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# Conservative Values and Minority Outreach

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**CONSERVATIVE VALUES AND MINORITY OUTREACH**

By  
Diego Garcia

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

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Approved by

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## Acknowledgements

This thesis is especially dedicated to my mother, Vega, and my sister, Inés, who have supported throughout all my projects and undertakings. To my grandfather, Bruno, as well, who has always encouraged me to make the most of all the opportunities I have and has worked hard to be able to provide me with the education that has led me to be the person I am today.

Philippians 4:13

## **ABSTRACT**

DIEGO GARCIA: Minority Values and Republican Outreach

(Under the direction of Dr. David Rutherford)

This thesis focuses on the values that underlie positions in political issues among three minority groups (African-Americans, Jewish- Americans and Hispanics). The primary focus of this research is to determine the extent to which the values that these minority groups hold align with conservative values; secondarily, the thesis considers the extent to which conservative politicians could use such alignment to appeal to minorities. This thesis also includes a brief series of recommendations for the Republican Party to be more effective at appealing to these minority groups specifically.

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# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

An underlying goal of this research is to assist the Republican Party in becoming more effective in attracting the minority vote. The presidential election in November 2012 demonstrated that the Republican Party is not being successful at attracting the minority vote. According to many political analysts, it is absolutely necessary for the GOP to be able to increase the share of the minority vote it wins in order to make it a more competitive party at the national level again (Coren, 2014). The political party that displays a more conservative worldview in our country is the Republican Party (NA, 2013). so I will focus on conservative values in the Republican Party that can be appealing to minorities. The overall purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to determine how the Republican Party can make a better appeal to minorities so that conservative politicians can be more successful at winning national elections.

To accomplish this underlying goal, this thesis looks at the values that underlie positions on the issues that are currently debated in today's political arena. While we know that minority groups have certain positions on issues, this research focuses on finding out about the values that underlie these positions.

Understanding the specific ideas and values that each minority holds is necessary in order to understand how a conservative political party can reach out to them. Opinions on political issues are driven by the values that an individual (or a group) holds, so it is necessary to understand the values to understand positions on political issues. There might be an opportunity for Republicans to attract the minority vote if there is inconsistency between some of the values that minority groups hold and their position on political issues.

The minority groups I am focusing on in this thesis are African-Americans, Jewish and Hispanics. The historical and demographical differences among the different minorities that Republicans need to reach makes it necessary to consider each minority group in particular. Figure 1.1 shows voting trends in presidential elections from 1996 to 2012 by race and Hispanic origin. It is important to mention that this figure shows how African-Americans are voting in increasing percentages while Non-Hispanic whites are voting in smaller numbers since the presidential election of 2004. This figure also shows that rates of Hispanic voting increased from 2004 to 2008, which puts into question the amount of votes that Hispanics will cast in future elections.



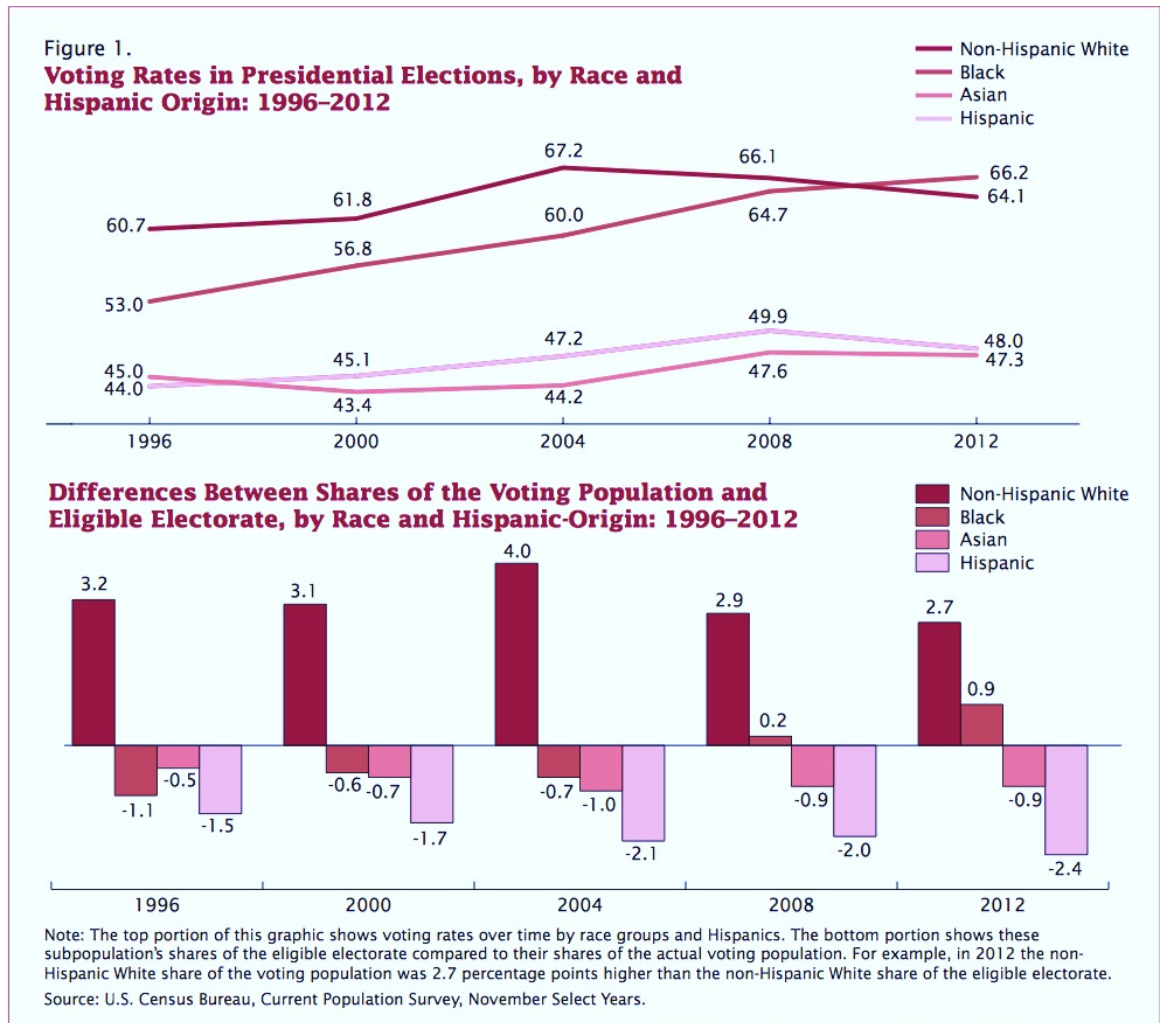


Figure 1.1. Recent historical data on voting by demographic group (File, 2013, page 3)

Figure 1.2 reinforces the information shown in figure 1.1 and adds important points. It shows that minority groups such as Hispanics and African-Americans make up substantial percentages of the eligible electorate, although Hispanics are less well represented in the percentage of those who actually vote. The figure shows, however, a trend that indicates that rates of voting both among African-Americans and Hispanics have been consistently increasing since 1996.

Table 3.

**Composition of the Voting Population and Eligible Electorate, by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1996 to 2012**

Year and race and Hispanic origin	Percentage of eligible electorate <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of voting population <sup>2</sup>
<b>2012</b>		
White, non-Hispanics . . . . .	71.1	73.7
Blacks . . . . .	12.5	13.4
Hispanics . . . . .	10.8	8.4
Asians . . . . .	3.8	2.9
<b>2008</b>		
White, non-Hispanics . . . . .	73.4	76.3
Blacks . . . . .	12.1	12.3
Hispanics . . . . .	9.5	7.4
Asians . . . . .	3.4	2.6
<b>2004</b>		
White, non-Hispanics . . . . .	75.2	79.2
Blacks . . . . .	11.9	11.1
Hispanics . . . . .	8.2	6.0
Asians . . . . .	3.2	2.2
<b>2000</b>		
White, non-Hispanics . . . . .	77.7	80.7
Blacks . . . . .	12.2	11.7
Hispanics . . . . .	7.1	5.4
Asians . . . . .	2.5	1.8
<b>1996</b>		
White, non-Hispanics . . . . .	79.2	82.5
Blacks . . . . .	11.9	10.8
Hispanics . . . . .	6.1	4.7
Asians . . . . .	2.1	1.7

Figure 1.2. Composition of the voting population and eligible electorate by race and Hispanic origin; 1996-2012 (File,2013, page 5)

African-Americans have traditionally and historically been an important minority group in the political life of the United States, becoming even more politically involved after the election of President Barack Obama, who was not

only the first African-American President, but also the first President from a minority group.

Hispanics have showed to be a very interesting group to study. They seem to have conservative values in issues such as gay marriage, but a majority of them vote Democratic. Studies show that second and third generation Hispanics tend to be more liberal that their parents were because most of them tend to grow up in more liberal states, such as California.

The way that the Jewish community votes becomes very relevant in certain swing states, such as Florida. The Jewish community tends to have conservative values, but believes in 'compassionate policies'. Because of their belief in 'compassionate policies', they tend to vote Democratic.

Some political analysts claim that the problems the Republican Party faces with appealing to minorities deal with communication and their policies (McKee, 2013). This thesis will identify the values that minorities consider most important when making their voting choices and will compare those values to conservative values. The specific research questions that this thesis seeks to answer are:

- What are the values that underlie the conservative worldview?
- What are the values that minorities hold?
- How do conservative values and minority values align? How are they similar and how do they differ?

After answering these research questions, the thesis concludes with a brief explanation of how Republicans can frame their positions on issues using

values as the foundation. In that way, they can select issues to highlight that resonate with the underlying values that minorities hold. In addition, the conclusion makes certain recommendations about how conservatives should try to win the minority vote.

This thesis is structured in the following way. Chapter 2 starts by drawing from major conservative thinkers to define conservative values. It moves on to synthesize these values into the ones that will be employed in this thesis. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 discuss specific aspects regarding political behavior of African-Americans, Jewish-Americans, and Hispanics respectively. Chapter 6 deals with specific values that each minority groups believes in, which serves as a transition to chapter 7, where I integrate conservative values and the values of these minority groups. After comparing the alignment of conservative values and minority groups, I develop in chapter 8 a series of recommendations for the Republican Party to become more effective in appealing to these minority groups.

## **Chapter 2:**

### **The Values of Conservatism**

The first research question seeks to determine the fundamental values of the conservative worldview, in order to compare conservative and minority values, it is essential to understand the values and belief system that form part of the conservative worldview. A basic philosophical understanding of the thoughts and theories of government that conservatives defend will shed light on what they believe is the most beneficial way to govern. These beliefs and values can be appealing to minorities, and it is the purpose of this thesis to find out how to reach out to different demographics while defending these principles.

Several major conservative scholars have written about conservative values. These include Frank Meyer, Russell Kirk and William F. Buckley. The first one to study is Frank Meyer. Mr. Meyer, along with a broad group of political thinkers, defined a list of what he believed to be conservative principles. Among them is accepting the existence of “An objective moral order” of “Immutable standards by which human conduct should be judged”. The ‘human person’ is the center of political and social thought whatever the issue is, whether they are

discussing issues such as duties and responsibilities or human rights and freedoms. There is opposition among these scholars to the use of the State to “enforce ideological patterns on human beings”, as well as opposing the type of centralized absolute power necessary to the ‘planning’ of society, also known as ‘social engineering’. The defense of the Constitution appears as a common belief among these political thinkers, who defend it as ‘originally conceived’ (NA, 2010). These political thinkers are also supporters of Western civilization and aim to defend it from the intentions of Communism.

Looking at the way our English language defines the word ‘conservatism’ is interest. Webster’s Dictionary defines conservatism as “A political or theological orientation advocating the preservation of the best in society and opposing radical changes” (Webster’s Dictionary). There is also a second entry for this word in the same dictionary that defines it as “The disposition and tendency to preserve what is established; opposition to change; the habit of mind; or conduct, of a conservative.”

Among other sources we find other ideas regarding conservatism. Student News Daily lists main ideas of conservatives as: “Conservatives believe in personal responsibility, limited government, free markets, individual liberty, traditional American values and a strong national defense. Believe the role of government should be to provide people the freedom necessary to pursue their own goals. Conservative policies generally emphasize empowerment of the individual to solve problems” (NA, 2010). We also find other principles to list:

1. Promote the dignity of Every Human Life

2. Defend and Strengthen Traditional Marriage
3. Promote religious freedom and Civil Society
4. Nominate and Confirm Constitutionalist Judges and Justices
5. Promote Educational Opportunity and Empower Parents

(NA, 2012)

Examining the work of scholars, we can't miss the works of Mr. Russell Kirk. In the website from the Kirk Center we read "Dr. Kirk wrote and spoke on political thought and practice, literary criticism, social themes, modern culture, educational theory, and social themes" (NA, 2014). A very important thinker in the 20<sup>th</sup> century definition of conservatism, he is an author whose ideals we can't ignore when describing conservative values. He described the values of conservatism in a list of ten principles (Kirk, 1993):

1. First, the conservative believes that there exists an enduring moral order.
2. Second, the conservative adheres to custom, convention, and continuity.
3. Third, conservatives believe in what may be called the principle of prescription.
4. Fourth, conservatives are guided by their principle of prudence.
5. Fifth, conservatives pay attention to the principle of variety.
6. Sixth, conservatives are chastened by their principle of imperfectability.
7. Seventh, conservatives are persuaded that freedom and property are closely linked.

8. Eighth, conservatives uphold voluntary community, quite as they oppose involuntary collectivism.
9. Ninth, the conservative perceives the need for prudent restraints upon power and upon human passions.
10. Tenth, the thinking conservative understands that permanence and change must be recognized and reconciled in a vigorous society.

Another important political thinker whose beliefs we will examine is William F. Buckley. We can find a list of his convictions and beliefs regarding conservative values (Buckley, 1955):

1. It is the job of centralized government (in peacetime) to protect its citizens' lives, liberty and property. All other activities of government tend to diminish freedom and hamper progress. The growth of government (the dominant social feature of this century) must be fought relentlessly. In this great social conflict of the era, we are, without reservations, on the libertarian side.
2. The profound crisis of our era is, in essence, the conflict between the Social Engineers, who seek to adjust mankind to conform with scientific utopias, and the disciples of Truth, who defend the organic moral order. We believe that truth is neither arrived at nor illuminated by monitoring election results, binding though these are for other purposes, but by other



means, including a study of human experience. On this point we are, without reservations, on the conservative side.

3. The century's most blatant force of satanic utopianism is communism. We consider "coexistence" with communism neither desirable nor possible, nor honorable; we find ourselves irrevocably at war with communism and shall oppose any substitute for victory.
4. The largest cultural menace in America is the conformity of the intellectual cliques which, in education as well as the arts, are out to impose upon the nation their modish fads and fallacies, and have nearly succeeded in doing so. In this cultural issue, we are, without reservations, on the side of excellence (rather than "newness") and of honest intellectual combat (rather than conformity).
5. The most alarming single danger to the American political system lies in the fact that an identifiable team of Fabian operators is bent on controlling both our major political parties (under the sanction of such fatuous and unreasoned slogans as "national unity," "middle-of-the-road," "progressivism," and "bipartisanship.") Clever intriguers are reshaping both parties in the image of Babbitt, gone Social-Democrat. When and where this political issue arises, we are, without reservations, on the side of the traditional two-party system that fights its feuds in public and honestly; and we shall advocate the restoration of the two-party system at all costs.

6. The competitive price system is indispensable to liberty and material progress. It is threatened not only by the growth of Big Brother government, but by the pressure of monopolies (including union monopolies). What is more, some labor unions have clearly identified themselves with doctrinaire socialist objectives. The characteristic problems of harassed business have gone unreported for years, with the result that the public has been taught to assume (almost instinctively) that conflicts between labor and management are generally traceable to greed and intransigence on the part of management. Sometimes they are; often they are not. NATIONAL REVIEW will explore and oppose the inroads upon the market economy caused by monopolies in general, and politically oriented unionism in particular; and it will tell the violated businessman's side of the story.
7. No superstition has more effectively bewitched America's Liberal elite than the fashionable concepts of world government, the United Nations, internationalism, international atomic pools, etc. Perhaps the most important and readily demonstrable lesson of history is that freedom goes hand in hand with a state of political decentralization, that remote government is irresponsible government. It would make greater sense to grant independence to each of our 50 states than to surrender U.S. sovereignty to a world organization.

After studying these series of beliefs and values presented by recognized scholars on their field of study, I have developed a list that is a synthesis of these principles and are relevant today inside the conservative movement and for the purposes of this thesis:

- I. Very limited government is to be preferred rather than big government. Big government tends to diminish freedom and hamper progress.
- II. Communism and centralized economies restrain individual freedom and fail to accomplish overall economic growth.
- III. Equality of opportunities is preferred to equality of outcome, as it creates a fair system of competition. Economic leveling is not economic progress.
- IV. Competition and free market are key to enhancing individual purchasing choice and lowering prices of goods and services.
- V. The United States should only wage war in instances when our national security is threatened.
- VI. Prudence is a very important virtue. Any public measure ought to be judged by its long-run consequences, not merely by temporary advantage or popularity.
- VII. Freedom and private property are closely related – upon the foundation of private property, great civilizations are built.
- VIII. Conservatives uphold voluntary community, quite as they oppose involuntary collectivism. Decisions made at a more local level rather than by a very powerful central government.

IX. There is a need for prudent restraints upon power and upon human passions – The conservative endeavors to so limit and balance political power that anarchy or tyranny may not arise. It is characteristic of the radical that he thinks of power as a force for good – so long as the power falls into his hand.

These principles were chosen based on their appearance and relation with current topics of debate in today's political arena. This synthesis of conservative values will help us understand today's minority values and the issues that they care about. There are many values that people take into account when making decisions about what their stands are on certain political issues, but it is important to narrow down the number of principles considering which ones are the most important values for the research in this thesis. In this case, I base my selection on which values are more closely related to decisions regarding issues that are being currently debated in the political arena nowadays.

## Chapter 3 :

### African-Americans: relevant characteristics

When trying to appeal to different minorities, it becomes obvious that a very important demographic group we must reach out to is the African-American community. From a conservative point of view, the policies that conservative legislators must offer to attract African American voters have to be different from those that the Democrats are proposing. If Republican legislators merely copy the ideas of the Democratic Party, then there will be no reason for African-Americans who currently identify themselves with the Democratic Party to change the way they vote.

That is the reason why conservatives have to be strong in their beliefs and propose real solutions to the problems that the African-American community faces in our country. Jonah Goldberg from Townhall.com puts this idea very clearly in writing when he states:

*“Any serious attempt by the GOP to win black votes won't involve Republicans copycatting liberal policies. It will require going over the heads of the black and white liberal slanderers to offer a sincere alternative to failed liberal policies on schools, poverty, crime, etc. The more effective that effort, the more the GOP will be called racist.” (Goldberg, 2012)*

This idea is very important because it points out the necessity of change in the way that Republican legislators think about policies that attract African-American voters. Mere imitation of Democratic policies will not lead to a Republican victory.

The current economic crisis in which our country has been involved in the past few years is another clear example of how vulnerable to economic turmoil the African-American community is. This demographic has especially suffered in areas such as unemployment rate or average salary since the financial crisis of 2008 affected our economy. Because of that, economic recovery would prove to be a very appealing phenomenon for the African-American community.

ABC News columnist Holly Bailey talked about this during the 2012 Presidential Campaign:

*“At 14.4 percent, unemployment among black Americans is much higher than the 8.2 percent national average, while the average income and median family income for African Americans is much lower, Romney will note.” (Bailey, 2012)*

Those comments were made regarding Governor Romney’s speech before the NAACP, and how the message of economic recovery should resonate with the African-American community.

### **African-American identity**

One factor that creates unity among the African-American community is the legacy of slavery. For the majority of the time from the creation of this country until today, the African-American community has faced many obstacles

and difficulties that were not present in the white community. This has created a sense of identity that is very particular of the African-American community.

There are some African-Americans currently living in the United States that are not descendants of slaves, but since the whole majority are, I will place the focus of my research on African-Americans who are descendants of slaves.

Kansas University doctoral candidate Thirkelle Harris Howards wrote about this on her dissertation in American studies:

*“For her dissertation in American studies with an emphasis on family history and genealogy, KU doctoral candidate Thirkelle Harris Howard is researching a theory that most African-Americans are seventh or eighth cousins. Howard estimates that about 85 percent to 90 percent of today’s African- Americans are descendants of enslaved Africans brought to America between 140 and 385 years ago.” (Harris, 2005)*

This shows how the overwhelming majority of African-Americans have a common legacy and background in our country that we cannot ignore when thinking about the values they believe are important.

African-Americans make up 13.4 % of the voting population in the United States (File, 2013), they account for 39.8% of the people who are on welfare on the United States (Department of Health and Human Services, 2014). In recent years, we have seen how Democrats and Republicans and Washington have heavily debated the role of welfare and its funding. Because of the background of discrimination against African-Americans and the difficulties they faced trying to get into educational institutions due to segregation, the African-American community has historically had higher rates of poverty than white Americans.

Because of that, policies dubbed as ‘social justice’ policies have historically attracted low-income African-American voters. The Democratic

Party is currently receiving the huge majority of African-American votes, typically obtaining around 90% of the votes that African-Americans cast (Kirsanow, 2011). This fact is key for the Democratic Party. Kirsanow also states in the same article:

*“Unless Democrats maintain a vise grip on at least 90 percent of the black vote, the party’s presidential prospects usually fade to oblivion. Both parties know this. If the GOP peeled off just 5 or 10 percent of the black vote, Democrats would be in perpetual electoral jeopardy, and not just at the presidential level.”* (Kirsanow, 2011)

Republican outreach to black voters has to become a ‘cornerstone’ in the conservative fight to regain control of Washington, and even if Republicans were not able to win the majority of the African-American vote, an improvement in their numbers among this demographic would prove successful in upcoming elections.

### **Barack Obama’s election:**

In thinking about this common background and sense of identity, it is necessary to point out the effect that the election of Barack Obama as the first African-American President of the United States had. Guy-Uriel Charles, a visiting professor at University of Virginia School of Law, talked about the effects that this election might’ve had on the identity of African-Americans:

*“The election of the country’s first black president could have dramatic implications for the identity of African Americans, visiting Law School professor Guy-Uriel Charles said Thursday at a Center for the Study of Race and Law event. Charles, the Russell M. and Elizabeth M. Bennett Professor of Law at the University of Minnesota Law School, said Barack Obama’s victory could lead African Americans to form an even stronger and more cohesive racial identity, or could cause the group to faction into units that identify around commonalities like socioeconomic status instead of race.”* (Matthews, 2008)



Mr. Obama running for President with the endorsement of the Democratic Party is a very significant event when studying how the majority of African-Americans side with the Democratic Party.

## Chapter 4:

### Jewish Americans: Relevant Characteristics

The Jewish American community is not usually thought of as a large demographic group, but it can prove to be a key group in battleground states such as Florida, where winning the Jewish-American vote might represent the difference between winning or losing that state.

In focusing on appealing to these voters, the question of the American-Israeli relationship tends to be an important point. Many articles exist that discuss fundraising in key swing states and the issue of supporting Israel:

*“Focused on South Florida, Ohio and Nevada, the Republican Jewish Coalition, backed mostly by the casino magnate Sheldon Adelson, a Zionist, has begun pending \$6.5 million on an air-and-ground strategy to reach Jewish voters who may view Mr. Obama as unreliable on the question of Israel’s security.” (Alvarez, 2012)*

Florida, Ohio and Nevada were all battleground states in this past Presidential Election, with Barack Obama winning over Mitt Romney in all of these three states. In Florida, for example (where the Jewish population makes up 3.4% of the state’s total population [Sheskin and Dashefsky, 2012]), Mr. Obama won the state by less than 1% of the vote (Leip, 2012).

Among these three states, Florida appears as the most important one because it carries 29 Electoral College votes and because it was the state that decided the 2000 Presidential election when George W. Bush defeated Al Gore by a very narrow margin in this state.

There is special interest in campaigning to attract the votes of retirees who currently live in Florida, and both candidates seem to have had special interest in winning their vote in this past election:

*“Obama, campaigning in Florida for two days — a state with a greater share of Jewish voters than any other — stopped today at West Palm Beach’s Century Village, one of the strongholds of elderly and reliably Democratic voters. The president addressed a crowd of senior citizens at the retirement community, his standard stump speech veering into talk of his support for Israel.”(Brower, 2012)*

Support for Israel is an issue that politicians usually try to focus on when trying to win the Jewish-American vote. This is important because this minority is the only group that politicians try to attract by using foreign policy based on one country only (in this case Israel) as the main argument in their speech. They also try to portray their rivals in a way that makes them look weak when talking about protecting Israel.

This issue became so key in the past Presidential Election that Republican candidate Mitt Romney traveled to Israel to show his support for this country. He also questioned President Obama’s support for Israel, trying to appeal to the Jewish-American voters:

*“By questioning President Obama’s support for Israel, Mitt Romney made an appeal to Jewish voters in Monday’s presidential debate. Previous Republicans have failed to make inroads.” (Scherer, 2012)*

Despite the efforts that Republican candidates have made to appeal to Jewish voters, Democrats have obtained at least 69 percent of the votes casted by Jewish-Americans in every Presidential Election since Bill Clinton became president in 1993 (Maisel and Forman, 2012).

It is important to point out that differences exist within the Jewish community, but in this thesis I am exploring issues that appear to be of interest to most Jewish voters. I have talked about how support for Israel can bring votes, but certain sources point out that it is not only the votes, but also the funding from Jewish contributors that politicians are afraid to lose if they don't stand strong with Israel:

*"It is generally believed that for a US president to speak truthfully to the American people about the dishonesty of this Israeli government's peaceful pretensions is to invite a devastating loss of financial support, as well as electoral defeat. Can Obama overcome the opposition of the Israel lobby, and of a Congress so deeply beholden to that lobby, and successfully promote a US peace plan?" (Siegman, 2013)*

An organization that is worth mentioning with respect to defending the relationship between Israel and the United States and that might be a good representation of this issue for Jewish voters is AIPAC. This organization is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, which is a pro-Israel lobbying group that tries to defend policies affecting America's relationship with Israel both in Congress and in the Executive Branch of the United States. Their mission statement reads as follows:

*"AIPAC's staff and citizen activists educate decision makers about the bonds that unite the United States and Israel and how it is in America's best interest to help ensure that the Jewish state is safe, strong and*

secure. Cooperation between the two countries is advantageous for both nations. AIPAC urges all members of Congress to support Israel through foreign aid, government partnerships, joint anti-terrorism efforts and the promotion of a negotiated two-state solution—a Jewish state of Israel and a demilitarized Palestinian state.” (AIPAC, 2013)

AIPAC works in a bipartisan way, working both with Democrats and Republicans. The organization defends issues that have a lot of support both in the Democratic as well as in the Republican Party. This is what their website says about the issues they advocate for:

“Congress has been a bedrock of support for the U.S.-Israel relationship by supporting aid, helping stop Iran's pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability, supporting Israel's right to defend itself and reinforcing American policy that peace will only be achieved through direct negotiations. Issues are: Keeping American and Israel Secure, Sanctioning Iran, Working Together to Achieve Peace, Defending Citizens From Terrorist’s Missiles, and Ensuring Israel’s Right to Self-Defense.”(AIPAC, 2013)

Moving towards specific issues about which the Jewish community in the United States is concerned, there have been instances where parties have failed to attract Jewish voters and have made mistakes when trying to approach issues in which the Jewish community is interested. An example of this happened at the 2012 Democratic National Convention:

*“In early September 2012, many in the pro-Israel camp were disturbed by a series of events at the Democratic National Convention in Charlotte. First, the committee drafting the party platform eliminated traditional language recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Next, the party elders chose to restore the language and called for a pro forma voice vote from the delegates in support of this amendment. Instead, what looked and sounded like an angry majority of the delegates voted against recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital.” (Brog, 2013)*

Although this might seem to have created an opportunity for Republicans to win more Jewish votes, it didn’t seem to change much, since Democratic candidate

Barack Obama was able to obtain 69% of the Jewish vote in the 2012 Presidential election (Maisel and Forman, 2012)

Republicans have repeatedly failed when trying to attract Jewish voters, who traditionally support the Democratic Party:

*“Republicans made major efforts to win a larger share of the Jewish vote in 2004 by emphasizing their strong support for Israel. They partially succeeded, but did not make a dent in the overall loyalty of American Jews to the Democratic party, since they lost approximately as many votes because of Jews’ negative reactions to the party’s evangelical base. We argue that both Israel and worries over evangelical influence in the country reflect concerns about Jewish identity, above and beyond disagreements on specific social issues.” (Uslaner, 2009)*

This quote implies that the influence that the evangelical base has inside the Republican Party might be a factor that is stopping Jewish voters from leaning more towards the Republican Party.

The Jewish community seems to be opposed to the practice of affirmative action, seeing it as a violation of the equal protection clause that is guaranteed by the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment:

*“Not only is affirmative action bad for Jews when it comes to their interests as a population group; not only was such logic used for decades as an explicit means of keeping Jews in their place; it is also unjust and a violation of the 14th amendment’s equal-protection clause.” (Rozansky, 2012)*

After some of the issue that Jewish voters find appealing, it is interesting to know that they largely support Democratic candidates. There are certain theories to explain why Jewish-American voters tend to support liberal candidates:

*“Researchers have advanced several explanations for the liberalism of American Jews. Two of them- “universalized compassion” and “argumentative individualism”-posit the impact of values attributed to the Jewish tradition. Other theories focus on “historical circumstance,” “minority group interests,” and “religious modernism.” To examine these five theories, we analyze 20 National Opinion Research Center General*

*Social Surveys from 1972 to 1994 (N = 32,380) amalgamated so as to obtain a sufficient number of Jewish respondents (N = 784)."* (Cohen, 1997)

It is interesting to link the concepts of "universalized compassion" and "argumentative individualism" to the explanation behind the Jewish community's alignment with the Democratic Party. Usually when we think of groups that are conservative in their beliefs we tend to think they would be very fiscally conservative as well, but this is not the case with the Jewish community.

But then there are issues like intervention in the Middle East that are very controversial, and some claim that the Jewish community supports this intervention in order to protect Israel:

*"At last the leaders of the Democratic Party have moved decisively, hauling out their ripest comminations and hurling them at--no, not at George Bush. The man at whom they're leveling their fire is Representative James Moran of Virginia. Moran's in hot water over his head for having remarked in a March 3 town hall session with his constituents that, as quoted in the Virginia-area Connection newspapers, "if it were not for the strong support of the Jewish community for this war with Iraq, we would not be doing this."* (Cockburn, 2013)

The conflict between Israel and different Muslim countries in the Middle East appears as something very controversial in Congress, but it seems that in the past decade this issue has become more divisive, which challenges the view that both parties agree with it and makes us wonder which party aligns more with this issue and how much importance it has for Jewish voters when they are deciding how they will cast their vote:

*"This paper explores the contours of support for the state of Israel in the House of Representatives from 1997 to 2002. In an analysis of votes and cosponsorship decisions, we find that when Congress considers innocuous resolutions of support for Israel, support is consensual and nonpartisan. However, as the violence escalated between Israel and the Palestinians in the 106th and 107th Congresses (1999–2001), the House increasingly*

*considered bills and resolutions that directly engaged the Palestinian issue and forced legislators to take a side in the ongoing conflict.” (Oldmixon, 2005)*



## **Chapter 5:**

### **Hispanics: Relevant Characteristics**

A demographic group that has grown in importance in the political arena is the Hispanic population in the United States. While African-Americans have been traditionally seen as the most relevant minority throughout our country's history, Hispanics are now the largest minority in the United States, with 53 million Hispanics living in our country or 17% of the total population of the United States (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). It is especially remarkable as well that they are the youngest minority, which means that projections of their share of the American electorate deems this demographic as key if Republicans want to be successful in future elections.

There are different trends in growth of the Latino population. The Pew Hispanic Center states

*"While growth in the Latino population in the recent past has been driven by the flow of immigrants (the first generation), the children of those immigrants now account for the plurality of the Latino youth population"*  
(Pew Hispanic Center, 2009)

This is significant for the current immigration debate and the impact that securing the border could have in the overall growth of Hispanic population. If the number of newcomer immigrants is zero, then politicians need to focus their

efforts in appealing to the ones that have been here for a longer time and the new generations.

When studying projections of the numbers of Hispanics who are actually eligible to vote, the importance of this demographic as part of the electorate becomes clear. The Pew Hispanic Center projects that the Hispanic electorate is likely to double by the year 2030 (Taylor, Barrera, Passel and Lopez, 2012), breaking participation records this past presidential election:

*“The record number of Latinos who cast ballots for president this year are the leading edge of an ascendant ethnic voting bloc that is likely to double in size within a generation”* (Taylor, Barrera, Passel and Lopez, 2012).

Republicans can't ignore the importance of this voting block, since doing so could very well mean saying goodbye to winning another presidential election.

There is a disconnect between the performance of the Republican Party at the state level (where it is very successful) and its performance in national elections (where it has been losing ground in favor of the Democratic Party):

*“The GOP today is a tale of two parties. One of them, the gubernatorial wing, is growing and successful. The other, the federal wing, is increasingly marginalizing itself, and unless changes are made, it will be increasingly difficult for Republicans to win another presidential election in the near future”* (RNC, 2013)

This is key in supporting the overall claim that is presented throughout my thesis. Change is needed in the campaign strategies of the Republican Party, and failure to do so will lead to another liberal victory in the upcoming Presidential Election in 2016.

Regarding issues, we must look at the points that Mr. Obama and Mr. Romney focused on during the last presidential election when trying to win the Latino vote. Immigration seems to be a very important issue, as well as policies oriented to help small businesses:

*“Romney, in Los Angeles to address the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, says he'll work with both parties to address immigration and push economic policies to help small-business owners. He accused Obama of “playing politics” by pursuing a temporary measure to exempt from*

*deportation immigrants who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children”(Thomas, 2012)*

Mr. Obama addressed this same issue in a video address, where he accused Republicans of blocking legislation intended to provide a pathway to citizenship for your immigrants (Thomas, 2012).

But this is nothing new under the sun. During the 2000 presidential election campaign then Governor George W. Bush and Vice-president Al Gore fought for the Latino vote as well. Bush’s tone when talking about immigration and policies dealing with it was very different from that of other republican leaders:

*“Bush, the governor of Texas and son of former President George Bush, told the National Council of La Raza annual conference he wanted immigrants to the United States to be welcomed with open arms rather than by a hostile Immigrant and Naturalization Service bureaucracy, as is often the case today” (Elsner, 2000)*

With an outstanding record regarding Hispanic outreach, George W. Bush’s skills when appealing to Latinos should be a model for other Republican politicians:

*“When he won a landslide victory for a second term as governor of Texas in 1998, Bush took almost half the Hispanic vote, more than any previous Republican. In campaign speeches, he has even expressed understanding of the motives of illegal immigrants from Mexico, saying they were only trying to help their children build a better future” (Elsner, 2000)*

In comparison with other Republican politicians, George W. Bush leads the way in creating a strong coalition of Latino voters, Arizona State University professor Rodolfo Espinosa (Political Science Department) claims:

*“Bush set the standard for what Republicans who want to be president need to do. We’ve seen Republican candidates not follow the guidelines for the platform he was pushing for and he paid the price,’ Espino says citing John McCain’s lackluster performance with Latino voters.” (Elsner, 2000)*

This shows an interesting perspective of the performance of presidential candidate John McCain in comparison with that of George W. Bush among Latino voters, and might have been the reason why McCain was not able to win the White House while Bush did.

After the defeat that Governor Romney suffered in the 2012 Presidential Election, the Republican Party had to acknowledge that immigration reform is not just important but rather essential if conservatives hope to improve their numbers among Latino voters:

*“The Republican Party, after holding up a mirror to itself and completing a lengthy analysis of what went wrong in the last election cycle, issued an extensive report Monday that formally endorsed immigration reform and outlined an ambitious drive to reach out to minority groups and build a winning coalition” (Fox News, 2013)*

The word ‘coalition’ appears here again after Professor Espinosa’s claim regarding George W. Bush’s appeal to Hispanics, and conservatives need to realize the importance of forming this coalition of conservative Hispanic voters.

Although presidential candidates have talked about immigration when trying to win the Latino vote, this is not the only issue that Hispanic voters care about:

*“Romney has also tried to reach Hispanics by emphasizing issues other than immigration. A Gallup poll in June found that health care was the top concern cited by Hispanic voters. Unemployment came in second, with immigration third”(Shapiro, 2012)*

This is where conservative values regarding pro-business policies as well as a moderate approach to health care legislation will prove beneficial for Republicans who are trying to appeal to Hispanics.

The national origin or ancestry of Hispanics who live in the United States is relevant as well. Thirty-three million out of the 50.7 million of Hispanics in the United States identify themselves as being of Mexican origin (Motel & Patten, 2012). According to this research,

*“No other Hispanic subgroup rivals the size of the Mexican-origin population. Puerto Ricans, the nation’s second largest Hispanic origin group, make up just 9% of the total Hispanic population in the 50 states and the District of Columbia” (Motel & Patten, 2012)*

This ethnic group includes any person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

The origin of Hispanics living in the United States is important because the term 'Hispanic' itself seems to be very broad and sometimes confusing:

*"It has been nearly four decades since the United States government mandated the use by federal agencies of the terms "Hispanic" or "Latino" to categorize Americans who trace their roots to Spanish-speaking countries, but the labels still haven't been fully embraced by the group to which they have been affixed" (Taylor, Lopez, Martinez and Velasco; 2012)*

This is an interesting piece of information. It implies that Hispanic is not a race, but rather a common national origin, dealing more with feelings of nationalism and belonging rather than blood.

Differences are found between the political attitudes of immigrants and those of their children, a report shows (Demby, 2013). Writing about this report states "Immigrants from Asia and Latin America are more conservative than their U.S.-born children" (Demby, 2013). The importance of this is that conservatives must not waste time in trying to appeal to this demographic group, since the generational gap is not helping Republicans solve this problem.

Focusing on attracting Hispanics is important for conservatives, since a study from the Pew Hispanic Center shows that the net migration from Mexico to the United States has dropped to zero (Passel, Cohn and Gonzalez-Barrera; 2012):

*"Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less: The largest wave of immigration in history from a single country to the United States has come to a standstill. After four decades that brought 12 million current immigrants—most of whom came illegally—the net migration flow from Mexico to the United States has stopped and may have reversed, according to a new analysis of government data from both countries by the*

*Pew Hispanic Center, a project of the Pew Research Center” (Passel, Cohn and Gonzalez-Barrera; 2012)*

This means that conservatives should not focus on trying to attract Hispanic who are just now coming into this country, but should rather try to put their focus on changing the trend of Hispanic and the Democratic Party, increasing the share of Latino votes that Republican candidates obtain.

Urban areas in Southwestern states have traditionally been the destination of many Hispanic immigrants, but that trend is now changing. There is a movement of Hispanic towards more rural areas and states other than those bordering Mexico:

*“By 2000, half of all nonmetro Hispanics lived outside traditional settlement areas of the Southwest. Many Hispanics in counties that have experienced rapid Hispanic growth are recent U.S. arrivals with relatively low education levels, weak English proficiency, and undocumented status. This recent settlement has increased the visibility of Hispanics in many new regions of rural America whose population has long been dominated by non-Hispanic Whites” (broken link, try to access on a Windows computer)*

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/latinos/hispanic-settlement.pdf>

Understanding the difference between the number of Hispanics that live in the United States and the percentage of them who are eligible to vote is key to knowing the role that Hispanics play in deciding an election. An example of a state where there's a large number of Hispanics with a low percentage of eligible voters is Illinois:

*“Nearly four-in-ten (38%) Hispanics in Illinois are eligible to vote, ranking Illinois 27th nationwide in the share of the Hispanic population that is eligible to vote. By contrast, nearly eight-in-ten (78%) of the state's white population is eligible to vote. Illinois's population is 16% Hispanic, the 10th largest Hispanic population share nationally” (Motel and Patten, 2012).*

This is relevant because Illinois is an example of a state with a large Hispanic population, but with few Hispanics who are actually able to vote. Hispanics not only account for 16% of Illinois's population, but have also become the state's largest minority group:

*"Hispanics have become Illinois' largest minority group, 2010 Census data released Tuesday show, and the city of Chicago lost almost 7% of its residents over the past decade. Of Illinois' 12.8 million people, 14.3% are black, down from 14.9% in 2000. Hispanics make up 15.8% of Illinois' population. In 2000, Hispanic residents were 12.3% of the population" (Keen, 2011).*

Illinois is usually thought of as a deep blue state, but the growth in Hispanic population could potentially change this. If Republicans became more successful at attracting Hispanics, perhaps Abraham Lincoln's state could turn red in the near future.

A 'swing' state to look at with a high increase in Hispanic population is the state of Colorado:

*"20.9% of the population of Colorado is Hispanic, while the USA average is 16.7%. 6.2% of firms are owned by Hispanics, while 8.3% is the national average. Language other than English spoken at home is 16/7% for Colorado, while it is 20.3% in the USA" (Census Bureau, 2013).*

The number of Hispanics in this state is above the national average, but there is another remarkable factor regarding Colorado's Hispanic population:

*"Some 14% of Colorado eligible voters are Hispanic, the seventh largest Hispanic eligible voter share nationally. New Mexico ranks first with 39%. The Hispanic population in Colorado is the eighth largest in the nation. About 1 million Hispanics reside in Colorado, 2.1% of all Hispanics in the United States" (Motel and Patten, 2012)*

Appealing to this demographic in a more effective way could have helped Governor Romney win this state in 2012, and shows a lesson that Republicans need to learn.



## **Chapter 6**

### **Specifics about Minorities**

Understanding the specific ideas and values that each minority holds is necessary in order to understand how a conservative political party can reach out to them. The historical and demographical differences among the different minorities we are trying to reach out makes it necessary for us to study each minority group in particular.

The differences in their cultural background as well as the importance that certain issues have in their particular belief system make it particularly important for us to understand what values and issues they consider important when deciding how they cast their vote. While values (and not issues) are the specific focus of this thesis, a better understanding of the values these minorities hold will give us a better image of what their opinion is regarding certain issues that are heavily debated in today's political arena.

The minorities I am focusing on for this thesis, African Americans, Jewish Americans, and Hispanic voters have become key in elections as the number of people in the United States who are considered part of a minority demographic

keep growing consistently. All three of these minority groups are key demographics because of several factors: African-Americans have been part of the American population for centuries, although they did not get to participate in the political life for many years due to segregation. The Jewish community is a key demographic in certain swing states such as Florida, which was the state where a very small percentage of the vote ultimately decided the fate of the Presidential race in 2000. Hispanics are the largest growing minority in the United States, which should make them a focus of interest for the Republican Party in order to be more successful in national-level elections.

### **African-Americans**

Talking about values that minorities consider important, we will start by talking about values among African-Americans. They have historically been the most important minority in American public life, and historically they have experienced discrimination from the white majority. Because of that, they are more likely to believe in government intervention. When asking African-Americans about the value of limited government, 57% of them say they prefer larger government (Kirby, Conway and Spiker, 2013).

When talking about the value of equality of opportunities, it is interesting to point out that they seem to believe in this value when it comes to forming an opinion about immigration but do not believe that equality of opportunities in America (especially racial equality) is a reality (Celinda, 2013; Dimock, Kiley and Suls, 2013).

The value of prudence among African Americans is lacking in the literature, but could be inferred through their opinion on war. African-Americans opposed war by 56%, which provides indication that they may agree with the conservative principle of waging war in a prudent way (Ford, 2013).

### **Jewish-Americans**

Jewish-Americans don't seem to side with conservative values. They are tied on immigration reform (Kampeas, 2010) and don't support limited government, but rather believe that "government should do more to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor" (Robert and Cox 2012).

The one value that they have in common with conservatives is approaching diplomacy in a prudent way and trying to avoid war, focusing on diplomatic efforts (Robert and Cox, 2012).

### **Hispanics**

Hispanics, like African-Americans, side with conservatives on two of the four suites of values mentioned on the chart from chapter 7. They strongly support immigration support and try to reach a level of equality of opportunities with American citizens (Lopez, Taylor, Funk and Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013).

On the other hand, they disagree with the idea of limited government, with the majority of Hispanics in favor of government doing more (Newport, 2012). Hispanics don't believe that racial equality in American is a reality, which

might be another reason why they think the government needs to do more (Dimock, Kiley and Suls, 2013).

A conservative value they agree with, however, is approaching the idea of waging war in a prudent way, with 63% of Hispanics opposing war (Ford, 2013).

## Chapter 7

### Integrating Conservative Values and Minorities

In order for the Republican Party to develop positions on issues that will be appealing to minorities, it is necessary to understand which conservative values each minority group agrees with and which ones might pose a challenge for Republican politicians.

Immigration is clearly an issue for Hispanics (with large numbers of them supporting major immigration reform [Lopez, Taylor, Funk and Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013]), but how do other minorities feel about immigration reform? Lake Research Partners found in a recent study that 66% of African Americans “*support an immigration reform proposal that includes a roadmap to citizenship*” (Celinda, 2013).

The Jewish community feels differently about this issue. A poll conducted by the Center for Immigration Studies shows the number of Jews who support these immigration measures and the number of those who are against it virtually tied:

“Jews who support ‘enforcing the law and causing [illegal immigrants] to return home over time’ are statistically tied with Jews who favor

‘granting legal status and a pathway to citizenship to most illegal immigrants’ (Kampeas, 2010).”

This poll lists the number of Jews who support enforcement at a 43%, while those in favor of creating a pathway towards citizenship for illegal immigrants are at a 40%.

Support for major immigration reform has broad support in the Hispanic community, where 62% say our current immigration system needs major changes, with only 34% saying that the current system works well (Lopez, Taylor, Funk and Gonzalez-Barrera, 2013).

Regarding immigration, it is necessary to identify what are the opinions among white Americans regarding this issue. A study conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute and Brookings Institute found that white Catholics support creating a pathway to citizenship for immigrants currently living in the United States by 62%. Among white mainline Protestants the number is 61%, while white evangelical Protestants support this measure at a 56% (Jones, Cox, Navarro-Rivera, Dionne and Galston, 2013). This same poll also shows that 53% of Republican voters are in support of providing a path to citizenship for immigrants.

A value that is important for conservatives is the idea that government has to be limited and that small government is to be preferred to big government. Among African-Americans, 57% of black voters say they prefer larger government (Kirby, Conway and Spiker, 2013). Among Hispanic registered voters this trend is similar, with 56% of them believing that government should do more (Newport, 2012).

Overall, the majority of Americans believe that government is “trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses” (Newport, 2009). 57% of Americans believe government is doing too much, while 38% disagree with that statement and claim that government should do more (Newport, 2009).

Equality of opportunities over equality of income is one of the conservative principles that I listed in chapter 2 of this thesis. The question is, do Americans believe we enjoy equality of opportunities for all races in our country? According to the Pew Research Center, different demographic groups have different opinions regarding racial equality in the United States. Racial equality is closely related to equality of opportunities. For example, how can we claim to have equality of opportunities in America if we think there’s discrimination in the job market? In the absence of racial equality, equality of opportunities can’t be a reality.

Forty-four percent of all whites believe that there’s still a lot we have to do in order to achieve racial equality. Among African-Americans, that number goes up to 79% of those surveyed, with 48% of Hispanics agreeing with that position (Dimock, Kiley and Suls, 2013). On the other hand, 85% of Jewish voters believe that “Having opportunities for economic success in America is very important for informing their political beliefs” (Robert and Cox, 2012). In addition to that belief, Jewish Americans also have this belief about income inequality:

*“Nearly two-thirds (64%) of American Jews agree that the government should do more to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, while roughly one-third (35%) disagree” (Robert and Cox, 2012).*

This is closely related to the role of government and whether limited government is to be preferred to big government, where Jewish Americans show more support to a more involved government in order to address inequality in America (Robert and Cox, 2012).

Waging war in a prudent way (abstaining from it unless it is absolutely necessary to preserve our national security) is a conservative principle I listed on chapter 2 as well. Jewish Americans agree with this principle by a margin of more than 2 to 1:

*“By a margin of more than 2 to 1, American Jews say that good diplomacy rather than military strength is the best way to ensure peace (63% vs. 24% respectively)” (Robert and Cox, 2012).*

Jewish Americans are against war in larger percentages than other minority groups, with other groups showing strong opposition to war as well. The major takeaway from this point, however, is that all the minority groups we study in this thesis are against war, thus agreeing with this conservative principle:

*“A Washington Post/ABC poll conducted between August 28 and September 1 showed 40 percent of African Americans supported President Obama’s threats of airstrikes against Syria – two points more than whites and nine percent more than Hispanics. Majorities of all three groups opposed bombing Syria – 56 percent of Blacks, 58 percent of whites and 63 percent of Hispanics – but African Americans were, for the first time in polling history, the most bellicose major ethnicity in the United States” (Ford, 2013)*

The final part of this chapter is a summary of all the conservative values we have discussed in chapter 2 comparing them to the minorities’ values that we have studied in this chapter. In the chart below there are 4 values listed,



although I had previously listed eight conservative values in chapter 2. The reason behind this is how closely related the principles from chapter 2 are, sometimes appearing as nuances of the same concept. For this thesis I decided to use a suite of values, or to group several values from chapter 2 that were very closely related in order to help the reader know the values of these different minority groups. Let's use the suite of values titled "Avoiding War" as an example: we can infer from their opinion on "Avoiding War" if they agree with values V and VI from chapter 2. The same way, we can infer from the suite of values titled "Limited Government" what their opinion is regarding values II, III, VIII, IX, and I from chapter 2.

<b>Conservative Values</b>	<b>African Americans</b>	<b>Jewish Americans</b>	<b>Hispanic Americans</b>	<b>White Americans</b>	<b>All</b>
Immigration Reform	<b>S</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>
Limited Government	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>
Equality of Opportunities = a reality	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>
Avoiding War	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>S</b>

Table 7.1. Alignment between conservative and minority values. S = Overall Support / D = Overall Disagreement / T = Virtually Tied

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusions and Recommendations for the GOP**

#### **Summary**

This thesis has shown how the values of minority groups align (or how they don't) with conservative values. In chapter 7 I evaluated certain suites of values and their relation to the values that the different minority groups I have studied hold. Table 7.1 shows that there are more conservative values that these minority groups support than those that they disagree with (Support: 11/Disagreement: 8/Virtually tied: 1). Therefore, it is essential for the Republican Party to become aware of this fact and use it in order to become more competitive in national elections.

#### **Recommendations**

The overall purpose of this thesis has been determining how the Republican Party can make a better appeal to minorities so that conservative politicians can be more successful at winning elections at the national level. This chapter intends to analyze and summarize underlying values in the belief

systems of these minority groups, which will lead to changes that need to happen inside the Republican Party in order to attract voters inside each minority group.

***African Americans.** Looking at the chart from chapter 7 that looks at values and the different minorities, we can see that African Americans support immigration reform that creates a path towards citizenship, disagree with limiting the scope of government, believe that equality of opportunities is not a reality in America and are in support of avoiding war.*

Taking this into account, the Republican Party should not be afraid to defend immigration reform and criticize the diplomatic failures of the Obama administration when addressing African American voters. Linking failed diplomacy to war should be appealing to African American voters.

Republicans should also address why equality of opportunities is not a reality in America, proposing feasible alternatives to achieve it. Conservative politicians should not focus on talking about reducing the size of government when appealing to African American groups, since they are not in support of small government.

***Jewish Americans.** From the chart in chapter 7 we see that Jewish Americans are not particularly inclined to agreeing with conservative principles. The only principles that they are not too far away from siding with conservatives in are immigration reform and waging war. They are tied when it comes to*

*supporting immigration reform that provides a path to citizenship, are not supporters of reducing the size and power of government, don't believe that equality of opportunities is a reality but support strong and efficient diplomacy to avoid war.*

Because of their beliefs, Republicans should not address immigration reform when targeting Jewish voters. They should, instead criticize failed liberal policies that were established in hopes of achieving equality of opportunities and present new ways to achieve this goal (just like they should do when trying to win votes from African Americans).

Avoiding war is the belief where Republicans could see the biggest improvement. Failure of leadership from the Obama administration has given Iran the possibility to move forward in their nuclear program, which is causing greater instability in the Middle East. Proposing stronger diplomatic tactics that will preserve peace is an issue that conservative politicians should make a cornerstone of their speeches when appealing to Jewish voters.

***Hispanic Americans.*** *The chart in chapter 7 shows that the only conservative value that Hispanics strongly oppose is reducing the size of government. Besides disagreeing with that value and believing that equality of opportunities is not a reality in America, they could easily side with Republicans on key issues due to the values they hold.*

Republicans should defend comprehensive immigration reform, linking this reform to achieving more equality of opportunities for those immigrants who want to work and provide better living conditions for their families than

they had in their home countries. This should help Republicans provide a way to attract Hispanic voters who want to have the same opportunities that other Americans enjoy. It is necessary for Republicans to understand the legacy of immigration in this country, and understand that softening the tone when addressing immigration is necessary. America is a country of immigrants, with immigration into the 'land of opportunities' being more of an American tradition than baseball itself is.

Avoiding war is a value that Hispanics have in common with conservatives, and conservatives should talk about the importance that strong diplomacy has in preventing international conflicts.

These recommendations, if followed by conservative politicians, should help them be more effective at attracting votes from African American, Jewish American and Hispanic American voters. These findings could be the 'cornerstone' of a new strategy for Republican politicians to attract new voters who have traditionally sided with the Democratic Party and become a successful party in national elections again.

### **Concluding Comments**

After evaluating the extent to which the values that minority groups hold align with conservative values, it is clear that the Republican Party could potentially have in these minority groups a 'diamond in the rough.' Following the recommendations that I have formulated in this chapter, the Republican Party

will become more successful appealing to minority voters, which will increase its performance in national elections.

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