

COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM AND THE HOUSE: ROOM FOR OPTIMISM

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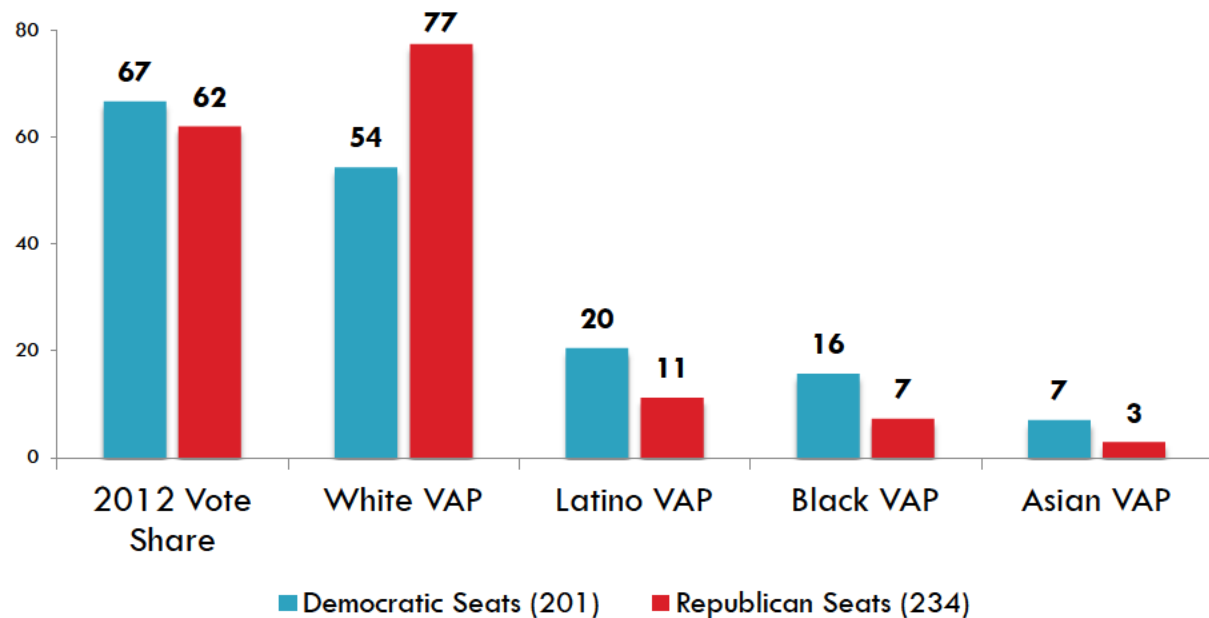
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Comprehensive Immigration Reform and the House: the conventional wisdom

- CIR legislation in line with Senate Bill 744 is a non-starter in the Republican controlled House:
 - ▣ DACA vote.
 - ▣ The “Hastert Rule.”
 - ▣ Most members represent districts that are demographically and politically homogenous.

Characteristics of Democratic and Republican House Districts, 113th Congress

Democratic and Republican House members, on average, represent safe districts that are demographically very different.



Comprehensive Immigration Reform and 2014: fear of the primary

- House incumbents of both parties are more concerned about a primary challenge than a strong general election opponent.
- For Republicans, the politically expedient position may seem to be to oppose any legislation that can be depicted as being either weak on security or providing “amnesty” to undocumented immigrants.

Comprehensive Immigration Reform and 2014: taking a closer look

- A net change of 17 seats in 2014 shifts majority control to the Democrats.
- Recent polling suggests that most Republicans support many of the same immigration reforms as Latinos.
- Latino population growth is occurring everywhere.
- “Average” district characteristics obscure individual contexts where the Latino vote can be influential.

District Level Analysis, 2014

- Included are districts where the 2010 Latino voting age population exceeds or approaches the 2012 margin of victory or the opposition party's presidential candidate won the district.
 - Republican = 44; Democratic = 61
- Districts were then placed into one of three tiers depending upon the incumbent's vulnerability and potential affect that Latino voters can exert in 2014.

Tier 1 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Republicans (14 districts)

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama - Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
1	Walorski	IN	2	1.4	-14	85.2	6.3	Yes
1	Coffman	CO	6	2	5.1	67.3	16.7	Yes
1	Webster	FL	10	3.4	-7.7	69.9	14.2	Yes
1	Reed	NY	23	3.8	-1.2	91.1	2.6	Yes
1	Denham	CA	10	5.4	3.6	51.8	34.9	No
1	Southerland	FL	2	5.4	-5.8	68.5	4.8	Yes
1	Grimm	NY	11	5.4	4.3	66.9	13.9	No
1	Gibson	NY	19	5.8	6.2	87.9	5.4	Yes
1	Pittenger	NC	9	6.1	-13.4	76.6	6.6	-
1	Buchanan	FL	16	7.2	-9.3	83.5	8.8	Yes
1	Heck	NV	3	7.5	0.8	64.4	13.5	Yes
1	Weber	TX	14	8.9	-19.8	56.9	19.2	Yes
1	Miller	CA	31	10	16.6	34.4	44.4	Yes
1	Tipton	CO	3	12	-6	75.6	20.6	Yes

Tier 2 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Republicans (10 districts)

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama - Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
2	Davis	IL	13	0.3	-0.3	83.4	2.6	Yes
2	Benishek	MI	1	0.5	-8.3	93.2	1.1	Yes
2	Bachmann	MN	6	1.2	-15	93	1.8	Yes
2	Collins	NY	27	1.6	-12.4	93.5	1.8	Yes
2	Renacci	OH	16	4	-8.2	94	1.5	Yes
2	Johnson	OH	6	6.6	-12.5	95.7	0.7	Yes
2	Rigell	VA	2	7.6	1.5	66.5	5.7	Yes
2	Runyan	NJ	3	8.8	4.6	80	5.6	Yes
2	McKeon	CA	25	9.6	-1.9	50.3	31.5	Yes
2	King	NY	2	17	4.4	68.8	18.6	Yes

Tier 3 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Republicans (20 districts)

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama - Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
3	Farenthold	TX	27	18	-22.3	47.2	45.1	Yes
3	Culberson	TX	7	24	-21.3	50.9	27	Yes
3	DeSantis	FL	6	14	-16.3	82.8	5.7	Yes
3	Sessions	TX	32	19	-15.5	58	21.9	-
3	Calvert	CA	42	21	-15.1	50.8	32.1	Yes
3	Nunes	CA	22	24	-15	48.1	39.3	No
3	Cook	CA	8	15	-13.9	56	30.3	Yes
3	Amash	MI	3	8.4	-7.3	83.5	5.4	Yes
3	Pearce	NM	2	18	-6.8	45.3	46.9	Yes
3	Issa	CA	49	16	-6.7	65.6	22.2	Yes
3	Royce	CA	39	16	-3.7	37.1	28.9	Yes
3	Diaz-Balart	FL	25	60	-2.1	21.2	70.7	-
3	Kline	MN	2	8.2	0.1	87.1	4.3	Yes
3	Paulsen	MN	3	16	0.8	84.3	3	Yes
3	Young	FL	13	15	1.5	83.5	7.2	Yes
3	Reichert	WA	8	19	1.6	79.5	7.7	Yes
3	Latham	IA	3	12	4.2	88.6	4.7	Yes
3	Ros-Lehtinen	FL	27	23	6.7	17.5	75	No
3	LoBiondo	NJ	2	17	8.1	71	12.2	Yes
3	Valadao	CA	21	16	11.1	23.3	65.8	No

Comprehensive Immigration Reform and 2014: Republican calculus

- If House Republicans push hardline policies or obstruct reform, then the GOP's most vulnerable incumbents may be pushed into untenable positions.
- However, if House Republicans support passage of CIR (including a pathway to citizenship), then the GOP can move beyond a politically difficult issue *and* provide coverage for its most vulnerable incumbents.

Tier 1 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Democrats (19 districts)

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama – Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
1	McIntyre	NC	7	0.2	-19.3	72.5	7.3	Yes
1	Matheson	UT	4	0.3	-37	79	14	No
1	Murphy	FL	18	0.6	-4.1	74.7	12.1	No
1	Barber	AZ	2	0.8	-1.5	69.2	21.7	No
1	Schneider	IL	10	1.2	16.4	65	18.1	No
1	Tierney	MA	6	1.2	10.8	87.1	6	No
1	Owens	NY	21	1.9	6.1	92.1	2.4	No
1	Peters	CA	52	2.4	6.4	64.6	11.5	No
1	Esty	CT	5	2.6	8.2	76.6	13.1	No
1	Bera	CA	7	3.4	4	61.2	13.7	No
1	Kirkpatrick	AZ	1	3.7	-2.5	56.2	18.1	No
1	Maloney	NY	18	3.8	4.3	74.3	13.1	No
1	Sinema	AZ	9	4.1	4.5	64.4	22.4	No
1	Swalwell	CA	15	4.2	38.2	40.9	21	No
1	Gallego	TX	23	4.7	-2.6	28.9	65.8	No
1	Bishop	NY	1	4.8	0.5	80	11.2	No
1	Brownley	CA	26	5.4	10.3	50.8	38.5	No
1	Ruiz	CA	36	5.8	3.2	51.9	39.4	No
1	Waxman	CA	33	8	23.8	70.3	10.3	No

Tier 2 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Democrats (9 districts)

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama - Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
2	DelBene	WA	1	7.8	10.8	80.4	6.7	No
2	Horsford	NV	4	8	10.7	54.8	22.9	No
2	Garamendi	CA	3	8.4	11.2	55.1	23.6	No
2	Frankel	FL	22	9.2	9.5	69.4	17.7	No
2	Duckworth	IL	8	9.4	16.5	60.5	22.1	No
2	Capps	CA	24	10	11	62	29	No
2	McNerney	CA	9	11	17.7	42	32.7	No
2	Garcia	FL	26	11	6.7	20.2	68.9	No
2	Negrete- McLeod	CA	35	12	36.8	19.3	64.7	No

Tier 3 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Democrats (33 seats)

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama – Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
3	Bustos	IL	17	6.6	17	81.7	6.4	No
3	Barrow	GA	12	7.4	-11.8	59.9	4.5	Yes
3	Rahall	WV	3	8	-32.2	94.1	0.7	Yes
3	Schrader	OR	5	12	3.4	81.7	11.7	No
3	Cicilline	RI	1	12	34	75.6	11.9	No
3	Lowenthal	CA	47	13	22.5	38.5	29.6	No
3	Perlmutter	CO	7	13	14.8	71	22.6	No
3	Costa	CA	16	15	19.2	30.2	52.8	No
3	Foster	IL	11	17	17.2	59.7	21.8	No
3	Roybal-Allard	CA	40	18	65	6.6	84.3	No
3	Takano	CA	41	18	25.2	30.9	50.2	No
3	Lujan Grisham	NM	1	18	15.7	46.9	43.5	No
3	Hahn	CA	44	20	71.1	9	64.5	No
3	Grijalva	AZ	3	21	24.5	34.6	55.2	No
3	Sherman	CA	30	21	33.2	56.7	24	No
3	Davis	CA	53	23	25	48	27.7	No
3	Hinojosa	TX	15	24	15.9	19.4	77.2	No

Tier 3 Latino Influence House Seats Held by Dems (33 districts), continued

Tier	Member	State	District	2012 Margin	Obama – Romney	White VAP	Latino VAP	Defund DACA Vote
3	Grayson	FL	9	25	24.7	42.9	41.4	No
3	Peterson	MN	7	26	-9.8	92.9	2.7	No
3	Lujan	NM	3	26	18.8	43.7	36.4	No
3	Vela	TX	34	26	22.5	18.6	79	No
3	Sanchez	CA	46	28	25.2	22.5	60.9	No
3	Wasserman Schultz	FL	23	28	23.6	49.2	36.7	No
3	Castro	TX	20	30	19.2	26.3	64.9	No
3	Napolitano	CA	32	31	32.7	21.1	57.8	No
3	Titus	NV	1	32	33.2	42.2	36.6	No
3	Doggett	TX	35	32	28.4	29.4	58.3	No
3	O'Rourke	TX	16	33	29.7	17	77.6	No
3	Sanchez	CA	38	35	31.9	21.9	57	No
3	Cuellar	TX	28	38	21.6	21.1	72.7	No
3	Vargas	CA	51	43	40.5	17.6	63.9	No
3	Veasey	TX	33	47	44.9	18.4	61.3	No
3	Cardenas	CA	29	48	56.5	21.8	64.1	No

Comprehensive Immigration Reform and 2014: Democratic calculus

- Democrats also have strong incentive to act.
 - Democrats represent a large number of seats with significant Latino voting age populations.
 - Support for CIR may limit midterm losses in potential Republican growth districts.
 - Continued turnout for many Latinos is dependent upon Democratic action on CIR.

Concluding thoughts

- Both Democrats and Republicans are vulnerable to Latino influence in 2014.
- Depending upon how CIR unfolds, Latino voters could determine enough outcomes in 2014 to affect which party controls the House of Representatives in 2015.



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Thank You!