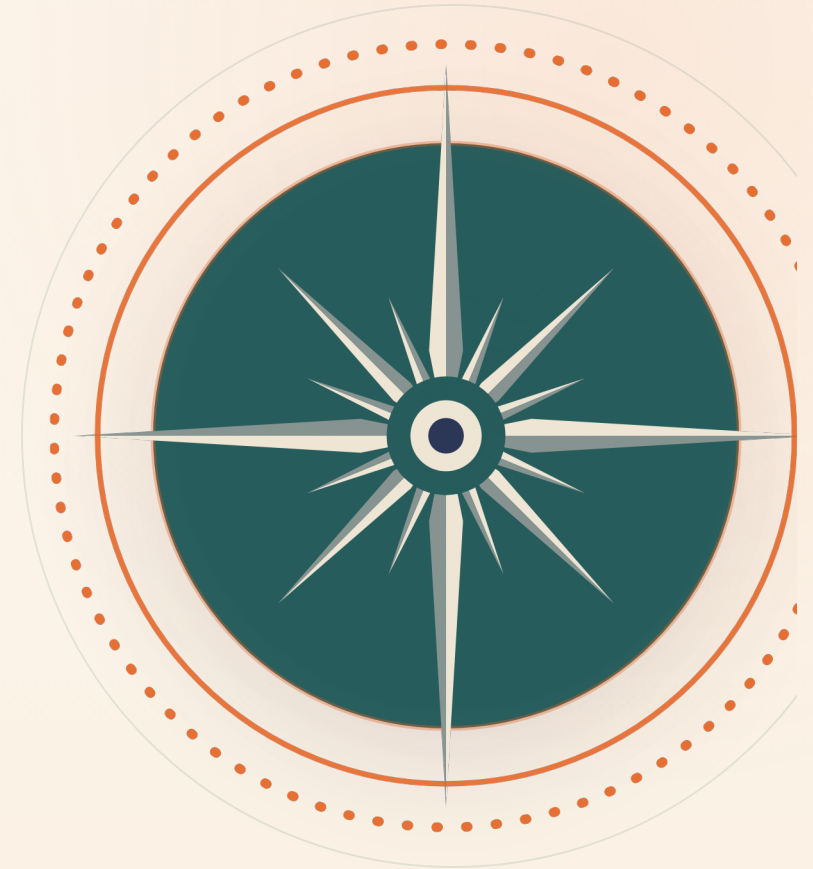


## INTRODUCTION

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# The Hispanic Engagement Program.

Over the last 10 years, Hispanics have been on the move. Searching for a home for their conservative values. But conservatives have not mobilized to welcome them. The Hispanic Engagement Program is a turnkey, proven solution for c3s, c4s, and 527s to play separate but equally important roles in welcoming them to the movement.



## INTRODUCTION

# A history of programs that create unique impact.



2021

Identified **UNIQUE** impact opportunities:



Engagement with Key Demographics



Voter Registration



Ballot Chasing



2022

HAFAs did Voter Registration and Hispanic Engagement in **GA**.



2024

THFs and HAFAs expanded to Voter Registration and Hispanic Engagement in **GA** and **AZ**.



## INTRODUCTION

# 2026 is a new world.

Voter Registration won't have the same unique impact—it's more expensive and less exclusive.

Heritage Action's program is structured to target and turn out Hispanic conservative voters in this year's election and beyond.

Separately, The Heritage Foundation will conduct a nonpartisan effort to increase civic engagement and educate voters on key issues.



### VOTER REGISTRATION

Less unique impact in 2026

1



#### The fear factor is gone.

In 2022 and 2024, conservative non-voters were very scared for their future. That is not the case now.

2



#### More competition, less exclusivity.

In 2022 and 2024 there were zero then very few legit voter registration operations outside of THF and HAFA. This is beginning to not be the case as well.

VS.



### HISPANIC ENGAGEMENT

Still the most unique and efficient path



#### High unique impact.

Hispanic voters remain under-engaged and represent the biggest persuadable opportunity.



#### Low competition.

Few organizations are investing at scale with a proven, culturally resonant approach.



#### Efficient and effective.

The optimal spend continues to deliver strong returns.

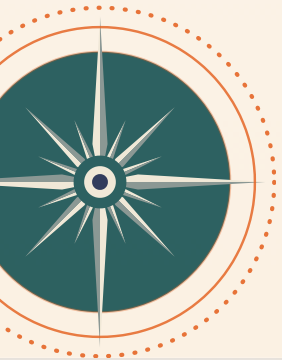


In 2026, the smartest investment is clear: **Double down where impact is highest and competition is lowest.**

## HISPANIC ROI BY THE NUMBERS

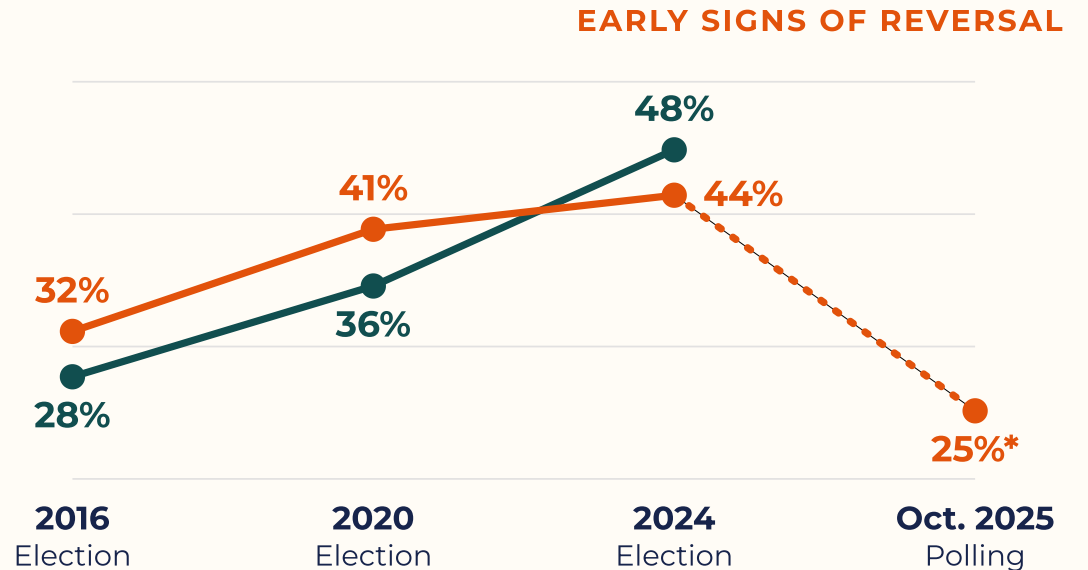
The biggest swing in American politics is reversing.

Hispanic voters are moving, but durable conservative engagement still has not caught up.



### HISPANIC VOTERS: MOVEMENT IN BOTH DIRECTIONS

- Trump support among Hispanic voters (election results)
- Trump favorability among Hispanic adults (polling)



\*AP-NORC: Trump favorability among Hispanic adults fell from 44% before taking office to 25% in Oct. 2025.

## HISPANIC ROI BY THE NUMBERS

# The Biggest ROI in Politics

1 Hispanics are the biggest swing group in American politics.

2 Another 1M+ votes were left on the table.

3 This is the highest-ROI outside spend in politics.

4 Another \$18M in swing states could have changed elections.

### FACT 1

Hispanics are the biggest swing group in the last 50 years.



≈ **2.3M** VOTES IN 2024

No other major demographic moved this much, this quickly, at this scale.

## HISPANIC ROI BY THE NUMBERS

# The Biggest ROI in Politics

1 Hispanics are the biggest swing group in American politics. ✓

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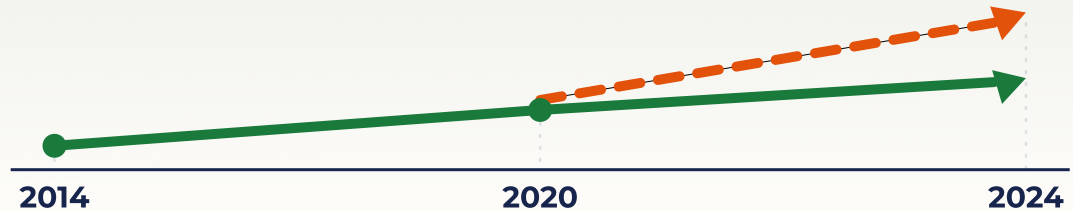
4 Another \$18M in swing states could have changed elections.

### FACT 2

## Another 7–10% and 1M+ votes were left on the table.

— Observed / windfall path (actual)

- - - Coalition-building path (what could have been)



WHAT WE DID  
(WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED)

≈2.3M

VOTES  
SHIFTED

- Liberal messaging failure
- Biden economy backlash
- Trump-specific appeal



WHAT WE SHOULD HAVE DONE  
(WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN)

1M+

VOTES LEFT  
ON THE  
TABLE

- Education
- Engagement
- Relationships / coalition-building

## HISPANIC ROI BY THE NUMBERS

# The Biggest ROI in Politics

- 1 Hispanics are the biggest swing group in American politics. ✓
- 2 Another 1M+ votes were left on the table. ✓
- 3 This is the highest-ROI outside spend in politics.
- 4 Another \$18M in swing states could have changed elections.

### FACT 3

## 10 years, 150+ control trials, and one stands out for 2026.

MOST POLITICAL SPENDING IS INEFFICIENT. HISPANIC ENGAGEMENT, DONE RIGHT, IS NOT.

Most outside spend

**70%**

shows no measurable lift

What politics considers good ROI

**\$200**

per vote

Hispanic engagement with the right program

**\$60-\$90**

per vote

✓ **BOTTOM LINE**

The right Hispanic program can deliver votes at a fraction of the cost politics usually accepts as strong performance.



**2-3x**

more efficient than a typical 'good' benchmark.



Source: National Hispanic Voter Survey, Bilingual America, 2014-2024 (150+ control trials and experiments).

## HISPANIC ROI BY THE NUMBERS




# The Biggest ROI in Politics

- 1 Hispanics are the biggest swing group in American politics. ✓
- 2 Another 1M+ votes were left on the table. ✓
- 3 This is the highest-ROI outside spend in politics. ✓
- 4 Another \$18M in swing states could have changed elections.

### FACT 4

## Another \$18M invested in Hispanic engagement could have changed many elections.

Estimated additional competitive elections that could have been affected with \$18M more in targeted Hispanic outreach.

	 PRESIDENT	 SENATE	 HOUSE	TOTAL
2020 CYCLE	3 (AZ, GA, WI)	1 (Perdue)	~5-6 seats	~9-10 elections
2022 CYCLE	0 —	1 (NV)	~4-5 seats	~5-6 elections
2024 CYCLE	0 —	3 (MI, NV, WI)	~4 seats	~7 elections



**Note:** Estimates based on past Hispanic vote margins in competitive elections and modeled impact of increased engagement.

**Sources:** Catalyst Latino Data, Votamatic analysis, state election results.

# Presence Before Persuasion.

With numbers like this, we have a messenger problem before a message problem.

% WHO SAY THAT REPUBLICANS / CONSERVATIVES \_\_\_\_\_ MORE THAN DEMOCRATS / LIBERALS

Care about Hispanics

21% ALL HISPANICS

14% PERSUADABLES

Represent their values

23% ALL HISPANICS

16% PERSUADABLES

Show up in their communities

20% ALL HISPANICS

9% PERSUADABLES

Engage them in their community

13% ALL HISPANICS

7% PERSUADABLES

## HISPANIC MESSAGING FRAMEWORK

# Perspectives Before Policy.

### WHAT THE RESEARCH IS TELLING US

The strongest early findings are not policy facts. They are perspectives that first resonated in focus groups, then held up in the survey, especially among persuadables.

### FOCUS GROUP QUOTES THAT GOT A “HEAR, HEAR” FROM EVERYONE.

#### PERSPECTIVE 1

“People from many Hispanic countries have seen politicians promise an immediate golden age and then attack anyone who points out that it is not happening.

I would trust Trump more if he said, ‘Fixing the economy is going to take time. We have to do the right things, and we have to stay with it until it works.’”

% WHO SAID THIS PERSPECTIVE RESONATES WITH THEM

**49%** TOPLINE RESONANCE    **~60%** PERSUADABLES

#### PERSPECTIVE 2

“I don’t like the way things are right now, but Democrats support criminals over their victims and think boys should be allowed to compete against girls in sports and use girls’ bathrooms.

I can’t trust people with that kind of judgment to run the government.”

% WHO SAID THIS PERSPECTIVE RESONATES WITH THEM

**51%** TOPLINE RESONANCE    **~62%** PERSUADABLES

# Economic Salience Comes First.

RESEARCH READ

The donor concern is “conservatives = ICE.” The survey does not support treating ICE as the main Hispanic persuasion barrier. Enforcement has support, but economic concerns dominate the trade-offs.

PRIORITY DRIVER

**Cost of living is the dominant issue.**

**60.0%** say lower prices and lower cost of living would have the greatest impact on their family’s quality of life.

DIRECT TRADE-OFF

**Prices beat ICE by nearly 4-to-1.**

High prices beat ICE enforcement **72.7%** to **18.6%** in a direct head-to-head.

AVAILABLE FRAME

**Cultural conservatism is real.**

**64.6%** agree on male athletes in girls’ sports. The anti-Democrat cultural frame resonates with **50.6%**.

**54.1%**

**WORSE OFF**

Personal finances have gotten worse since Trump took office.

**45.5%**

**JOBS OVER ICE**

Choose jobs over ICE in the closest trade-off.

**34.6%**

**ICE OVER JOBS**

Still meaningful support for enforcement when directly tested.

**52.6%**

**CRIMINAL REMOVAL**

Agree local police should cooperate with ICE on criminals.

**Research implication: lead with cost of living; treat enforcement and culture as supporting permission, not the lead.**

# Heritage Action Impact Heirarchy

Wick's Framework organizes the state universe by where Hispanic lift can move the most votes, influence the most important races, and create the strongest downstream political utility.

## TIER 1 Committed

2026 commitment already in motion.

 **Arizona**

 **Ohio**

## TIER 2 On Deck

Next state to add as capacity and funding become available.

 **Michigan**

## TIER 3 Persistent Impact

Recurring battlegrounds with durable statewide utility.

 **Wisconsin**

 **Pennsylvania**

 **Georgia**

 **North Carolina**

## TIER 4 Strategic Impact

Precision or defensive plays where smaller lift can still matter.

 **Nevada**

 **Texas**

 **New Hampshire**

 **Iowa**

 **Maine**

 **Alaska**

# Hypothetical \$3.5M Overall Engagement Plan

ARIZONA AND OHIO



MINIMUM INVESTMENT THRESHOLD

**\$450,000**

PER STATE

TOTAL BUDGET

**\$3,497,000**

## SETUP / PLANNING

JUNE

**\$190,000**

### Infrastructure + Research Setup

Set up for a c3 nonpartisan, educational program and small amount for c4 survey and focus group.

**\$150,000**  
c3 setup

**\$40,000**  
c4 research

## THF 501C3

JULY - AUGUST

**\$1,655,000**

### Relationship Building + Education

A separate c3-compliant program to educate on issues in a non-partisan way.

LIFT GOAL  
**10+ pts**

MEASUREMENT  
c3-compliant survey questions in a difference-in-differences trial.

## HAFA 501C4

SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER

**\$1,242,000**

### Targeted Issue-Engagement

A separate c4-compliant program for targeted issue-engagement and driving political outcomes.

MODELED HAFA OUTCOME  
**25,000 vote lift per state**

## HAFA OPTIONAL

OCTOBER - NOVEMBER

**\$410,000**

### GOTV Optional Effort

Optional HAFA effort focused on turnout execution and election-year GOTV.

Measured through a precinct-level election-results control trial.



TOTAL COST BY ENTITY

THF / c3

**\$1,805,000**

51.62%

HAFA / c4

**\$1,692,000**

48.38%

TOTAL

**\$3,497,000**

100%

# Hypothetical \$3.087M Overall Engagement Plan

ARIZONA AND OHIO



MINIMUM INVESTMENT THRESHOLD

**\$450,000**

PER STATE

TOTAL BUDGET

**\$3,087,000**

## SETUP / PLANNING

JUNE

**\$190,000**

### Infrastructure + Research Setup

Set up for a c3 nonpartisan, educational program and small amount for c4 survey and focus group.

**\$150,000**

c3 setup

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c4 research

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MODELED HAFA OUTCOME

**25,000 vote lift per state**

Measured through a precinct-level election-results control trial.



TOTAL COST BY ENTITY

THF / c3

**\$1,805,000**

58.47%

HAFA / c4

**\$1,282,000**

41.53%

TOTAL

**\$3,087,000**

100%

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01

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