citizens who are foreign-born nearly doubled in the same 20-year period.[75] California's Hispanic electorate has been largely remade by immigration.

Immigration Has Created a New Electorate

The fundamental problem for Republicans in California is that immigration has created a new electorate. Massive legal immigration has changed California from a state with an electorate comprised mostly of U.S.-born whites, blacks, and well-established Hispanics to an electorate heavily comprised of Asian and Hispanic immigrants and their children who agree with the progressive agenda of state's Democrats. As Gimpel observes, "past Republican votes in Congress in favor of a more generous immigration policy have unquestionably bolstered local Democratic majorities." There is no question this is what happened in California.

The 1986 IRCA amnesty made things somewhat worse by adding additional liberal-oriented voters, but the impact of IRCA was modest compared to the millions of voters *legal* immigration added to the state each decade from the 1970s onward. Republicans in Congress generally have supported this policy, which eventually created a new liberal majority for the state. If future levels of legal immigration are not reduced, it will do the same thing to the rest of the country.

Chris Christie's Re-Election Says Nothing About Immigration

After New Jersey Governor Chris Christie received about half the Hispanic vote in his 2013 re-election, Republicans understandably looked for explanations that could be emulated in other elections. Republican amnesty supporters quickly tried to use his share of the Hispanic vote to suggest that a reputation of being soft on illegal immigration was a key factor. He earned that reputation as a U.S. attorney who prosecuted relatively few immigration cases. And he has supported in-state college tuition for illegal immigrants (although with restrictions most pro-amnesty groups reject).

But Christie's 2013 success in no way undermines the arguments of this paper. Immigration hardly was mentioned in the campaign in which the key factor was Christie's soaring popularity for his handling of Hurricane Sandy. His popularity was so high among nearly all demographic groups that the Democrats could not find a strong opponent to run against him and the party declined to pour resources to back the weak candidate who did run.

Christie's Win Reflects Hurricane Sandy

A Rutgers University poll before Sandy taken at the end of September 2012 — shortly before Sandy — showed that only 44 percent of registered voters in the state wanted him re-elected, while 47 percent said it was time for someone new.[76] After Sandy hit at the end of October everything changed. David Redlawsk, of Rutgers points out that Christie was able to overcome voters' doubts because of "his leadership in response to Sandy, which overrode other concerns voters might have had."[77] Patrick Murray of Monmouth University agrees. His polling shows Christie's re-election campaign was successful because it centered on his handling of Sandy.[78] On the eve of the election, Eric Boehm of Watchdog.org observed that the "goodwill earned by Christie in the storm's aftermath probably is the single biggest reason why he will win re-election Tuesday in a cakewalk."[79] Without Sandy, it is far from clear that Christie would have won re-election, let alone increased his vote share among practically every major demographic in the state.

Hispanic Voters Followed Liberal Trend

In 2013 Christie increased his share of the Hispanic vote by 19 percentage points over what he received in 2009. But he increased his vote among almost every major demographic group. For example, his support among self-identified liberals increased by 22 percentage points and his support among Democrats increased by 24 percentage points. He also more than doubled his share of the black vote.[80] Christie's gains among Hispanics paralleled his gains among other groups. This is a clear indication that his improved performance with Hispanics was not due to his positions on immigration but to the factors that led so many liberals and Democrats in general to jump party lines: a weak, underfunded Democratic candidate and celebrity-type popularity for Christie's handling of Hurricane Sandy and for the billions he secured from Washington.

Unknown and Underfunded Opponent

It is difficult to imagine a weaker opponent than Barbara Buono. Not only was she unknown in most of the state, but she never stayed focused on a message. Even her campaign was mismanaged: She first missed the deadline to qualify for public matching funds, only correcting the problem at the last-minute.[81] The campaign even missed the deadline to have a 500-word profile of her included in the sample ballot mailed out to 5.5 million voters.[82] Most important, the national Democratic Party provided virtually no money or staff to support her.[83] Even much of the state Democratic Party largely abandoned her. According to Buono spokesman David Turner, she raised just $2.7 million compared to Christie's $13.2 million and was outspent 10-to-1 on television ads.[84]

In her concession speech, Buono could not contain her outrage at how little support she received from the Democratic Party. She railed against "the onslaught of betrayal from our own political party."[85] She was so weak that about one-third of Democrats voted for Christie, which was quadruple his share in 2009.[86] Christie's support among Hispanics and other groups largely reflects the lopsided nature of the contest and little else.

Christie Is Not a Conservative

Governor Christie has supported gun control, contributed to Planned Parenthood, did not join the Obamacare litigation, and has praised President Obama. He has worked tirelessly to get as much money and assistance as possible from the federal government for disaster relief. The state has already received nearly $6 billion in federal money, which is still only one quarter to one third of what it will ultimately get.[87] This huge pot of money from Washington has been a political windfall for Christie, but it hardly makes him conservative. To the extent that his support among Hispanics shows anything, it is a clear indication that Republicans have to be relatively liberal to even break even in immigrant communities.

Past Immigration Is No Template

That voters in immigrant communities hold liberal views and this is the reason significant majorities vote Democratic is not really debatable. However, some Republicans may respond that the current situation is similar to what happened during the Great Wave of immigration — roughly 1880 to 1920. Those who came then also voted Democratic, but today many of their descendants vote Republican, or so the argument goes. But there are a number of problems with the just-give-immigrants-time-and-they-will-see-that-their-interests-lay-with-Republicans argument.

It Took Decades for Past Immigrants to Be Republican

First, even if the past repeats itself, it still took a long time for a large share of the descendants of Great Wave immigrants to move into the Republican column. In the meantime, the children and grandchildren of immigrants provided a good deal of the political support necessary to pass and sustain both the New Deal and the Great Society. These and other expansions in the size and scope of government have never been undone. It is extremely hard to roll back government programs once implemented. Therefore, even if history does repeat itself, it would be a disaster for advocates of limited government.

Many Are Still Democrats

It is also worth pointing out that many of the descendants of Great Wave immigrants still do not vote Republican, a century after many of their ancestors arrived. Looking at white non-Hispanic Catholics and Jews gives us some idea of how the descendants of these immigrants vote today. While Romney did better in 2012 than most recent Republicans with white Catholics, in both 2000 and 2008 only 52 percent voted for the Republican presidential candidate. Moreover, a majority of Jews have voted Democratic in every presidential election for which there is data, including 2012.[88] The idea that the descendants of Great Wave immigrants eventually became solidly Republican is incorrect.

Pause in Immigration Was Key

It is not even clear that a slow movement toward Republicans will even happen with today's immigrants. This is especially true absent a significant reduction in annual numbers of new immigrants. The decades from 1920 to 1980 were a period of low immigration. As a result of World War I and then restrictive legislation in the 1920s, the foreign-born share of the U.S. population fell by two-thirds.[89] It was only after the cessation of mass European immigration that the children and grandchildren of Great Wave immigrants moved into the middle class and began to be somewhat more supportive of the Republicans' limited-government agenda. Continuing to allow 1.1 million new legal immigrants into the country each year, or roughly doubling that number as S.744 does, would work against the assimilation of immigrants, making their movement into the Republican Party that much less likely. If the past really is to be our guide, then dramatically reducing immigration is absolutely necessarily.

The pause in mass immigration from the 1920s to 1960s also helped immigrants and especially their children move into the middle class by reducing job competition and exerting upward pressure on wages. Though most Asians are already middle class, as already discussed, a large share of both immigrant and U.S.-born Hispanics live in or near poverty. It is difficult to imagine the Republican message of limited government resonating with Hispanics unless many more join the middle class. If immigration stays high it makes it much less likely that wages for workers without a college education will recover, reducing the share of Hispanics who join the middle class. This will make it more likely that Hispanics will continue to support the redistributive policies championed by Democrats.

Multiculturalism Makes Assimilation More Difficult Today

Putting aside the level of immigration, the rise of multiculturalism and ethnic grievance-based politics makes the kind of assimilation that leads to voting Republican much more difficult. Unlike in the past, today's immigrants are arriving in an America with a racial spoils system and a huge welfare state, which unfortunately many are dependent on. This new reality makes it much less likely that the children of today's immigrants will come to identify with the small-government agenda of the Republican Party.

Most principled Republicans rightly oppose such policies, but identity politics and all the policies that go with it are well established in modern America. Even if one optimistically assumes that someday we will abandon such divisive policies, for the foreseeable future immigrants will continue

to arrive in an America that encourages ethnic separatism and discourages assimilation. In fact, mass immigration provides one of the key underlying justifications used by liberal elites for continuing such policies. This fact makes lowering the level of new immigration all the more important.

The kind of multicultural assimilation that is taking place in the United States is certainly not encouraging. In their research of children from immigrant communities, sociologists Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut found that when first surveyed, the majority of the students identified themselves as "American" in some form, either with a hyphen, such as "Mexican-American," or alone. But when they surveyed them after several years of high school, the majority chose identification with no American component at all, such as "Mexican" or "Asian."[90] As already discussed, even third-generation Hispanics, whose ancestors entered the country at least 50 years ago, are well to the left of the average American voter when asked about their desired size of government. Also U.S.-born Hispanics are more likely to identify as "liberal" than immigrant Hispanics. None of this suggests movement toward the Republican Party with its emphasis on individual rights and self-reliance.

Supporting Amnesty and Increased Immigration Would Not Help Republicans

There are a number of Republicans who argue that if only the party would support amnesty and greatly increase immigration it would do much better in immigrant communities. The more nuanced version of this argument is that GOP insistence on enforcement of immigration laws is an irritant that prevents the conservative message of small government and social traditionalism from getting a hearing.

There are a number of problems with any version of this argument. First, it places politics above what is in the best interest of the country. If Republicans think giving amnesty to illegal immigrants and increasing legal immigration would be best for the American people, then perhaps they should advocate that position even though it results in the demise of conservatism. In our view, of course, the evidence is clear that neither amnesty nor increased future immigration makes sense for the country.

Furthermore, the argument that amnesty is the key to getting a much larger share of immigrants and their children to vote Republican is fundamentally flawed as a matter of politics. This argument not only ignores the actual policy preferences of voters in immigrant communities, it grossly inflates the importance of immigration policy to Hispanic and Asian voters, it ignores history, and it would alienate Republican voters.

Hispanics Have Long Been Democrats

It is generally true that a majority of Hispanics and Asians favor amnesty for some or all of the illegal immigrants in the country, though it depends on how the question is asked. But there is little evidence that this policy preference has much to do with the overwhelming support immigrant communities give to Democrats. Department of Homeland Security estimates indicate that at least three-fourths of illegal immigrants are Hispanic.[91] Hispanics, for whom there is data going back decades, voted Democratic long before immigration became a significant political issue. In Ronald Reagan's landside win over Walter Mondale in 1984 he received just 37 percent of the Hispanic vote compared to Mondale's 61 percent — just two percentage points better than his share in 1980.[92] Reagan was the strongest presidential candidate Republicans have fielded in the last half-century, yet he lost the Hispanic vote, as an incumbent, by 24 percentage points.

Immigration Creates Democrats Throughout the Country

As already discussed, James Gimpel's county-by-county analysis of voting patterns found that immigration inexorably increases the Democratic vote share, regardless of a local party's or candidate's position on immigration.[93] This is true even in conservative states. In Texas, for example, where the starting point is more conservative, immigration moves politics to the left as fast as, or even faster than, elsewhere.

As we have seen, voters in immigrant communities tend to strongly support liberal policies — this is why so many vote Democrat. As Heather Mac Donald of the Manhattan Institute has observed with regard to Hispanics, "It is not immigration policy that creates the strong bond between Hispanics and the Democratic Party, but the core Democratic principles of a more generous safety net, strong government intervention in the economy, and progressive taxation."[94]

The 1986 Amnesty Did Not Help Republicans

Prior history also does not support the idea that granting amnesty will help Republicans, at least with Hispanic voters. After Ronald Reagan signed the large IRCA amnesty in 1986, George H.W. Bush got just 30 percent of the Latino vote in his overwhelming 1988 victory, a seven percentage-point decline from what Reagan got in 1984.[95] A recent academic study by George Hawley at the University of Alabama found that pro-amnesty Republicans did no better with Hispanics in the 2006 mid-terms than pro-enforcement Republicans, even though the issue was very salient at that time. The 2006 mid-term elections were an especially good year to test the hypothesis that being pro-enforcement hurts Republicans with Hispanics. At the time, an immigration enforcement bill passed by the House sparked mass demonstrations. Hawley found it made little

difference in how Hispanics voted, but did find that a pro-amnesty position seems to have alienated white voters away from Republicans (see more on that below).[96]

Immigration Not a Top Priority for Immigrants

Part of the reason that a candidate's immigration position has little or no impact on Hispanic voting behavior is that other issues tend to be more important to Hispanic voters. Both Pew and Gallup found that immigration ranks low in priority among Hispanics, particularly with registered voters prior to the 2012 election. Of six issues polled, Gallup found that only 12 percent of registered Hispanic voters ranked the issue as the most important to them.[97] Asians also rank immigration as a low priority, putting it eighth out of eight issues in importance in the NAAS.[98]

Sacrificing the Future for a 2016 Gambit?

That immigration, on balance, is adding millions of liberal voters, which will greatly diminish conservatives' political prospects, nationally and in many states, is not in dispute. But some Republicans are focused only on the next presidential election. By embracing amnesty, they hope to win just enough of the Hispanic vote to triumph in 2016 before amnesty and continued high legal immigration swamps Republicans in the coming elections. But this makes no sense politically or mathematically.

There is no reason to think that advocating amnesty will move a significant share of Hispanic or Asian voters in 2016. As discussed above, immigration is not a top priority for Hispanics. Moreover, Democrats will rightly claim they are the true architects of amnesty if it passes. For voters in immigrant communities who really want amnesty it makes little sense to vote for Republicans who are bitterly divided on the issue.

Supporting an amnesty would also be disastrous for Republicans because it alienates a key part of their base — working-class white voters with less than a college education. This is a much larger group of voters than those in immigrant communities, so a small percentage loss of support here would be much more significant than a large percentage increase in support among a smaller group.

The decline in turnout among non-college-educated white voters is one of the reasons Republicans have fared poorly in recent presidential elections. Depending on how one calculates the drop-off, between four and six million working-class white voters stayed home in 2012 compared to 2004.[99] The GOP must get these voters back to the polls, and yet these are precisely the kind of voters who would be most alienated by Republicans' support of S.744. A bill that not only provides amnesty to illegal immigrants, but also dramatically increases the number of workers allowed into the country to compete with these very individuals who are hard-pressed economically will almost certainly make matters worse with this demographic. Supporting S.744 will only reinforce the perception that Republicans care only about business interests and the rich.

Supporting Amnesty Is Nonsensical Electorally

Mathematically, the pro-amnesty argument makes even less sense. In 2016 there will likely be about 13 million Hispanic voters, up from 11.2 million in 2012.[100] Nationally, Mitt Romney lost by five million votes and John McCain by 9.6 million.[101] Even shifting five or 10 percentage points of the projected Hispanic vote in 2016 (650,000 to 1.3 million votes) to Republicans, which is unlikely, will not come close to closing the vote gap. Taking Romney's Electoral College totals, even if he had won Florida, Nevada, and New Mexico he still would have lost by 46 electoral votes. The other states with the largest Hispanic populations — Texas, New York, California, Illinois, Arizona, and New Jersey — have not been competitive in recent elections and are not likely to be in 2016. Republicans need to do better with the 90 percent of the electorate that is not Hispanic if they are to win in 2016.

This is not an argument against increased outreach; even marginal improvement in a static voting group can help Republicans. But increasing a vote through immigration policy that will go majority Democrat is like a retailer who loses money on each item he sells but tries to make it up in volume.

Conclusion

While it is difficult to know how people will vote in the future, there are a very large number of surveys showing a strong majority of Hispanic and Asian immigrants and their children are supportive of an expansive role for government. As a result, they vote overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates. The current level of legal immigration, even without S.744, will add nearly 15 million new potential voters by 2036, a large share of whom will favor the Left. If the level of legal immigration is not reduced by Congress, it will force Republicans to either permanently become a minority party or move to the left politically to accommodate the policy preferences of the new electorate immigration policy is creating.

Supporting the amnesty and increased legal immigration in S.744 will not just add millions of liberal-oriented voters; it will alienate the Republican base, working class whites, at least four million of whom stayed home in 2012. It is difficult to imagine a policy that could do more damage in both the short run and the long run to Republican electoral prospects than supporting legislation like S.744.

It is the Republicans' support for a smaller, less activist government that is so off-putting to a majority of immigrants.

This study finds no evidence that the social conservatism of the Republican Party is either attracting or alienating immigrant voters; they place little emphasis on such issues in deciding whom to vote for. Instead, it is the Republicans' support for a smaller, less activist government that is so off-putting to a majority of immigrants. It is grossly unrealistic to imagine that better outreach will somehow persuade voters in immigrant communities that their strongly held policy preferences are wrong and they should vote for a Republican Party that they generally disagree with. To survive as a conservative party, Republicans will need to successfully push for a significant reduction in the flow of legal immigration that is adding so many new liberal voters.

Some Republicans may still feel that today's immigrants will follow the pattern of Great Wave immigrants (1880 to 1920), who mostly voted Democratic, but eventually became more Republican. But this view ignores that it took decades before a larger share of the Great Wave's descendants supported a more conservative agenda. In the interim, immigrants, and their children and grandchildren provided a good deal of the political support necessary to pass both the New Deal and the Great Society. If history repeats itself, it will be a disaster for advocates of limited government. To the extent that Great Wave descendants did become Republican, it only happened after immigration was significantly reduced in the 1920s by restrictive legislation. This makes it all the more important to significantly reduce immigration as soon as possible.

The fact that a strong majority of voters in immigrant communities hold liberal views should not be seen as a flaw in their character. Their liberal views, while well to the left of the average American voter, are still within the mainstream of American politics. Nor should their generally liberal views be trivialized as something that can be overcome simply by the right rhetoric or by running candidates from Asian or Hispanic backgrounds. These things may help, but immigrants and their children have their own political values and preferences that are sincerely felt. It would be ridiculous to suggest that a core Republican group, such as evangelical Christians, would vote Democrat in much larger numbers if only that party changed its rhetoric or modified its position on one issue. It is equally foolish to imagine that voters in immigrant communities will abandon Democrats, with whom they generally agree on a host of policies, if only Republicans would change their position on immigration.

Consultants and self-styled experts on immigrant communities have a vested interest in keeping immigration high and then offering their services to help understand these voters' concerns. Their castigating of Republicans will be eagerly covered by a media that despises the average Republican voter and is delighted at their increased marginalization as a direct result of immigration's electoral impact. Neither the media nor these "experts" will mention the two most obvious facts: first, immigrants are mostly liberal in their view of government, so no change in rhetoric on immigration will have much of an impact on how they vote. And second, their arrival is entirely a discretionary policy of the federal government, as is amnesty for illegal aliens. Instead, immigration levels will be treated as a given, like

the weather or the tides, meaning that Republicans will simply have to change their positions or become electorally irrelevant.

Republicans must respond with a message that calls for lower immigration, but that is not disparaging of our fellow Americans who were born abroad. One way to do this, which is both valid as a matter of policy and also politically appealing, is to frame the issue as standing up for wage earners who are harmed by immigrant competition — especially immigrants already here. Some 60 million working-age Americans are not working, and most Americans are very skeptical of the view that the country needs more workers. Wages for American workers, particularly those without a college degree, have declined or stagnated over the last three decades as immigration has grown. Most Americans feel that if employers have trouble finding workers they should recruit Americans by paying higher wages.

Arguing for less immigration on populist economic grounds would also help neutralize the perception that Republicans are unconcerned about the working class. Equally important, orienting the party toward a position of low immigration would place the Democrats on the defensive. Republicans could rightly argue Democrats are serving the interests of businesses that want to bring in additional immigrants instead of raising wages. Combined with other measures directed against corporate welfare and cronyism, this can turn the tables on the Left.

Reducing immigration would not only help American workers, it would also take pressure off overcrowded public schools and hospitals. Lower immigration levels will also facilitate the assimilation and integration of immigrants and their children, making them more likely to vote Republican over time.

Doing a better job of reaching out to immigrant communities is undoubtedly important. It is especially vital to find alternative means of communicating with voters in immigrant communities, ways that go around the established left-wing elites in labor unions, foundation-funded nonprofit groups, and elsewhere.

But given the strongly liberal views of a significant majority of immigrants, such efforts are likely to have only a modest payoff, at best. As important as outreach is, the first priority must be to reduce levels of future immigration. Only in this way, by reducing the federal government's importation of voters who disagree with the GOP's agenda, can Republicans remain electorally competitive as a conservative party.

This isn't the place to spell out in detail what a low-immigration policy would look like, but its broad outlines would be to limit family immigration to the spouses and minor children (i.e., no special immigration rights for adult sons and daughters and adult siblings), eliminate the visa lottery, limit skilled immigration to truly exceptional talents, and admit only genuine refugees who have absolutely nowhere else to go. Future legal immigration could be reduced by half from the current level of over one million a year and still allow the admission of more people than any other nation in the world.

Republicans, mainly at the behest of employers, have supported large-scale immigration for decades. As many have observed, the GOP faces a choice: It can either change its position on legal immigration or it can change its position on almost every other issue.

Appendix

Table A1. Sample Sizes

2008 National Annenberg Election Survey

Issue	Native-Born Americans	All Immigrants	Hispanic Immigrants	Asian Immigrants	Other Immigrants
Favor Raising Taxes	53,113	4,411	1,673	580	2,161
Favored Financial Bailout	2,746	230	91	32	107
Favor Government Health Insurance	23,910	2,062	829	276	958
Trust Federal Government All or Most of the Time	11,241	916	307	131	479
Favor Abortion on Demand	53,113	4,411	1,673	580	2,161
Favor Full Marriage Rights for Homosexuals	42,594	3,564	1,356	463	1,748

Sample Size Cooperative Congressional Election Study

Issue					
Support Tea Party	18,977	1,151	304	186	661
Support Amnesty	18,996	1,154	304	187	663
Favor Abortion on Demand	18,996	1,154	304	187	663
Support Affirmative Action	18,970	1,153	304	187	662
Support Obamacare	18,797	1,141	302	183	656
Support Stimulus	18,852	1,149	301	187	661
Support Embryonic Stem Cell Research	18,769	1,140	298	186	656

Table A2. 2008 National Annenberg Election Survey Question Wording

Question: Do you favor government health insurance or the current private system?
One government program
Current system
Neither

Question: Which of the following options comes closest to your view on what we should be doing about federal income taxes?
Taxes should be cut.
Taxes should be kept pretty much as they are.
Taxes should be raised if necessary in order to maintain current federal programs and services.

Question: How do you feel about the passed financial bailout law?
Approve
Disapprove
Depends

Question: How often do you trust the federal government?
Always
Most of the time
Some of the time
Never
Don't Know
No Answer

Question: Which of the following options comes closest to your view on abortion?
Abortion should be available to anyone who wants it.
Abortion should be available, but with stricter limits than it is now.
Abortion should not be permitted except in cases of rape, incest, or when the life of the woman is at risk.
Abortion should not be permitted under any circumstances.

Question: There has been much talk recently about whether gays and lesbians should have the legal right to marry someone of the same sex. Which of the following options comes closest to your position on this issue?
I support full marriage rights for gay and lesbian couples.
I support civil unions or domestic partnerships, but not gay marriage.
I do not support any form of legal recognition of the relationships of gay and lesbian couples

Table A3. 2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study Question Wording

Affirmative action programs give preference to racial minorities in employment and college admissions in order to correct for past discrimination.

Do you support or oppose affirmative action?
Strongly Support
Somewhat Support
Somewhat Oppose
Strongly Oppose

The Comprehensive Health Reform Act requires all Americans to obtain health insurance. Allows people to keep current provider. Sets up health insurance option for those without coverage. Increase taxes on those making more than $280,000 a year.

Do you support or oppose this policy?
Support
Oppose

American Recovery and Reinvestment Act authorizes $787 billion in federal spending to stimulate economic growth in the U.S.

Do you support or oppose this policy?
Support
Oppose

Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view on abortion?
By law, abortion should never be permitted
The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger
The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established
By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice

End Notes

[1] Figures are from the 2012 public-use file of the Annual Demographic and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey, which is one of the only government surveys to ask about birthplace of each respondent's mother and father.

[2] See Youtube video from America Future Now Conference, 2009.

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[4] Courtney Coren, "Poll: Most Voters Fear Immigration Reform May Increase Job Competition," Newsmax, August 2013.

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[16] Jeffrey M. Jones, "Asian Americans Lean Left Politically; Asian-Americans more liberal than other racial/ethnic groups," Gallup, 2010.

[17] "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," Pew Hispanic Center, 2012.

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[19] "Little Change in Public's Response to 'Capitalism,' 'Socialism,'" Pew Research Center, 2011.

[20] "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," Pew Hispanic Center, 2012 (p. 31).

[21] "Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths," 2012. Pew Research Center, 2012, p. 102.

[22] Less than 2 percent of Hispanics in the United States are descendants of settlers from Spain who came to the southwest before it was part of the United States and so cannot be considered immigrants or the descendants of immigrants to the United States.

[23] "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity," Pew Hispanic Center, 2012 (p. 31).

[24] Gary Segura and Shaun Bowler, "It's True: Latinos Are Liberals, and Other Important Matters," Latino Decisions, 2011. Figures reported are from text.

[25] *Ibid.*

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[27] "Latinos Back Obama's Handling of Health Care and his Affordable Care Act, Poll Says," Fox News, September 18, 2013.

[28] "Romney Leads GOP Contest, Trails in Matchup with Obama," Pew Research Center, 2012.

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[44] "Muslim Americans: A National Portrait," Gallup, 2009, Figure 25.

[45] "Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths," Pew Research Center, July 19, 2012.

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[47] Steve Sailer blog, "Obama v. Romney demographics: Draw your own conclusions," October 2010.

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[49] The pubic-use file of the 2008 National Annenberg Election Study found that 55 percent of foreign-born, non-Hispanic whites favored one government-provided health care insurance program compared to 43 percent of native-born whites and 45 percent of the general population. It also showed that a plurality of foreign-born whites considered themselves Democrats while a plurality of native-born whites considered themselves Republican. However, these results are based on small sample.

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[56] Figures are from the public-use file of the 2012 Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the CPS. The U.S.-born children under 18 of Hispanic immigrants who live with their parents are counted with immigrants. If these children are included with natives, then the uninsurance rate of U.S.-born Hispanics would be somewhat higher, while the Hispanic immigrant rate would be somewhat lower

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[67] The 2012 Current Population Survey (Annual Social and Economic Supplement) collected by the Census Bureau asks respondents about insurance coverage, if they are immigrants, and when they arrived in the United States. The public-use file of the 2012 survey shows that there are nearly seven million immigrants who arrived in the country in 2000 or later and their U.S.-born children without health insurance — equal to more than two-thirds of the growth in the uninsured in the last decade.

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