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The Fight for the “Latino Vote”

An analysis of Joe Biden’s and Donald Trump’s
communication strategies in the US 2020 election campaign.

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Resumen:

Este TFG tiene como objetivo analizar las estrategias desarrolladas por ambos candidatos a la presidencia de Estados Unidos para captar el voto latino. Debido a los cambios demográficos en este país durante las últimas décadas, la población latina se ha convertido en uno de los grupos étnicos más relevantes, constituyendo casi el 20% de la población americana total. El aumento de votantes hispanos ha llevado a que tanto el partido demócrata como el republicano compitan para atraer a este grupo dada su nueva importancia política. Aunque tradicionalmente esta población ha tendido a favorecer al partido demócrata en las urnas, el partido republicano también realiza grandes esfuerzos para tratar de convencer y movilizar a este electorado. La incertidumbre y la polarización social y política que dominan la actual escena política americana a raíz de la gestión de la pandemia y otros conflictos ocurridos en el último año como las protestas raciales justifican el poder electoral de esta población en las pasadas elecciones.

Con el objetivo de identificar las estrategias que siguió cada candidato para atraer a esta población en las elecciones de 2020, este trabajo analiza los spots en lengua española publicados por cada candidato en su perfil de redes sociales. Gracias a este estudio, se identifican y comparan las principales líneas de actuación de cada candidato, sus públicos objetivos y sus estrategias de comunicación diseñadas para seducir a la población hispana en EE. UU. Además, dada la excepcionalidad del año 2020, dominado por la crisis sanitaria y los conflictos raciales, es de gran interés analizar cómo cada partido ha abordado e instrumentalizado estos temas en su campaña hacia este grupo.

Palabras Clave: comunicación, política, EEUU, elecciones, campaña, spots, latinos

Abstract:

This document analyses both presidential candidates' strategies to attract the Latino population in the US 2020 elections. Thanks to the changing demographics of the country, the Latino population has become over the past decade one of the most relevant ethnic groups in the US, accounting for almost 20% of the US population. The significant increase in the number of Hispanic eligible voters has led candidates of both political parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, to increase their efforts on attracting these potential voters. Although at first sight it might seem that the Hispanic population leans towards the Democratic Party, occasionally, the republican candidate has managed to turn this around. In the current political landscape, governed by uncertainty and political polarization due to the management of the pandemic and other conflicts that have occurred during the last year, courting the Latino electorate is of particular importance.

For these reasons, this paper will study each candidate's strategy to attract the Hispanic vote through analysis and comparison of the Spanish-language spots launched by the candidates and gathered in their social media profiles. As a result of the analysis, the main communication strategies, targets among the Hispanics and characteristics of their campaign to achieve the Latino vote will be identified. Moreover, given the exceptional situation of 2020, dominated by the pandemic and racial conflicts, it is of great interest to analyse how each candidate has addressed and utilise these issues in his campaign towards this group.

Key words: communication, politics, campaign, US, elections, spots, Latino

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Every four years, Republicans and Democrats alike seem to rediscover us [Latinos], then forget about us until the next election”. Jorge Ramos (2020), a Mexican American journalist and news anchor in Univision considered one of the most influential people among Latinos in the US, describes this phenomenon of US presidential campaigns as the Christopher Columbus syndrome. Since the mid-twentieth century, candidates to the White House have sought to court the Latino¹ community with specific strategies due to the increasing number of Hispanic citizens in the country and particularly in battleground and swing states. The past 2020 elections were not an exception. The 2020 US elections resulted in the victory of the Democrat Joe Biden and the defeat of the Republican president Donald Trump. These elections were surrounded by controversy and uncertainty in which the Coronavirus pandemic and racial issues played a major role. During the months prior to the elections, both candidates to the White House carried out exhaustive political campaigns to gather political support in order to win the elections. Regardless of how each candidate chose to deliver their message and amass public support, both tried to appeal to those groups that had a determining role in the outcome of the election. In this concern, the Latino or Hispanic population in the United States is of particular importance.

The Latino population has become over the last decade one of the most relevant groups in the US due to the changing demographics of the country. Over the past few years, there has been a significant increase in the number of Hispanic eligible voters, and this has led candidates of both, local and presidential elections to focus part of their efforts on attracting these potential voters. According to the US Census Bureau, this group has grown from 31.5 million people in the year 2000 to over 60 million in 2019, which constitutes an 18% of the US total population (US Census Bureau, 2019). This has transformed the political landscape of the US. In the past 2020 elections, Hispanics comprised 13% of the overall electorate and this demographic shift was particularly notable in battleground states such as Arizona, Florida and Pennsylvania and in other big states like California and Texas (Igielnik & Budiman, 2020).

In the 2020 elections, the Latino vote was of great relevance for the final outcome. On the one hand, Trump managed to captivate the Hispanic population in Florida, a

¹ Latino and Hispanic are used as synonyms in this document.

traditional “swing state” with a large Latino electorate and won the 29 votes of the state. On the other hand, Biden’s victory in new battleground states with new demographic trends such as Arizona and Pennsylvania could also be attributed to the Hispanic growing population. Therefore, it can be affirmed that this ethnic group played a major role in the past elections, which makes the subject of this paper a relevant contribution to the current political communication research.

1.1) Purpose and motivation

How have Trump and Biden targeted the Latino population during their political campaign? Have they followed a similar approach? What have been the main topics and debates proposed by each candidate to appeal to this ethnic group? These are some of the questions this research paper seeks to answer. The purpose of this final dissertation is to identify and analyse Trump’s and Biden’s strategies to court Latino support in the past 2020 election campaign. As a result of the analysis, similarities and differences between the tactics of both candidates will be assessed. Although the purpose is not to evaluate the efficacy of the strategies, the outcome of the analysis may shed some light on the reasons behind the 2020 election result.

This dissertation analyses a contemporary debate in the field of political communication. As the issue of the analysis is a recent event, there is still no relevant literature nor many studies and research on the subject at this time, which makes this document relevant and pioneer in the development of the topic. Moreover, US politics and racial issues in the United States are currently at the centre of the media debate and attract a great deal of international attention, which adds interest to the following analysis.

The author’s motivation for choosing the US 2020 election campaign and the strategies targeting the Latino population as the object of the study stem from different causes. First, the interest of the author in political communication developed through her studies of Global Communication during her years of university. Framing strategies, targeted communication and discourse analysis have been relevant subjects during her education and are essential parts of the design of any political communication strategy. Second, the reason behind the selection of the United States presidential campaign for the research can be attributed to the author’s passion for international affairs and international politics. As a student of International Relations, the author has a keen interest in US politics as, given the international relevance of this country, what happens in this region

is likely to affect the international order. Furthermore, although the author is not Latino, she does share some features as a Spaniard with this ethnic group, like language and part of the heritage. For this reason, the study of how this group is targeted, the strategic use of the Spanish language and the exploitation of certain Hispanic interests in US political campaigns are of great interest for the researcher.

In order to answer the aforementioned questions and identify, analyse and assess the differences and similarities between Biden's and Trump's communication strategies, the paper will be structured as followed. First, the state of arts will discuss the previous literature on the strategies used by former presidents to attract the vote of the Hispanic population, the common features, and the patterns of the Latino vote and campaigns. This will be followed by the theoretical framework that will identify the interests of the Hispanic population and tools used in a political campaign as well as the main debates surrounding the 2020 elections that may have affected their preferences and therefore shaped the strategies of the candidates. Then, after having defined the research question and methodology, the author will move to the analysis of Spanish-language spots of both candidates, identify the main priorities, the frames used by the candidates and other symbols and tactics of interest. Finally, the results will be discussed and later summarised in a brief conclusion to this final dissertation.

2. STATE OF ARTS

The Latino population in the US is the largest non-white ethnic group in the country (US Census Bureau, 2019). Although minorities tend to vote for the Democrat party, candidates from both parties have increased their efforts to court the Hispanic population, especially given the demographic shift and trends, to the point that it has become a necessary part of any presidential campaign, whether Republican or Democrat. In other words, political campaigns, especially at the presidential level, have sought to pursue the Latino vote through direct efforts. This chapter analyses the literature on the Latino vote in political campaigns in the US, how the community has been targeted, and what have been the main strategies, tools, debates and interests used by the candidates. The first to acknowledge the importance of the Hispanic population in the elections was Kennedy, and after his campaign, many other candidates to the White House followed his steps.

2.1) The origins: John F. Kennedy

Kennedy was the first to address the Latino population during a political campaign at the national level (Abrajano, 2010; Francis-Fallon, 2019; García, 2000; Wallace, 2012). The main success of Kennedy's outreach efforts was the Viva Kennedy Clubs. These were grassroots associations aimed at organising Mexican Americans to support Kennedy and familiarise Latinos with the electoral process (Abrajano, 2010). Kennedy appointed Carlos McCormick, who was specialised in Spanish-language public relations, as part of his staff during the presidential campaign (García, 2000). He created the Viva Kennedy Clubs that spread through the country and gave millions of Spanish-speaking Americans a direct line of participation in the presidential elections. The main selling points of these associations were Kennedy's sympathy for Latin America and the poor, and his liberal ideas (García, 2000). Another important aspect highlighted by the campaign in the media was Kennedy's Roman Catholic religion, as the majority of the Hispanic population in the US are also of the Catholic faith (Pew Research Center, 2007). In this sense, religion during the campaign was linked to values such as family and tradition (Abrajano, 2010).

Another landmark in political communication in regard to Latino politics in the US was also part of Kennedy's presidential campaign. In 1960, as part of his campaign, the first televised Spanish-language ad was launched. This advertisement featured Kennedy's wife Jacqueline Kennedy emphasising the personal qualities and traits of the candidate and his commitment to underrepresented groups like Latinos (Abrajano, 2010). Regarding the policies, only communism is mentioned in the ad. During the primaries and the early stages of the campaign, communism was an important issue exploited to capture Hispanic support (García, 2000). Apart from the first Spanish-language ad, Kennedy was also the first to refer to the Hispanic population in the first televised presidential debate (García, 2000). This transformed Latinos into a relevant national issue.

Kennedy also sought endorsement from Latino elected officials such as the Senator of Texas González or the LA's City Councilman Roybal in order to improve its support among Latino voters (Abrajano, 2010). Furthermore, the support of the media played an important role in his campaign. Spanish-language newspapers such as El Diario, La Prensa or La Opinión were convinced by McCormick to endorse the candidate

and support the registration effort, even by paying buses that would take people to the registration location were campaign monitors were stationed (Francis-Fallon, 2019).

Kennedy's victory in the close election of 1960 has been attributed by some scholars to the support of the Latino population (Francis-Fallon, 2019; García, 2000; Wallace, 2012). He won 85% of votes among the Mexican American population, making it the higher support share achieved by any ethnic-racial segment, including Irish descendants that shared the same origin as the presidential candidate (Francis-Fallon, 2019; Wallace, 2012). Since this election, Latinos secured their position as a relevant part of the Democratic base and have been recognised as a constituency that presidential candidates need to court.

2.2) Republican efforts: Nixon's and Reagan's campaigns

Nixon is considered to be the first Republican presidential candidate to make a serious effort to court the Latino vote in 1971. For the 1960 campaign, he had rejected strategies proposed by his campaign staff similar to the Viva Kennedy clubs due to their "ethnic appeal" (García, 2000). Nixon was the first to appoint a Hispanic Treasurer of the US and several Latinos to his administration; as a result, he achieved 30% of Hispanic vote (Cavada, 2020). Ever since then, Republicans have won at least between one-quarter to a third of the Latino vote (Cavada, 2020)

Regarding Reagan's approach, there is a quote often attributed to him: "Latinos are Republican; they just don't know it yet" (Ramos, 2020). For the 1980 elections, Reagan developed a specific campaign for the Hispanic electorate, especially Cuban Latinos but did not devote many efforts to winning the votes nationwide (Abrajano, 2010). As a result, he did not win the general Latino support (29%) and it was not pivotal but achieved an 80% of the Hispanic vote in Florida, where the majority of Cuban Latinos have always favoured the Republican party (Rúas, Araújo, 2012). For the 1984 elections, Reagan increased his efforts to appeal to the Hispanic community during his years in the administration and crafted the "Hispanic Victory Initiative '84 with the help of the Republican National Committee (Abrajano, 2010). He appointed Lionel Sosa, who will later work for the Bush campaign and create the "American Dream", as his political consultant who highlighted the importance of convincing Latinos in Spanish (Abrajano, 2010). Therefore, two Spanish-language ads were launched addressing the notion that even if the Hispanics had traditionally voted for Democrats, they should reconsider

Reagan because of his leadership skills and not mentioning any specific policy (Abrajano, 2010). Moreover, he emphasised anticommunism in his discourse in order to attract the Cuban Americans that had voted for him in the previous elections (Abrajano, 2010; Cavada, 2020). According to Cavada (2020), Reagan identified core values that brought together Latinos with conservatism such as family values, hard work ethic, patriotism, anti-communism and military sacrifices. As a result, he had relative success in 1984 among Latinos, winning about 37% of the vote (Leal, Barreto, Lee, & de la Garza, 2005).

2.3) Bill Clinton's 1996 political campaign:

The political campaign of Clinton for the 1996 elections is considered a turning point for communication strategies and messages targeting the Latino community in the history of democrats. As aforementioned, during the 80s and 90s, the republicans could be considered to have overtaken the Democrats in the design of specific strategies and tactics to court the Hispanic population even though Republicans did not win its vote (Rúas Araújo, 2012). Before the 1996 elections, democrats centred their efforts on grassroots mobilisation and the promotion of multiple causes through unfocussed messages while Republican's strategies were more structured and targeted different publics among the Latinos (Rúas Araújo, 2012).

In contrast to previous democrat campaigns, a more specific strategy was designed with the launch of the "Latino Communication Strategies: 1994-1996" and the creation of the Office of Latino Outreach where the decisions over the selection of media, segmentation of Latino population, material for the campaign and other communication decisions concerning the community were taken (Rúas Araújo, 2012). Unlike his previous campaign where only one Spanish-language ad was aired, in 1996, Clinton devoted 1 million dollars to Spanish-language advertising in battleground states invoking the topics of national unity and job creation (Abrajano, 2010). The success of these more specific strategies and tactics is reflected in the victory in states like New Mexico and Florida and in the shares of Latino support of his opponent that were the lowest for a Republican candidate in 25 years (Rúas Araújo, 2012).

2.4) George W. Bush: historic Latino support for a Republican candidate

In 2004, George W. Bush won 44% of the Latino electorate according to the National Election Pool, which surpasses Reagan previous record of Hispanic support for a Republican candidate (Abrajano, Alvarez, & Nagler, 2008; Suro, Fry, & Passel, 2005).

However, some scholars have contested the poll and considered that it may have overestimated the Latino support to the Bush (Leal et al., 2005; de la Garza & Cortina, 2007). According to Abrajano et al. (2008), two theories explain the success of Bush among the Latino electorate in 2004. First, “moral values” were a major factor of his campaign, including gay marriage or abortion and helped mobilise Hispanics as they are typically socially conservative. Second, national security issues, especially after 9/11 could explain the shift in Latino support toward the Republican candidate. Another important topic at the top of the principal issues used during the campaign was the economy and jobs, also concerns of the Latino population (Suro et al., 2005). Abrajano et al. (2008) also demonstrate through an analysis of how security and moral values eclipsed “bread and butter” issues that traditionally favour Democrats such as education, and healthcare. As a result of the use of moral values and especially by rekindling the debate over gay marriage and abortion Bush managed to attract religious conservatives, in particular Latino evangelical who played a major role in his high Latino vote share (Abrajano et al., 2008; Leal et al., 2005; Suro et al., 2005).

Furthermore, televised ads gained importance as compared to the previous elections. Bush spent over 75 million on tv ads, combining both candidates spending 4 million were allocated to Spanish-language tv commercials, the largest amount ever spent by presidential candidates to Spanish-language advertising (Abrajano, 2010). Abrajano (2010) analysed the tv ads during this political campaign and came to the conclusion that Spanish-language ads contained simpler policy messages, visual images of Latinos and emphasised the candidate qualities more often than English-language ads. One of the most successful commercials featured the candidate’s Latino nephew, which shows the importance of family, tradition and moral values in his campaign (Abrajano, 2010). Moreover, the spots were framed in a positive tone with empowering messages and excluded migration issues and specific policy mentions (Abajano, 2010; Rúas Araújo, 2012).

2.5) Obama’s presidential campaigns

Obama achieved historic success and support shares among the Latino community in both presidential elections. This was thanks to the efforts devoted during his campaign to Spanish-language advertising, his rhetoric of hope and change, his defence of immigration favourable to the majority of Latino voters and the strategies of grassroots

mobilisation (Abrajano, 2010; Collingwood, Barreto, & Garcia-Rios, 2014; Rúas Araújo, 2012; Wallace, 2012).

2.5.1) Political campaign for 2008 elections.

In the 2008 elections, Obama managed to mobilise the Latino electorate and achieved a substantial increase in turnout and registering record numbers for Hispanic voters (Barreto, Collingwood and Manzano, 2010; Rúas Araújo, 2012; Wallace, 2012). This success among the Hispanic population was to a large extent thanks to his electoral campaign, in which 20 million dollars were spent on Latino outreach efforts, which accounts for more than twice the combined amount of Kerry's and Bush's campaigns in 2004 (Abrajano, 2010; Rúas Araújo, 2012). With the use of a rhetoric of hope and change and slogans like "Change We Can Believe In" and "Yes We Can" in addition to posters of himself with mentions to "change", "progress" or "hope", Obama obtained a 72% of the Latino votes (Wallace, 2012).

As in the previous campaigns, the primary channel of communication was TV political ads, especially in battleground states (Abrajano & Alvarez, 2011; Abrajano, 2010). However, there is a new aspect of these Spanish-language advertising, as both candidates' ads were crafted in a negative fashion, whereas before, the ads were framed in a positive way (Abrajano, 2010). Obama's TV ads attacked McCain economic views in the light of the crisis and responded to McCain's attacks on immigration (Abrajano & Alvarez, 2010). Other contents of Obama's ads were cultural issues and the American dream (Rúas Araújo, 2012). Common topics of both candidates in non-televised Spanish-language ads were education, health care, and job creation (Abrajano, 2010). Although both candidates launched Spanish-language ads, it is interesting to note that in the direct interventions of the candidates only Obama's ads were bilingual while McCain interventions were subtitled in Spanish (Rúas Araújo, 2012). Another historical ad launched by Obama's campaign was a 30-minute infomercial that was broadcasted on several important networks such as CBS, NBS and FOX but also on Univision (Abrajano, 2010). The fact that it was aired on a Spanish-language network was a statement of the campaign's commitment to the Latino community. Furthermore, the internet was also essential for the mobilisation of the population, including the Hispanic electorate. Costa (2009) suggests that Obama transformed the world of political communication, achieving

high turnout rates and creating online communities through campaign websites like Latinos for Obama.

Another relevant part of the campaign was the attendance to events organised by the Latino community like the National Association for Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), United Latin American Citizens or at the National Council of La Raza (Abrajano, 2010) Obama focused its message on his immigrant and humble background, the creation of jobs and ensuring school and health insurance to the Latino Community (Abrajano, 2010). In addition to the advertising, the 20 million dollars of Obama's Latinos campaign were also spent on grassroots mobilisation. During his campaign, he emulated Kennedy's outreach efforts and created his own Viva Obama! Clubs (Abrajano, 2010; Wallace, 2012).

2.5.2) Political campaign for 2012 elections.

According to Wallace (2012), a critical point of the previous Obama's campaign was what he called "*La Promesa de Obama*" which concerned Obama's promises for immigration reform. However, during his administration, there was a record number of deportations and higher rates of unemployment. Nonetheless, Obama managed to court Latinos to vote for him in the 2012 elections. In fact, his support share decreased in most demographic groups, but Latinos bucked this trend and were decisive for his victory (Collingwood, Barreto, & Garcia-Rios, 2014). Among Latino voters, he obtained 75% of the votes, the highest support rate for any Democratic candidate and an increase in the share from the 2008 election results (Collingwood et al., 2014)

Barreto and García-Ríos (2012) identify three main moves related to immigration during his campaign that helped him amass the support of the Latino community: pushing the DREAM Act, signing the deportation relief memorandum and condemning Arizona SB 1070 in court, a law that used racial profiles in its execution (Barreto & García-Rios, 2012). These events were well-publicised by Latino and mainstream media, portraying Obama as caring for the community (Barreto & García-Rios, 2012). Apart from the immigration-related propaganda, many other efforts were carried out to win the community. The Spanish language acquired relevance, not only with the Spanish-language ads but also the website was translated, the yard signs were offered in Spanish and online groups of Latinos for Obama were promoted (Collingwood et al. 2014).

2.6) Trump and the Latino support in the past elections

“When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best... They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us”. This statement against immigration started Trump his presidential campaign for the 2016 elections (Galbraith & Callister, 2020). In 2016, Trump received a third of the Latino vote share, which was an unexpected result for the republican candidate after a campaign based on a combative discourse against Latinos and minorities (Galbraith & Callister, 2020; Sanchez & Gomez-Aguinaga, 2017; Slaughter, 2016). His campaign was especially critical with immigration, criticising other GOP candidates with family connections to Latinos and prominent Hispanic political figures; and targeting immigrants with his policy proposals like building a wall (Sanchez & Gomez-Aguinaga, 2017).

Nevertheless, the outcome of the elections showed that the strong anti-immigration discourse and position of Trump was not enough to motivate the democratic Hispanics to vote against the Republican candidate and he received more support than Romney in the 2012 elections (Galbraith & Callister, 2020). In fact, his discourse managed to demobilise the Latino community and the voter turnout rate among the Hispanics fell from 49.9% in 2012 to 47% in 2020 (US Census Bureau, 2017).

Galbraith and Callister (2020) attributed Trump’s “success” among Hispanic to two main factors. First, the Hispanic voters of the 2016 were different from the Hispanic population as a whole. Second, the preferences of the Latino population was influenced by other issues rather than deportation, immigration and minorities. After their analysis, Galbraith and Callister (2020) demonstrated that the Hispanic group that voted in 2016 elections had higher proportions of US-born participants, more male citizens, and were mainly English-speakers. This group had more conservatives political views than those who voted in the previous election.

Furthermore, the main preferences at the time of the election among Latinos were economy, health care and education rather than immigration, which shows that the Hispanic political agenda has evolved from the main interests in the 80s and 90s (Tacher Contreras, 2020; Galbraith & Callister, 2020). Among the groups in which Trump had more support than the previous republican candidate, Trump performed better among Christian Protestants and lower- and middle-income Latinos. (Corral & Leal, 2020) The latter can be explained by the working class connection with the populist messages that

promised to revitalise jobs and industries (Corral & Leal, 2020). Other scholars also highlight Trump's role as a TV show star and his effort to capture media attention to explain his popularity (Slaughter, 2016; Elmer & Todd, 2016). For his campaign, all press was good press and benefited from the convergences of media platforms and the "spreadability" of his controversial rhetoric (Slaughter, 2016).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

After analysing the existing literature and the strategies designed in previous elections, some trends can be deduced and are relevant to situate the subsequent analysis. First, there is a greater presence of candidates' messages in the media, through television advertising and more recently on the internet and social media. Second, the Spanish language has acquired greater presence and relevance as a tool for capturing the Latino vote, which is particularly noteworthy in the previous Bush and Obama campaigns. Third, the rise of preferences other than immigration-related topics among the Hispanic voters has been a key aspect, leveraged mainly by Republican candidates e.g., Trump in 2016. In this section, these factors will be analysed in the light of the 2020 elections in order to set a framework that will ease the following analysis and help draw the conclusions of the outcome of the analysis.

3.1) Main Trends in Political Communication

Before defining the specific interests of the Latino-focused campaigns, it is important to explain the main trends in political communication that conceptualise the changes aforementioned.

Political communication is defined by María José Canel (2006) as the activity of certain individuals in which, as a result of the interaction, there is an exchange of messages that articulates policy decisions and their implementation in the community. Political communication in the modern era of the media hegemony and social networks is done mainly through political marketing, which introduces business-marketing techniques and concepts to politics like segmentation, targeting and electorate analysis (Olivera, 2016; Lees-Marshment, 2001). In this sense, Lees-Marshment (2011) identifies three different campaign orientations. First, those that are product-oriented, which focuses on the political product, ideology and policy positions as well as the qualities of the candidate. Second, the sale-oriented campaigns are more communication-oriented and use market intelligence and techniques for studying and segmenting the voters and design

the messages. Third, the marketing-oriented use marketing practices not only to design and adapt the message to different target audiences but to adapt the political product and policies and offer what the people want. In the real world, the categories are not mutually exclusive and to the extent that a party change a policy is sometimes a matter of abandoning or not highlighting unpopular positions rather than a radical change (Strömbäck & Kioussis, 2014). This is also supported by Hersh & Schaffner's theory that ambiguity in campaigns affects the support in a positive way (Hersh & Schaffner, 2013). This is an increasing trend that can also be seen when targeting Latinos as aforementioned, policy position was omitted in political advertising directed to this public (Abrajano, 2010; Rúa Araújo, 2012). Therefore, in the subsequent analysis, it is one aspect to beware.

Another relevant trend concerning the dismissal of positioning in political advertising is the rise in negative advertising (Abrajano, 2010; Johnson, 2011). This type of ads could be classified as a sale-oriented campaign tactic that aims at selling the candidate product by comparing it to the opponent (Olivera, 2016). The increasing use of this tactic in Hispanic-targeted campaigns and Spanish-language ads has been previously mentioned in the context of Bush's, Obama's and Trump's campaigns. Furthermore, another tactic is voter suppression, a strategy whose purpose is to reduce voting or registering by members of a targeted group and has also been common in US politics for disenchanting the Hispanic population and prevent them from voting e.g., it favoured Trump in 2016 elections (Murillo, 2017).

Another important aspect of political marketing is the increasing segmentation and targeting in political campaigns (Johnson, 2011; Strömbäck & Kioussis, 2014). Targeting can be described as the "process of identifying groups of voters based on some characteristics and sending messages to just those groups" (Hersh & Schaffner, 2013). In this regard, microtargeting has become a more relevant campaign strategy, identifying as many voters' segments as possible (Johnson, 2011). An example of this strategy is the case of Republicans which used microtargeting to attract Latino segments as conservative Latinos, an important strategy performed by Bush (Johnson, 2011). Linked to microtargeting, narrowcasting has gained importance in campaign strategies as a consequence of the expanding media and the increasing fragmentation of the audience and segment identification (Strömbäck & Kioussis, 2014). Candidates choosing to

increase TV ads in battleground states or in Spanish-language channels is an example of how narrowcasting applies to Latino targeting communication strategies.

Finally, scholars still consider TV as the most popular medium and main way of reaching voters (Abrajano, 2010; Johnson, 2011; Strömbäck & Kioussis, 2014). However, there are new ways that need to be integrated into any communication strategy nowadays as the new media 1.0 like the internet and traditional webpages, and the new media 2.0 such as social media, internet advertising, or video platforms like YouTube (Johnson, 2011; Owen, 2017). The efficacy of having an integrated marketing communication strategy has proven to have great mobilisation power among the Latino population (Barreto, Merolla, & DeFrancesco Soto, 2011).

3.1.1) Spanish-language advertising as a tool in Latino-targeted campaigns

One of the increasing trends perceived in the state of arts was the use of Spanish as a tool to target the Latino population. This was acknowledged during Reagan's 1984 campaign and later used in every presidential campaign, highlighting Bush's and Obama's efforts (Abrajano,2010). According to Abrajano and Panagopoulos (2011), 71% of Latinos are bilingual and almost 30% are still Spanish-dominant speakers. It has been proven that the use of Spanish or English in political advertising can have a differential outcome on Hispanic turnout rates, being the Spanish dominants the most mobilised (Abrajano,2010). It is less effective in English dominants and third- and fourth-generation Latinos as there may no longer be a cultural identity (Abrajano & Panagopoulos, 2011). It is still one of the main tools used to court Latinos and therefore it needs to be taken into account in the subsequent analysis.

3.2) Contextualising the Latino vote in the US

As aforementioned, targeting and segmentation have become a central aspect of political communication in campaign strategies. In order to adapt the message to a certain public, the candidate needs first to know the voting history, party preferences, interests and concerns of the target audience (Johnson, 2011).

3.2.1) Voting History and Party Preferences: Democrats vs. Republican

Regarding the previous literature on the Hispanic support in US elections, the vote of the Latino electorate has traditionally benefited the Democrats. Many studies have shown that a majority of Hispanic identifies as Democrat (Abrajano, Alvarez, & Nagler, 2008; Nicholson & Segura, 2005). It is also important to take into account that while Latinos represent a base electorate for Democrats, the GOP strategy has not been winning all of the Latino votes, but rather hold a certain segment of this electorate in order to prevent Democrats from winning in key swing states like Florida or Arizona (Cavada, 2020).

Despite the conception that Latinos as a homogenous group vote the democratic party, inside the Latino electorate, partisan differences exist, and patterns have been fairly well established, mainly based on the country of origin. On the one hand, Cuban Americans, which are the main Latino group in Florida, identify themselves as Republicans (Nicholson & Segura, 2005; Uhlaner & Garcia, 2005; Cavada, 2020; Rúas Araújo, 2012). Uhlaner & García (2005) explain this partisanship towards Republicans with two main arguments: due to the experience of communism of this population and the image of the GOP as anti-communist, and the absence of a strong Republican infrastructure in Miami which allowed Cuban Americans to achieve organizational ranks inside the party and acquire prominence in Florida. Nonetheless, Cubans who immigrated before Castro's rise to power in 1959 did support Democrats and the longer Cuban American immigrants have resided in the US, the more likely they are to support the Democratic party (Uhlaner & Garcia, 2005).

On the other hand, Puerto Rican and Mexican Americans have a long-standing identification with the Democrats thanks to economic ties and the low socioeconomic status of this population that generally favours a natural affinity for this party (Nicholson & Segura, 2005). Racial and ethnic groups have been an important element of the Democratic Party has been since its creation in the 1930s as well as its support to the civil rights of minorities and economic interests of the less affluent (Uhlaner & Garcia, 2005). However, as the Hispanics move to the middle class the salience of economic issues in its partisanship declines and social conservatism, a pillar of the GOP is considered to have a greater effect (Nicholson & Segura, 2005).

Apart from their origin, other factors could also determine the partisanship of the Latino electorate. One of them is the strength of their identity, foreign-born Hispanics tend to have a deeper sense of belonging to the Latino group and therefore, non-Cuban align with the Democrats while Cuban Americans support the GOP more strongly (Uhlener & Garcia, 2005). US-born Latinos and second and third generation Hispanics identify less with the group and have different political preferences (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Krongstad, 2014). However, this could also be linked to their socioeconomic position as first-generation Latinos and foreign-born reported lower household incomes than the second- and third-generation (Pew Research Center, 2004). Regarding gender as a drive to vote choice, Uhlener & García (2005) only found it was a relevant variable in Puerto Rican Americans as Puerto Rican men are more likely to vote for the GOP than women.

3.2.2) Traditional interests of the Hispanic electorate

Another important aspect when targeting a specific electorate is knowing the main concerns and interest of the group in order to adapt the messages and increase the support for the party. One of the purposes of the analysis is to identify which traditional topics linked to Latinos have been used as a tool to appeal to this group by the candidates in the 2020 presidential campaigns. For that reason, it is essential to identify which are the main classical interests of the group. Regarding the Latino's main voting issues, a research paper carried out by Pew Research Centre identified four main concerns: education, economy (jobs), healthcare and immigration (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Krongstad, 2014). Other authors like Nicholson and Segura (2005) also distinguish similar issues: economic opportunities, crime, education and racial issues. Priority policies for Latino regarding education, health care and jobs have been described by some scholars as “bread and butter” issues (Abrajano et al., 2008; Casellas & Ibarra, 2012; Johnson, 2011).

Education has traditionally ranked as the top priority for the Hispanic electorate (Lopez et al., 2014; Casellas & Ibarra, 2012). This could be attributed to Latino's higher rates of school dropout, expulsions, and suspensions, they are less likely to obtain bachelor's degree in addition to their lower socioeconomic status that is often associated with lower performance in education or lack of English fluency (Casellas & Ibarra, 2012). Some presidential candidates have used education to appeal to this electorate, like Bush's

proposal of the “No Child Left Behind Bill” during his 2000 campaign (Casellas & Ibarra, 2012).

As the previous literature showed, there has been a departure from the typical Hispanic concern on immigration (Tacher Contreras, 2020; Galbraith & Callister, 2020). Although the topic still dominates the national media coverage of the Latino community and is a relevant issue, it was placed in fourth place in a poll carried out by Pew Research Centre in 2014 (Lopez et al., 2014). The results of the research demonstrated that it was still an important concern as 73% of the respondents acknowledge immigration was an extremely or very important issue (Lopez et al., 2014). However, there are differences between foreign-born and US-born Hispanic second/third generation Hispanic, as 84% of the former say immigration is extremely or very important compared with 63% of the latter ((Lopez et al., 2014). Following this trend, Spanish dominant Hispanics were more likely to attribute importance to immigration than English dominants (Lopez et al., 2014). Moreover, immigration was not an essential issue to determine the vote choice in almost half of the Latinos interviewed (Lopez et al., 2014).

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that Latinos have often been described as a more socially conservative group than most Americans (Taylor, 2012). This social conservatism often aligns with the GOP issues, therefore, well utilised could serve as an advantage to this party (Abrajano, 2010; Cavada, 2020; Uhlaner & Garcia, 2005). Moreover, according to the Pew Research Center survey, Latino’s have a higher share of religious affiliation than the rest of Americans (Taylor, 2012). This suggests that this group could be more responsive to Republican issues like abortion and homosexual rights (Nicholson & Segura, 2005). The survey showed that this understanding is right in the case of abortion although Hispanics are more liberal regarding the acceptance of homosexuality (Taylor, 2012).

3.2.3) The Latino vote in the 2020 elections

- Distribution of the Hispanic electorate

For the first time in US history, the Latinos were the largest ethnic minority group in the electorate, accounting for approximately 13% of eligible voters and surpassing the black minority as the largest racial minority (Noe-Bustamante, Budiman, & Lopez, 2020). However, this group is not homogeneous nor equally distributed across the country. Around two-thirds of the Latino population live in just five states: California, Texas,

Florida, New York and Arizona (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2020). Moreover, the demographic shift has been particularly significant in some key battleground states, where the change in the composition of the electorate could influence the outcome of the elections. This is the case of Florida and Arizona, but also of four other battleground states such as Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Wisconsin or Michigan, to a lesser extent (Igielnik & Budiman, 2020). In Florida, a traditional swing state, the Hispanic electorate has increased from 11% of the eligible voters in 2000 to over 20% in 2008 (Igielnik & Budiman, 2020). For its part, Arizona has been largely regarded as an emerging battleground state as one-quarter of its eligible voters are Hispanics (Igielnik & Budiman, 2020).

Nevertheless, this Hispanic population is not homogeneous. In the state of Florida, Cubans have traditionally been the largest Latino group of eligible voters (29%), followed by an increasing Puerto Rican population (27%) and Venezuelans that, despite still a minority, are the fastest-growing Hispanic origin group (Noe-Bustamante, 2020). At the same time, in Nevada and Arizona, Mexican Americans are the dominant Latino origin group (Igielnik & Budiman, 2020).

- New preferences of the Latino electorate

Apart from the traditional concerns of Latinos, the context in which the 2020 elections developed influenced the classical topics addressed by the presidential candidates during the campaign. In this regard, there are two main events that affected the Latino electorate and could have influenced their vote: the Coronavirus pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement.

In a research carried out by Pew Research Center in September 2020, economy, healthcare, the COVID outbreak and racial and ethnic inequality were identified as the main concerns for Hispanics in 2020 elections whereas immigration issues were ranked at seventh place (Krogstad & Lopez, Hispanic voters say economy, health care and COVID-19 are top issues in 2020 presidential election, 2020). The topics of economy, healthcare and the pandemic are directly connected as the Latino population has suffered disproportionately from the consequences of the COVID outbreak (Dominguez-Villegas & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2020; Krogstad & Lopez, 2020; Pew Research Center, 2020).

Regarding the sanitary impact of the COVID crisis in the Hispanic population, this group has presents higher rates of infection than other racial groups (Dominguez-Villegas

& Tomaskovic-Devey, 2020). The reason behind these disproportionate numbers could be found in the overrepresentation of Hispanics in essential jobs, where working from home is not possible or maintaining social distance is difficult and therefore exposing this population to the virus (Dominguez-Villegas & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2020). In August 2020, about 20% of Latino adults have said to have had a positive coronavirus test result (Krogstad & Lopez, 2020). Concerning the economy, the economic recession that resulted from the COVID outbreak has had a disproportionate effect on Latino employment rates, harming significantly their finances (Pew Research Center, 2020). It is estimated that 60% of Latinos live in households that have suffered from job losses due to the coronavirus pandemic, compared with 40% of Americans (Pew Research Center, 2020). In regard to immigration, it was only a very important reason for vote choice for 69% of Hispanic women and 50% of Hispanic men (Krogstad & Lopez, 2020). Racial and ethnic inequality ranked right after pandemic-related concerns (Krogstad & Lopez, 2020). This could be attributed to the popularity of the Black Lives Matter movement and the support of Hispanic to this cause (Thomas & Horowitz, 2020)

In conclusion, through the aforementioned conceptualization, some key aspects to beware during the analysis have been drawn. In the formal aspect of the political outreach to Latinos, it is important to consider ambiguity and negative advertising as possible findings, as well as greater segmentation and targeting among the Latino population. Do the candidates focus on a specific segment of Hispanics or do they try to court Latinos as a whole? Do they try to appeal to the same target? This is also connected to the distribution of the Hispanic population and their origins as one of the outcomes may be that the candidates concentrate their efforts on one origin-segmented Latino electorate or devote more resources to a particular territory. Moreover, the main traditional concerns as well as the new expected trends have been clarified and, therefore, it is essential to analyse the main priorities that the candidates address when appealing to this community. Additionally, it has been acknowledged that a higher socioeconomic level and Cuban Americans could differ from the “traditional” Latino vote patterns, which could translate into different strategies from the candidates.

4. RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

As explained from the previous theoretical framework and the purposes stated above, the research question of this dissertation is the following:

What were Trump and Biden main strategies to court the Latino population? How did they differ? What were the main priorities addressed by each candidate?

In order to answer the research questions, a qualitative research based on content analysis of the Spanish-language audio-visual spots launched by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their presidential campaign will be carried out. The Spanish-language videos collected to create the database for the analysis will be those found on the YouTube account of the official electoral campaign of both candidates, regardless of whether the spots broadcasted on television or was distributed through other media. In the case of Biden, the videos are collected on the *Biden para Presidente* list in his Youtube account, whereas Trump's Spanish-language spots are found in his list *En Español*. Hence, for the analysis a total of 46 spots of Biden and 21 spots of Trump have been analysed. A detailed list of the clips of each candidate is available on the annex of this document. The choice of Spanish-language spots as the data to be analysed reside in the aforementioned importance of this technique to attract the Latino vote.

The content analysis will be structured in sections as follows.

First, the identification of the priority issues portrayed in the spots. The main topics will be categorised into different general categories such as COVID, economy, values (family and religion), security, candidate's traits, attacks on the other candidate and other policy issues (gun control, environment, health...). This categorisation will help identify the main priorities of the candidates and outline their strategies.

Second, an analysis of whereas the spots are framed in a negative or a positive fashion and if any candidate uses ambiguity as a way to avoid making policy suggestions. As aforementioned, there is a clear trend to use negative spots in Spanish-language advertising since Obama's first presidential campaign.

Third, the strategic use of images and other symbols in the spots. This part of the analysis will focus on the choice of images, music and other symbols by both candidates as a tactic to strengthen their primary message or attract a certain segment of the Latino population.

Four, the use of English, Spanish and subtitles in the spots as a strategy to court different segments. As previously noted, the latest presidents have spoken in Spanish in their spots to court the Latino population. Therefore, how the 2020 presidential candidates make use of this language is an important point to analyse.

And lastly, it is of great relevance to study if the candidates have segmented the Latino population and if so, how this differentiation was carried out. Segmentation and differentiated advertising are one of the main trends in political communication. Therefore, it is expected that in order to maximise the impact of their campaign communication strategy both candidates had researched and adapted their content to a particular section of the Hispanic American population.

Finally, after the content analysis, an assessment of the 2020 election results and the shares of Latino support to each candidate compared to the communication strategies followed will be carried out. The objective of this part will be to determine the scope of these strategies, their effectiveness and to add value to the previous analysis and the purpose of this dissertation.

5. ANALYSIS: MAIN FINDINGS

In this section, the results of the analysis of Joe Biden's and Donald Trump's Spanish-language spots will be presented and contextualised. However, prior to the exposition of such results, a few conclusions drew from the research of the available data over the number of Spanish-language ads, candidates' expenditure, and the distribution of the candidate's efforts to court Latinos will be expounded.

It is remarkable to mention that Joe Biden has a significantly larger number of Spanish-language advertisements on his campaign platform. The Democratic candidate launched his first Spanish-language spot for the US 2020 presidential campaign in 2019 when he presented his candidature to the Democratic presidential primaries and released a total of 50 ads, of which 47 were launched in 2020 and 37 since the outbreak of the pandemic in April 2020. However, the difference in the number of spots is noteworthy when compared to the Spanish-language spots available on Trump's campaign platform. Since his first Spanish-language ad launched in June 2020, a total of 21 spots were

released. This shows that Biden's effort to court the Latino electorate was not only higher but also earlier.

Regarding the expenditure on campaign advertising, Biden holds a significant advertising advantage in Spanish-language ads but also in general advertisements. According to Advertising Analytics, Biden had spent over \$17 million on Spanish-language ads compared to Trump's \$8 million by October 25 (as quoted in Kamisar, 2020). Joe Biden's campaign outspent Trump's in Spanish-language TV, radio and media advertising. Regarding the distribution of their efforts, both candidates' main Spanish-language advertising expenditures went to the state of Florida, in particular Miami and Orlando, and Arizona, followed by the state of Nevada in the case of Biden and New Mexico in the case of Trump (Gomez, Martínez, & Mukherjee, 2020). The selection of these two main states by both candidates is not coincidental, as aforementioned, these two territories have become major battlegrounds due to the increasing Hispanic population.

Lastly, apart from the Spanish-language spots launched by the candidates, there are also other Latino-targeted advertisements found on their platforms. In the case of Biden, he uploaded endorsements by different Hispanic celebrities, virtual meetings with Latino public figures and Latinos are part of other communication strategies as *Latinos react to Trump's spots* (also done with other targeted groups such as mums, young people, veterans...). Regarding Trump, most of the content that is also directed to this public are Spanish-language news clips in which Biden is criticised.

5.1) Main priorities addressed

One of the main parts of the content analysis of the Spanish-language spots launched by Joe Biden and Donald Trump was to determine which were the main issues addressed in their ads as this would indicate the approach selected by the candidates when courting the Latinos in the US 2020 presidential election campaign. Most of the spots do not only focus on one single topic but instead, other issues are also secondarily mentioned. Still, it is possible to identify which themes were primarily chosen by the candidates.

5.1.1) Joe Biden's priorities:

The analysis showed that spots of the presidential candidate Joe Biden focused more on the following four topics: (1) the candidate's traits (22%), (2) the COVID (20%),

(3) attacking the other candidate (18%), and (4) Economy (14%). Nonetheless, it is important to take into account that these issues are interconnected, e.g., the pandemic is a secondary topic in most of the spots that primarily focus on the economy and it is in many cases used as a pretext to attack the former president's management or remark the candidate's traits.

Regarding the spots that underline the candidate's most desirable traits, they present the candidate as an upstanding man, the only unifying candidate that cares for all the citizens with no exception, including the most vulnerable. The spots try to convey a message of unity and hope to the audience in addition to transmitting Biden's humanity.

The second most portrayed topic is the COVID pandemic. In these ads, Joe Biden sends a message of hope and the importance of the family and the ancestors, as the old people were more affected by the virus. Moreover, in the majority of the spots, Trump's management of the sanitary crisis is criticised, especially the fact that he did not listen to the experts' recommendations and downplayed the severity of the situation.

Third, there is a large number of spots that directly attack the opposite candidate without necessarily mentioning any positive trait of Biden or any policy suggestion. These purely negative ads criticise the former president for his management in a wide variety of fields such as migration, economy, health, and fake news. Moreover, in some of these clips, President Trump is compared to socialist dictatorships in Cuba and Venezuela.

The fourth most presented issue is the economy. Most of the spots that focus on this topic mention the pandemic crisis and the economic uncertainty it entrained. These ads show the testimonies of Latino workers, who are portrayed as the base of the American economy, criticise Trump economic plan relief after the pandemic, and present Biden as a better option thanks to his experience during the 2008 economic crisis.

- Other topics:

A minority of the spots analysed addressed other topics. These issues are mainly policy-related concern such as health, gun control or migration. However, these spots were in their majority launched before the sanitary crisis. Therefore, the COVID outbreak changed the main preferences and the strategic approach of the candidate.

Regarding migration, which as aforementioned is regarded as a traditional concern for Latino voters, is only mentioned in around one-quarter of the Democrat candidate's spots.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that of all the spots launched as of April 2020, at least 45% directly or indirectly mention the need to unite the American people. The need for unity is one of the most repeated messages of his campaign. A campaign in which as it was previously noted, Biden is presented as the only unifying candidate after the division of the American society promoted by Trump's presidency.

5.1.2) Donald Trump's priorities:

The content of Trump's Spanish-language spots can be classified into the following four main categories: (1) Attacks to the opposite candidate (50%), (2) economy, (3) security issues, and (4) values.

A large majority of Trump's ads address the negative aspects of Joe Biden. These spots try to depict Biden as a threat to the country rather than stressing Trump's qualities or positive aspects. In this regard, the majority of these ads compare Biden to socialist leaders like Maduro, Castro and Gustavo Petro. By calling Joe Biden "*camarada Biden*", showing pictures of the candidate with these leaders or statements of the presidents complementing him, Trump wants to convey a message of fear to the Latino electorate that fled from these regimes, especially those from Venezuela and Cuba. Other ads denounce Biden's softer view on China, his lack of mental capabilities and leadership skills or portray him as a threat and an extremist that would bring chaos to the country. In his campaign, Donald Trump repeats the same message in most of his spots and also in rallies and other appearances, associating the Democratic candidate to socialism. An example of this is that the attacks on the Democratic candidate as either the main or a secondary topic are present in all but two of Trump's campaign spots (*Por Trump* and *¿Por qué?* are the only spots in which Biden is not mentioned).

Economic and security issues are the second most addressed priorities in Trump's advertisements. Concerning the economy, Trump's spots emphasise the creation of employment and rising salaries during the years of the presidency while attacking Biden alleged tax increase plan and his management of the economic crisis with Obama. Regarding the spots that address security concerns, they present images of demonstrations, the Black Live Matters movement and the slogan defund the police to

show that Trump is the only candidate that can keep America under control as the Democrats are now more extremists.

Values such as family and religion are also part of Trump’s communication strategy. These spots focus on the religion of Trump’s pick for the Supreme Court, Amy Coney Barret and how democrats criticise her for her Christianity, and the traditional values of Hispanic societies presented through images of families, the elderly, and their traditions.

Migration policies are not mentioned in any of the Spanish language spots launched by the former president. The only way migration is present is in those ads in which the origin of the Latino voters is recalled in order to prevent the Hispanic to vote for progressive governments or to vote for Trump to maintain order and prevent any disruption of security as Latinos “came to the US to feel safe and calmed”.

5.1.3) Comparison

Figure 1: Main priorities addressed in Biden's spots

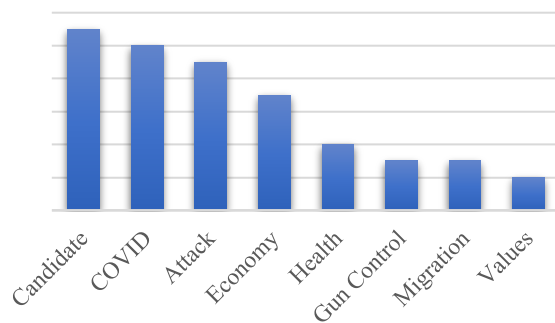
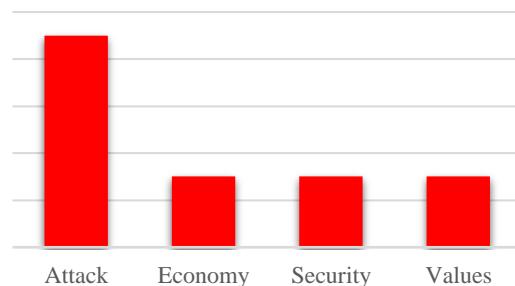


Figure 2: Main priorities addressed in Trump's spots



In conclusion, although some issues such as economy and values are addressed by both candidates, the approach followed by each candidate in the selection of topics resulted to be substantially different. While Trump’s efforts were devoted to attacking the other candidate and portray him as the worst choice for Latinos, Joe Biden, in spite of the spots that attacked Trump, tried to underline his own qualities and introduce himself to the voters. In shared topics such as economy, each candidate took a different perspective. The former president focused on the increase of employment rates and the economic

results during his presidency whereas the candidate to the White House used the economic crisis that originated due to the pandemic crisis and affected Latinos in a larger proportion as a way to court Hispanic voters. In this sense, it is essential to note that COVID was not a primary issue for Trump while it was one of the main concerns strategically addressed by Biden. Moreover, security issues that were a crucial part of Donald Trump’s communication efforts were not mentioned by Joe Biden. Furthermore, the issue of migration, a traditional topic addressed by the presidential candidates to court Latinos was relegated to a secondary concern and was not a key priority for any of the candidates.

5.2) Negative advertising & ambiguity

As previously mentioned, both candidates used negative advertisement as a communication strategy in their spots. This tactic was more exploited by the Republican candidate, whose spots focused on attacking the other candidate and almost 90% of all his Spanish-language ads mentioned Biden’s flaws at some point.

Figure 3: Biden's spots that mention Trump

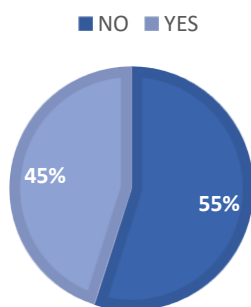
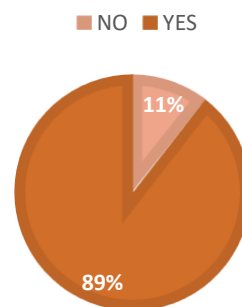


Figure 4: Trump's spots that mention Biden



Furthermore, the use of ambiguity as a strategy is clearly seen in Trump’s spots. In none of the spots launched by the former president a particular policy suggestion is presented nor mentioned and general attacks to the other candidates are a way to divert the attention of the Latino voter toward the negative aspects of Biden. The omission of the pandemic or migration policies in the spots is a way for the president to avoid positioning himself in a topic in which he did not have an advantage. Regarding the use

of this technique by the Democratic candidate, Biden's spots clarify to a greater extent the candidate's position and proposed policies, especially those that concern health and the management of the COVID pandemic.

5.3) Images and symbols

Another essential part, apart from the main issues addressed, is how the candidates used images, stereotypes, symbols or music in their spots to send different messages. This section analyses the images, music and other symbols selected by each candidate to present themselves, the opposite candidate and the Latino community, and the logic behind their choices.

5.3.1) Portrait of the candidates

The selection of images, pictures and other symbols surrounding the candidates in the spots is not coincidental, but it is strategically aimed to portray the desired image of the presidential candidate by highlighting what the communication team thought as the main virtues of the leader. Moreover, the depiction of the opposite candidate is also an important part of the communication plan. By framing the adversary in a negative manner or by evidencing some flaws over others, the candidates try to play on their public's fear to gather their support.

In Biden spots, it is noteworthy that in those that were launched after the outbreak of coronavirus, there is a large number of images of people wearing a mask or putting on their masks. These images send a powerful message about the candidate's position regarding the sanitary measures and his plan for managing the COVID crisis even when the spot focus on different topics. The perfect example of this communication strategy can be found in the spot *Pasar la página*, in which on the left side of the video there are images of people wearing masks whereas, on the right, Trump is taking his off. Moreover, Biden is seen in the ads wearing a mask and in 45% of the spots launched after March 2020 the last image showed Biden with it on. This shows the commitment of the candidate to actively fight the pandemic and his awareness of the danger that the virus poses, especially to the Latino community. Furthermore, when displaying images of Biden, he is often surrounded by people, holding their hands, hugging their supporters or with his

family. This emphasises the aforementioned candidate's traits that the advertisements tried to convey.

Regarding how Trump is portrayed in Biden's spots there are some recurring images. First, the picture of Trump holding a bible at St. John's Church that was taken in June 2020 in the midst of the Black Live Matter movement and for which the law enforcement officers had to use tear gas in order to clear protesters and create a path for the president from the White House to the Church. These actions were severely criticised by the public opinion and the Democrats. Second, images of Trump's press conferences, some of them with Dr Fauci, and talking about the COVID crisis or making fake statements. Third, clips of police violence in which the protesters of the BLM are portrayed as victims. Fourth, Trump surrounded by his bodyguards and far from the people. All these images that are repeated in different spots frame Trump as distant from the people, even using violence against them and as a charlatan in his rallies and press conferences. With the images of violence by law enforcement officers and Trump away from the people, Biden portrays his adversary as an authoritarian dividing candidate. This depiction of the president is also a tool that emphasises the positive traits of Biden, who is portrayed as a unifying and human candidate, the opposite of the former president.

Concerning the spots launched by Donald Trump, on the one hand, one of the key aspects of his campaign is the depiction of Joe Biden which is demonstrated by the fact that most of Trump's ads are framed in a negative perspective. In this regard, Joe Biden's images in Trump's spots show him confused in his own rallies, doubtful or lost. Another recurring image is Biden kneeling and wearing his mask. These are powerful images that help to frame Biden as a candidate that lacks the leadership skills and the mental capacity to govern the country. However, most of the spots mention Biden socialism as a threat, displaying images of him with socialist leaders or endorsements by these personalities. Moreover, there are images of Biden raising a toast with Chinese President Xi Jinping during his vice presidency which portrays the candidate as favourable to the Asian country. These are strategically used to support the statement that Biden is a threat due to his links with socialism and his soft position against China. Donald Trump does not only play on people's fear of communism through his discourse of repeated terms but also by using these clips he reinforces this idea and persuade the voters that there is a real connection between these regimes and the presidential candidate.

On the other hand, Trump is presented as a real leader, with the power and authority to lead the country. This is done by displaying images of the president with the army, the air forces, doing the military salute and signing treaties. Moreover, he is often surrounded by American flags, which symbolise his commitment to the country, his patriotism. Furthermore, the final image in most of his spots is a picture of him holding a signed document that could be a treaty or an executive order. This image demonstrates that Trump is an efficient president, he is changing legislation, making progress. It is also interesting that while Joe Biden was alone in the closing image of most of his spots, in the case of Donald Trump, there are some spots in which Melania Trump is by his side. This may also be an attempt to portray himself as a husband, to appeal to conservative values and the role of the traditional family. In addition to this, it is noteworthy that Trump only wears a mask in one of his latest spots, *¿Por qué?*, as this evidences the president's position regarding the pandemic and demonstrates that the sanitary crisis is not a primary concern for this candidate.

5.3.2) *Latinos in the spots*

Another factor to analyse is the profile of the Hispanic citizens that appear in the spots of the candidates, either as main characters of the spot or in the background of the clip. The result of the analysis will show that if there is a specific age, class or gender that is overrepresented in the spots, this may be the target audience that the candidate is trying to reach.

A number of Biden's spots show testimonies from different Latino citizens. In this case, it is interesting to note that most of these testimonies were made by middle-aged women. Moreover, regarding the people that appeared the most in the ads, images of women of that age are frequent and clips of families, kids and old people are also recurring images in Biden's spots. In addition to the images, there are many references to the grandparents and the children in the ads. Moreover, there is one spot in which the testimony is done by a priest and another in which a woman talks about the family and the economic situation. These spots appeal to a more conservative sector of the population that has religious beliefs and to which the family is essential. In those that concern the economy, people working in construction, restaurants or in hospitals are often shown. Except for the hospital's workers, the rest of the images of workers suit the stereotype of blue-collar jobs that the Latino population would carry out in the US. For that reason, it

could be right to affirm that in these ads Joe Biden is targeting these low- or middle-income Hispanic population.

On the matter of how the Latino population is present in Trump's spots, there are fewer images of the community if compared to Biden's. The Latino people that are mostly depicted in the ads are middle-class Hispanics, business owners, usually wearing suits and shirts. The families presented in the spots also seem to be part of a higher social class. However, in a few spots, there are some images of construction workers. Therefore, it could be argued that these segments that are most represented are the target audience of Trump's spots to the Latino community, a higher social class of the Latino population if compared to Biden's target.

Whereas the portrayal of people and testimonies were one of the main points in the strategy of the Democrat, the Republican candidate's recurring main images do not show the Latino community. Instead, security issues, which is one of the main priorities addressed by the former president, are displayed through images of protesters with "defund the police" signs, violent protesters breaking into stores, vandalism and chaos. These images -in which the protesters are not Hispanics- reinforce the alleged need for a real authority in power, portray the left-wing protesters as violent and extremist and allege that Biden supports these acts.

5.3.3) *Music, effects, and other symbols*

One of the main symbols used by both candidates is the presence of Latin American flags in their spots. This shows the commitment of the candidate to a certain origin-segmented Latino community. In the case of Biden's spots, in different ads, Puerto Rican, Venezuelan or Mexican flags can be identified. This is a tactic to try to gain the support of those Latinos that have a greater connection to their country of origin, that is first-generation Latinos. Moreover, in some of the spots, images of Puerto Rico are shown, mainly to show the devastation of Hurricane Maria and how Trump did not support the reconstruction process enough.

Regarding the use of symbols by Trump, although the presence of flags is less common than in Biden's spots, there are still some flags in his ads, especially Cuban and Venezuelan. These are seen in the spots that criticise "*castrochavismo*" or "*bolivarianismo*", and the Venezuelan flag is part of the last image of some of these spots. It is interesting the use of stereotypical symbols in one specific advertisement, *Por Trump*.

This spot shows Cuban, Puerto Rican and Mexican flags, people with regional costumes and families eating traditional foods and is accompanied by Latin music. There is a clear contrast between this spot and the others launched by the president. The difference may reside in the target audience of this specific spot, which, unlike the others, tries to court the first-generation Latinos and those who have a stronger connection to their original country.

Finally, the music is also a relevant tool to help the candidate convey the emotion or the message desired and to attract a certain public. In this sense, most of Biden's spots' music is classical, emotional, often a subtle piano melody that accompanies the images and testimonies. However, there are some spots in which there is Latino music playing at the back or even music turns to be central to the spot itself. This is the case of *Pero ya no*, a spot that features Bad Bunny's song and images of Trump and the lyric of the song is the message of the ads: "I used to love you, but not anymore, I liked you but not anymore" (*antes yo te quería, pero ya no. Tú me gustabas, pero ya no*). The use of popular songs in Spanish represents an attempt by the candidate to connect with and approach this community, especially the choice of Bad Bunny appeals to a younger sector of the Latino population.

At the same time, Trump's spots seem to convey the opposite emotion. The transitions of images in Trump's ads are often unsmooth, using unsettling colour filters and subtitles in red or black of the main ideas: *anarquía, caos, izquierda radical, progresismo* (anarchy, chaos, radical left and progressivism). These rough effects are present in most of his spots that display images of socialist leaders endorsing Joe Biden, that remark Biden's socialism or violent protesters. Moreover, this is all accompanied by music that conveys disturbing feelings and the fear that the images and the content themselves portray. However, it is noticeable that this background music change to a more positive melody when images of Trump are shown. Therefore, the music and effect that the Republican candidate uses in his spots help reinforce the idea that Biden is a threat and spread the fear of socialism.

5.4) Languages

The use of Spanish/English in the spots is also a relevant variable to analyse as it can help identify the target audience of each candidate. Unlike other previous election

campaigns, none of the candidates spoke Spanish in the Spanish-language spots. Both candidates were subtitled in English when the spots featured clips of their spots and in the final statement “I approve this message”. This is a departure from the path followed by the previous presidents Obama and Bush.

In the case of Trump’s spots, all of them are just Spanish and subtitled when showing clips of Biden’s and Trump’s speeches in English. However, there are two spots that are subtitled in English. These ads show socialist leaders endorsing Joe Biden and their speech are subtitled in English for non-Spanish speakers to understand the message. In the case of Biden, although most of the spots are only in Spanish, some of them are in Spanglish. This fact indicates that Biden is targeting Hispanics that are fluent in both languages, which is mainly the Hispanic young population that has been raised in a bilingual environment.

5.5) Micro-targeting

As aforementioned, in the spots, there are symbols that evidence that some target a specific segment of the Latino community. In this section, I will analyse some more specific examples of this differentiation between different Latinos that the candidates carried out. The Hispanic population was mainly segmented by country of origin, by social class and by age. Another interesting result is that the candidates selected the states in which those different spots with different messages were broadcasted, aiming at attracting the desired Latino voter depending on the region.

In Florida, there are two different Latino communities, Puerto Rican and Cuban. Both candidates adapted their spots depending on which part of Florida there were launched. Trump’s spot *¿Por Qué?* had different versions for Miami where there is a majority of Cuban Latinos and another for Orlando and Tampa where Puerto Rican live. They showed different images of the city, different accents and different Latino people. Moreover, some spots were created for Puerto Rican, focusing on the reconstruction of Puerto Rico and the economy whereas those that are intended for Cuban and Venezuelan Latinos mainly address socialism and the extremism of Biden’s ideas. Regarding Biden’s spots, some of them have a different narrator depending on the area where it was launched, following a similar distribution to Trump’s spots. Moreover, those that target Cubans and Venezuelan tend to remind them that he is not a radical and that it is

authoritarianism that is behind these regimes, a trend that is also inherent in Trump's management. However, those that target the Puerto Rican population address the devastation of Hurricane Maria, the economy and the pandemic. Therefore, in spite of having a different approach and narrative, it can be affirmed that both candidates used the topic of communism to attract the Cuban electorate and other issues like the economy and the aftermath of Hurricane Maria to appeal to the Puerto Rican Americans.

In the spots launched in other states such as Arizona, Nevada and Pennsylvania, both candidates use a Mexican narrator. Interestingly, both showed Mexican restaurant owners in their spots launched in Phoenix, Arizona. However, in Biden's spot, the economy and the pandemic are the main issues addressed whereas in Trump's spot the lack of leadership of the Democratic candidate is the main concern of the owners. Therefore, although both candidates were targeting the same social class and country of origin Latino, they used different strategies to convince them.

The use of different narrators and accent is a common strategy of both candidates. Some of Biden's spots are narrated by Latin celebrities with different origins such as Bad Bunny (Puerto Rican) or Alejandro Fernandez (Mexican) which is also a tool to direct the message to a certain origin-segmented public. This is also seen in Trump's spots with Susana Pérez, a Cuban actress. Apart from origin segmentation, in this case, this variable could also be considered a form of age differentiation. While the Puerto Rican singer is more popular among the young population, the Mexican singer and the Cuban actress are most known among an older public. As aforementioned, language is also a distinctive factor of age differentiation, as the use of Spanglish in Biden's spots means an attempt to emulate how the young Latino population speaks in the US.

Furthermore, regarding class-segmentation, the use of the economic crisis and the pandemic outbreak as main topics as well as images of workers, families and the elderly implies that Biden's main target are low- and middle-income Latinos which were more affected by these two topics. Moreover, with the aforementioned use of young celebrities and Spanglish he also tried to attract a younger section of this population. However, Trump's focus on the salaries, taxes and security issues as well as the choice of older narrators and images of businesses, owners and well-off families demonstrate that Trump's main target is middle- and high- income Hispanic that well-established in the country.

5.6) Assessing the results

According to a report carried out by UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative (2021), more than 16.6 million Latinos voted in the past elections, which represents a 30% increase in the total number of Hispanic votes from the 2016 past elections. Therefore, the efforts made by both candidates to mobilise the Latino population was effective. Moreover, this increase could be also attributed to the shift in the tactic followed by Trump. In 2016, he used a vote suppression strategy aimed at demobilising the Latino population whereas in 2020 his strategy based on fear was to achieve the vote of this population rather than demobilising it.

Regarding the Hispanic support in different states, the Latino vote has been regarded as decisive for the outcome of the elections. The case of the state of Arizona is an example of that. The high turnout rates among Latinos in this state gave the Democratic presidential candidate the victory of this state, which had been a Republican state since 1996 (UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative, 2021). One of the keys was the county of Maricopa, in which Biden won just over 50% of the votes (Bloomberg, 2020). According to NBC news exit poll (2020), the mobilisation of the young Latino in favour of Biden was pivotal for his victory in the state of Arizona and Georgia. Therefore, the efforts of Biden courting not only Mexican Americans but also the younger section of the Latino population was fruitful. However, in Arizona, it is also noticeable that the margin of victory among the Latino voters was smaller, which means that Trump managed to attract more Hispanics votes than in 2016. This trend is also remarkable in other states like Texas (Bloomberg, 2020). In these territories where most of the Latino population is Mexican American, the message spread by Biden gained greater support. Still, Trump's larger shares of support should not be overlooked as this could indicate that there could be a change in the Mexican Latino mindset from a social and progressive political vision towards a more egoistic vote based on the economy.

Furthermore, it is interesting to analyse the results of the elections in the state of Florida. Donald Trump received 10% more Latino support in this state in the 2020 elections than in the 2016 elections (Sonneland, 2020). He managed to win the county of Miami-Dade with the best margins any Republican candidate has seen, which means that his main communication strategy that was targeting the Cuban and Venezuelan population through the spread of fear of socialism succeeded. There are two main keys for the success of Trump in this county. Firstly, the Cuban and Venezuelan origins and

the fear of socialism. Secondly, the strategy of omitting the pandemic and supporting the re-openness of the economy could have also favoured Trump in this specific county where tourism was the main pillar of their economy. Nonetheless, Biden won the majority of the Latino vote in all the other counties of Florida and achieved the support of 70% of the Puerto Rican Hispanics (LA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative, 2021).

In conclusion, thanks to their strategies Trump managed to attract the Cuban and Venezuelan American and achieved record support rates, whereas Joe Biden courted Mexican American and Puerto Rican. Moreover, it should be noted that Trump achieved higher support rates among the Latino population than in his previous campaign, which means that this approach was more effective than the one used in 2016 and that there is a shifting Mexican American vote that is increasingly concerned about the economy and the security rather than other democratic issues such as migration, health and other social measures.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation demonstrates that both candidates used different communication strategies to court the Latino electorate. On the one hand, Joe Biden's communication approach was based on a message of unity and hope and tried to convey a positive image of the candidate. On the other hand, Donald Trump's main strategy was to spread fear and present the opposite candidate as a threat in order to mobilise the voters to vote for him, to choose law and order before chaos and uncertainty. With these purposes in mind, each candidate designed different tactics and strategies to court the Latino electorate. Both candidates recognised their strengths and the opposite candidate's weaknesses and exploited them during their campaigns.

Joe Biden appealed to emotions through the use of music, family images, and testimonies in this time of uncertainty where the economic crisis and the pandemic are the most important issues for a candidate that is depicted as upstanding and human. One of the main messages he conveyed during his campaign is unity, he was portrayed as the president of every American and he reminded the Latino population that in these difficult times "no one should be left behind". Moreover, the Black Live Matter movement, one of the main topics of 2020 was not a priority issue for Biden. The protests were only a

tool for this candidate to denounce the violence of the law enforcement officers that followed Trump's guidelines.

Donald Trump appealed to fear and created a dichotomy between order and peace under his rule or chaos and uncertainty under Biden's management. This narrative of fear was achieved through a negative campaign, in which negative spots, unsettling images, music and transitions as well as dystopian scenarios dominated the communication strategy. For this reason, security concerns are at the top of his agenda. Moreover, the campaign deliberately omitted the topic of the pandemic and migrations issues that could hinder the candidate's reputation. The Black Live Matter protesters are depicted as extremists whose aim "defunding the police" is shared and supported by Joe Biden. This latter topic exemplifies Trump's divisive narrative and how the spread of fear is used as a communication tactic. Notably, the president shifted his strategy to capture the Latino vote from the 2016 election to the 2020 election. In the previous campaign, Donald Trump focused on criminalizing immigrants and demobilizing Latino eligible voters, while in this latest campaign his strategy was based on repeating key fearsome messages such as the threat of socialism to court the conservative Latino voters.

Furthermore, although they may have adopted different approaches, there is one common strategy used by both candidates. Both presidential candidates designed similar segmentation strategies, adapting their messages to different segments of the Latino population depending on their age, social class and country of origin. Through the use of symbols, images, accents and by prioritising some topic over others when addressing a specific target both candidates adapted their approach in order to court a larger number of Latino supporters. In the case of Trump's campaign, the main targets were Cuban and Venezuelan Latinos and middle-upper income Hispanics. It is interesting to note that these sectors of the Latino population selected by Trump are commonly more prone to voting for the GOP due to their traditional values and the fear of socialism.

In the case of Joe Biden's campaign, the main targets were Puerto Rican and Mexican Latinos, although Cuban and Venezuelan were also targeted, and a lower income Latino electorate. Moreover, although one of the objectives of his campaign was to convince first-generation Latinos to vote for the Democratic party, the campaign also targeted a younger sector of the population that were second- or third- generation Latinos. The differentiation, adaptation of messages and the creation of content for different segments of Latinos was greater in Biden's campaign. This could be attributed to the fact

that the presidential candidate devoted greater efforts to convincing this part of the population and launched a larger number of spots.

In conclusion, the communication campaigns carried out for the US 2020 presidential elections were different in comparison to the previous campaigns as new topics were addressed as priority issues replacing traditional concerns like migration or education. This transformation was mainly due to two exceptional events that occurred in 2020: the COVID outbreak and the Black Live Movement protests. Following a narrative of hope and unity, Joe Biden tried to court the Latino segment of the population that was more affected by the economic crisis and the pandemic. For his part, the former president adopted a narrative based on uncertainty and fear, taking advantage of the violence in the BLM protests to convince the Latino electorate to vote for continuity and security.

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8. Annexes:

8.1) Sample - Joe Biden's spots

TABLE 1: SPOTS. JOE BIDEN					
	TITLE	AVAILABLE AT:		TITLE	AVAILABLE AT:
1	Abandonados	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AaD_egs-DYc	25	Nuestro bienestar	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4zjVyR3PG54
2	Cacerolazo	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCpfVqnZ2W4	26	Nuestro Destino	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TXVTCDFJmQ
3	Cancelado	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhZyjtPsgbo	27	Números: 60	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CdbMR50UIdQ
4	Con Quién Andas	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XMBEgzkhvqo	28	Palabras	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3JDjmRVHBqw
5	Construyamos el futuro	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1xoBoS3oV_c	29	Pasar la página	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jg2WQDT_kWE
6	Cuando Joe	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nv14tCm7biI	30	Pero ya no	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oRMXOIiY-M
7	Cuentas :60C	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPXsoQNymBs	31	Personal en español	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK7SOqbN3JE
8	Decepciones	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gyVgR9TqzRU&feature=emb_logo	32	Por ellos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m8YcTQ-kzVQ
9	Detengamos a la NRA	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=guknsshshIs	33	Prohibido olvidar	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nUcLrx8jBjE
10	Dicen Mucho	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jP2nUwWc0U	34	Prohibido olvidar (ENG)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8T3oyXBxUml
11	El que sabe, sabe	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=njIsKFvV8aU	35	Quienes Somos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a90VyMd4AwQ
12	Fe (4.9)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L0sjYYXOBNw	36	Ser Humano	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISxpV9JeI8M
13	Fuerte	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nRgF8gmWpoc	37	Si se puede, Hope Again	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AJinSWyPZE
14	Héroes de Estados Unidos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MeMzwNc7V8Q	38	Somos Alguien	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8M7VPzSXQ50
15	Hombre de Bien	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nRNM7iaDp2Y	39	Somos todos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6XXeKoSV43A
16	Keep our country running	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wMT6GDbkltU	40	Son muy similares	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tN806DQU828

17	La Aliada	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P68dIQmOh64	41	Soñar es lograr	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7UEkKNQn6MQ
18	La mejor cara	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FKAGvWGISNM	42	Todos con Biden	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CvpDIDb-kWU
19	La primera vez	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HVCtN06_730	43	Tough	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHBH5hWqJdI
20	Mantener su seguro	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hlrDw0ldtEE	44	Tren a Casa (CLIP)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i3Ci2CyNBeU
21	No Escucha	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AdwyncvNsg	45	Trubuto a El Paso	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BbQQEPwarmU
22	No Importó	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Axv685RajBc	46	Un buen plan	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-nEXpnA2Ktc
23	Nosotros el pueblo	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yzcpzahosg		Una realidad	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Kb7IWKSA2Q
24	Yo, Biden	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWVWR55y07k			

8.2) Sample - Donald Trump's spots

TABLE 2: SPOTS. DONALD TRUMP		
	TITLE:	AVAILABLE AT:
1	¿Por qué? (Arizona y nevada)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zt9U_UstE-w&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=39
2	¿Por qué? (Orlando y Tampa)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b1Ze7ltzHrw&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=38
3	¿Por Qué? Sur de la Florida	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuMQFXudDog&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=37
4	Amy	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P5N69JkhZbk&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=30
5	Años	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZIk5phS9i8c&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=3
6	Arrollidado	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DKklxh08BkQ&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=2
7	Camarada	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pNDOF14eDbQ&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=41
8	Capacidad Mental	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ibKhnrYgxcw&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-
9	Castrochavismo	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBnbIttz2fc&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=29
10	Chavistas	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMecUGeXYAA&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=36
11	Contrastes	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=57wHH8B-Nzs&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=20
12	Cuento Chino	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dKlCHk35FIo&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=23
13	Desfinanciar	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J7vR19MmTi0&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=32
14	Despacito	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hgML3liEnw&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=28
15	Eliminada	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mxflJlqcGZaA&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=4
16	Fuerte	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b366HrQP3aU&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=24
17	Goya	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=atkkXzXJiy4&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=8
18	Por Trump	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X-ZwOfaTMBc&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=33
19	Progresista	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xPLRN6EJgew&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=11
20	Reconstruyendo	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tW6C90nAhL4&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=25
21	Sammy's	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KNF5kF6x-Fw&list=PLKOAoICmbyV3HOousjVGsnPRcMryiZqM-&index=10