The American Theater: Latinos Performing as American citizens by supporting Trump's Ideals

By:

Mariana Anaya Villafaña

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of International Relations

In Partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations

Supervisor:

Michael Merlingen

Word Count:

15,293

Budapest, Hungary

Abstract

The sudden change that a percentage of the Latino community in the United States showed while voting for Trump reflects that a major change of political and social values is happening within the Latino community. The support they have given to Trump´s campaign only demonstrates their support for new anti-immigration regulations and conservative values, which are causing a division of ideologies inside the Latino community. As the title mentions, the research implies that there has been a change on the identity of the already mentioned Latino community, an identity that seeks to be approved by the American standards. In order to understand their new political beliefs, it is necessary to use the method of discourse analysis to comprehend those comments and interviews that are published on web sites such as: "Latinos for Trump" and "GOP Hispanic Division". Among the results that the research has shown, the notion of the "American Dream" can be considered as a determinant object for the construction of a new identity that is rooted in hard work and legality.

I

Acknowledgements

UNA PALABRA OSCURA

En la palabra habitan otros ruidos,
como el mudo instrumento está sonoro
y al inhumano dios interno el lloro
invade y el temblor de los sentidos.

De una palabra oscura desprendidos,
la clara funden al ausente coro,
y pierden su conciencia en el azoro
preso en la libertad de los oídos.

Cada voz de ella misma se desprende
para escuchar la próxima y suspende
a unos labios que son de otros el hueco.

Y en el silencio en que sin fin murmura,
es el lenguaje, por vivir futura,
que da vacante a una ficción un eco.

Jorge Cuesta

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Introduction

The 8th of November of 2016 an unexpected event happened in the United States and changed their politics abruptly, the presidency was won by the Republican Party and what was overwhelming was the fact that an inexperienced politician named Donald Trump was their candidate. One of the main targets of the Republican Campaign was to "Make America Great Again", a statement that attempted to bring down most the low social and institutional inclusion that Latin American immigrants have reached in the United States. However, one of the main and controversial means of the campaign was directed to build a "Wall" between Mexico and the United States, a barrier that will maintain the migrant fluctuation of those who are unwanted at bay ¿What was the Latin/Hispanic position on these statements? People worldwide will think that most of the Latinos were part of the Democratic Party as a way to stand out from the current flow of discrimination and help the illegal migrants in the United States. Unfortunately, this wasn't the case.

A crucial fact that was unnoticed during the elections or even noticed by few spectators was the Latin support to the Trump campaign and ideals. The existence of a Republican Latino movement is imperative to understand the current situation, it is important to account that 11% of Hispanics in the United States are part of the Republican Party[1]. The Latin Republicans are conformed mostly by Cuban-Americans and Venezuelan-Americans that belong to Christian communities and come from a Middle-class economic status. Besides presenting the previous background, there are important Latino Republicans that are politically active in the United States. Like the case of Marco

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[1]Mark Hugo Lopez et al., "4. Latinos and the Political Parties," *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project* (blog), October 11, 2016, http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/10/11/latinos-and-the-political-parties/.

Rubio who is a second generation that started a campaign to restore the "American Dream" for the middle class.

One of the main goals of the following research is to understand the whole phenomenon ¿Why would people join their own oppressor? Align themselves with the politics that prevent many of their relatives to come to the United States and made the assimilation process difficult for their parents. My aim is to prove that a change in the identity has happened, through the use of power relations and the attachment to a desired object. A group of Hispanics/Latinos have decided to vote for Trump in order to belong to a society that hasn't been able to fully include them within it, an action that can result on the non-intentional harm of the values and aims of the rest of the Latino/Hispanic community.

The first chapter contextualizes the emergence of the Latino support on Trump´s 2016 presidential campaign, by including recent polls about the political change within the Latino community and a selection of commentaries that were made on the media by Latinos that supported Trump on the election. On the next section, I explain the methodological basis of the research and the academic discourse that explains the purpose of using an interdisciplinary approach on the following research. At the end of the section, I provide the general characteristics of the empirical data that was used in the research.

The second chapter is focused on explaining the literature that was used to explaining the actions of the Latino community that supported Trump, the main argument is related to the interpellation process to a new ideology or political perspective. As a result, of the interpellation process there are new consolidations on the identity of the subjects and realization of promises by the figure of

power. Likewise, there is the explanation of performativity as a social action that affects the world the subject is leaving in.

The third chapter presents the empirical data that was obtain from the chosen groups: GOP Hispanic division and the group "Latinos for Trump", both groups have a website and a Facebook page that are constantly making posts about the Republican political reforms, Trump´s new speeches and the inclusion of news about the comments that other Latino supporters do.

The fourth chapter is interested on contrasting the results that came from the empirical data and the literature review that was mentioned on the previous chapter. To mention some of the findings that came out during the development of the last chapter, is the involvement of a previous construction of the "American" identity. This identity comes from the wish of integration and hard work, they have acquired the American perception of behaving in the U.S. and have been able to combine it with their Hispanic heritage.

First Chapter:
Academic Discourse and Methodology

1.1 Research Topic

The main of the research is to understand the causes that provoked the vote of almost 30% to Trump during the presidential election that was held on the 8th of November 2016 in the United States, a phenomenon that has not been properly studied due to the recent political movements that have been happening meanwhile in the Unites States. I aim to uncover the reasons out which the Latino community was moved to vote for a leader that did not belong to any democratic party, an action that did not seem feasible since it was going against the mainstream political ideas of the rest of the Latino community.

According to the polls that were made after the election only a 65% of the Latino community decided to vote for Hilary Clinton[2], a natural decision for the Latino democrats and those who believe on Clinton proposals of "passing a comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship that keeps families together"[3]. What happened to the remaining percentage of the Latino community? The 29% left of the Latino community decided to vote for Trump, an interesting political shift that was not expected from a community that is often used as an object of discordance for other political movements. In comparison, to the election that was held in 2012. The Democratic Party that was represented by Obama got the 71% of the Latino vote, meanwhile

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[2]Alan Gomez, "Another Election Surprise: Many Hispanics Backed Trump," News, USA Today, November 9, 2016, https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/2016/11/09/hispanic-vote-election-2016-donald-trump-hillary-clinton/93540772/.

[3]Lauren Carroll, "Hillary Clinton's Top 10 Campaign Promises," PolitiFact, July 22, 2016, http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2016/jul/22/hillary-clintons-top-10-campaign-promises/.

the Republican Party that was running with Romney got the 27% of the Latino vote. The results, show that there was an important decrease on the popularity of the Democratic Party that resulted on an important but yet small increase on popularity of Republican Party for the Latinos[4].

 The Latino community in the United States is formed by almost 20 countries, a factor that makes complex the task of tracking down the self-identified ethnicity or even birthplace of the Latinos that decided to vote for Trump. According to a Census that was made by the United States Census Bureau during 2010[5] , showed that the Mexican population in the United States is one of the biggest one, the second one is the Puerto Rican community, followed by the Cuban community and so on.

A trackable example would be the state of Florida, in here the Latino community is mostly formed by Cubans. During the campaign The Cuban-Americans and Puerto Rican-Americans formed a group named "Latinos for Trump", with the help of other Mexican-Americans they managed to gather a community with conservative ideals that fully supported Trump´s campaign.[6] This is not the first time that Cuban American have supported the Republican Party, on the 2008 campaign the Cuban-American community in Florida was the one that had an outstanding 57% of support to McCain´s campaign. When the group "Latinos for Trump" showed open support to Trump´s campaign, other Latinos around the country realized they were sharing the same values. Latino

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[4]Jens Manuel Krogstad and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Hillary Clinton Won Latino Vote but Fell below 2012 Support for Obama," *Pew Research Center* (blog), November 29, 2016, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/29/hillary-clinton-wins-latino-vote-but-falls-below-2012-support-for-obama/.

[5] Sharon R. Ennis, Merarys Rios-Vargas, and Nora G. Albert, "The Hispanic Population: 2010," May 2011, 16.

[6]Marcela Valdes, "'We'Re Looking at a New Divide Within the Hispanic Community,'" *The New York Times*, November 15, 2016, sec. Magazine, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/20/magazine/donald-trumps-america-florida-latino-vote.html, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/20/magazine/donald-trumps-america-florida-latino-vote.html.

communities around the country shared the vision of new anti-migratory policies and the renewal of the policies that repeal the Obamacare tax on those who don't get health insurance.[7]

The process of alignment to a power figure that can be considered as the oppressor for the Latino community represents an important puzzle that should be analysed. The decision of choosing a president that in many occasions has called the Mexican community "rapist" that has called the Salvadorians drug dealers and the pledged to deport approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants in the US. [8] Represents a problematic that goes beyond building a wall between two countries, it represents the division of a community that expects that everyone within to support the democratic ideals that are appointed to the Latino community.

However, as I mention above being "supposed" to behave as a Latino that will support inclusive democratic policies does not mean that the Latino community is a homogenous movement. There are divergent subjects within communities and a good example of it would be the case of Robert Rodriguez Tejera. He is the host of the Radio Program called "Contacto Directo" that was broadcast in South Florida; during the show he expressed many times his support for Trump´s propositions. In many times, he expresses his discontent of the possibility of some "other" immigrant being able to take his job for "less money". Besides this type of opinions, he also encourages the audience to be frightened by the upcoming feminist movement, L.G.B.T rights and the Muslim immigrants.

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[7] Ibid. page 4

[8]Tim Walker, "Meet the Latinos Who Voted for Donald Trump | The Independent," News, Independent, November 11, 2016, https: //www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-elections/latinos-voted-donald-trump-president-election-a7412591.html..

In addition, one of the founders of the group named "Latinos for Trump" named Marco Gutiérrez who is a Mexican-American citizen declared during an interview for the MSNBC channel that: "the Latino culture is primitive and underdeveloped".[9] As well as, clarifying that Trump´s purpose of maintain the Mexicans out of the country was the right choice for the American community. In addition, he declared that the Americans should be scared of the Mexican culture because one day they were going to notice the presence of taco trucks on every street

How can we account for the considerable support that the Latino community in the USA gave to Trump´s presidential campaign despite his anti-Latino discourse? The key to a possible answer to this question remains in the understanding of the ongoing discourses that the Latino supporters have given. One example would be the case of Raul Rodriguez, a member of the Californian community that declared the following: "If we don't elect Donald Trump, we'll get another four years of Barack Obama and frankly, I don't know what would happen to this wonderful country of ours. Obama has already done so much to destroy our way of life and Hillary Clinton is promising to carry on where he left off. Like Obama, she wants to change our fundamental values; the ones people like my father fought to defend".[10]

These are just examples of the comments that have been made by the Latinos that have showed publicly his support to Trump´s campaign and presidency, it might be possible to imply that they

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[9]CNN Espanol, "Fundador de Latinos for Trump: 'Los hispanos somos una cultura primitiva y subdesarrollada' | CNN," Voto Latino, September 15, 2016, http://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2016/09/15/fundador-de-latinos-for-trump-los-hispanos-somos-una-cultura-primitiva-y-subdesarrollada/.

[10]Lauren Gambino, "Viva Trump! What Drives Donald Trump's Hispanic Supporters?," *The Guardian*, September 10, 2016, sec. US news, http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/sep/10/viva-donald-trump-what-motivates-hispanic-supporters-republican-presidential-candidate.

have consciously decided to be aligned to this specific type of power as a way to reach the "American Citizenship", even though at the end they are just Hispanic/Latino Americans. It is an act that seeks to protect what is considered as American even thought if it results on a contradictory racist act.

1.2 Research Question

The central question that this research aims to address: How can we account for the considerable support that the Latino community in the USA gave to Trump´s presidential campaign despite his anti-Latino discourse? Secondly, I am committed to delineate the way through which the Latin acquisition of American identity resulted in the change of cultural, political, social and mind-set values.

1.3 Academic Discourse

My research question gaps in the two main theory families in IR and political science, which I will argue have too little to say about the Trump-Latino support phenomenon: constructivism and rational choice approaches. In what follows I briefly review the main general claims of those two sets of theories with a view to highlight how they fail to give a satisfactory answer to my Research Question.

Social constructivism theory is described as a diverse theoretical framework whose common denominator is the assumption that we do not have a direct access to reality (Ulbert 2014). The main explanation of the intelligibility of a common reality is that the social reality is constructed through the way in which the person deals with other persons, the ideas we share about the world and how we experience the environment. This approach is considered as a metatheory, which is a theory about theories that appraises alternative explanatory approaches and possible systematic

research programmes. One of the key characteristics of a metatheory is its possibility of applying specific epistemological goals and gain important insight on how we may apply, formulate and verify theories. (Haslam, Cornelissen y Werner 2017)

Constructivism is a social theory of international politics that uses the premise that social construction of world affairs are based on interaction, in opposition to the claim of neorealism that international politics are shaped by the behavior of selfish actors who pursue their interests by making utilitarian calculations that will maximize their benefits and minimize their losses, hence establishing the materiality of international structures (Brown y Ainley 2005). In the International relations framework, constructivism might still be seen as a radical theory in comparison to the conventionally secure IR theories as neorealism and neoliberalism. I want to stress the fact that this approach is very distinctive because it stresses the social, ideational and intersubjective character of world politics.

Constructivism does not seem to be a useful theory for answering my Research Question because it relates only to the development of interactions with other nations, and the process that can lead to collective identities is only focused on the fact that social interaction is the only process that manages to change the identities. It portrays nations as collective actors that do not take into account the processes that might lead to a change within a nation, it is only interested on the politics and interactions that happen on an international level. I consider that interaction is not the only factor that can help to conceive the construction of an identity in a state or nation.

It is true that Constructivism does consider the implications that culture can have on the development of an identity of a person as a member of the state, but it fails to analyze the integration of different cultures within a state. The case of the Latino community and the United

States, has proven to entail a major conflict that is related to the mixture of cultures and the impossibility of tracing down a nation building process that manages to include the Latinos, African Americans, Asians and other communities under a same nation. The states can recognize each other by the process of interaction in the international relations framework, but they are still perceived as a unitary construction that entails a whole population that hasn't been able to internalize nation state-symbols and a common culture (Bloom 1990). It is necessary to understand that the reason of the existence of the Latino Trump supporters can be related to other factors that related to inner politics and subjection processes.

In the case of Rational Choice theory, there is also a failure while understanding the existence of the Latino Trump support. If the theory is bases on the assumption that individuals choose a course of action that is related to their personal preference, it would be difficult to understand why a divergent group of Latinos decided to vote for someone that has an anti-Latino propaganda. This theory is used to model human decision making, especially in the contexts of microeconomics, where it is helpful to understand the behavior of a society in terms of individual actions that can be explain through a rational scope, in which choices are consistent because they were made on their personal preferences (Snidal 2012).

The theory is also based on the development of hyper rational actors with powerful calculating abilities, which fails to incorporate limits to the actor's capacities and constrains their decision-making process to accurateness. Generally, actors are described by their unchanging sets of preferences over all conceivable outcomes, agents are said to be rational if they reflect a relationship of superiority, inferiority or indifference among all the possible choices. It is an approach that is related to positivist theories which are used to understand how actors behave in

practice, but it can also be used as a normative theory that evaluates how actors should behave and how are they "actually" behaving.

The use of this theory does not fully apply to the explanation of why Latinos decided to vote for Trump during the last elections, according to this method the goal seeking process should focus on the best outcome for the actors. In this case, the best outcome would have been to support a candidate that did not have anti migratory and racist political basis. According to Landa (2006) the goal seeking process actions does not entirely cover all aspects of the human behaviors, therefore it cannot fully understand the actions of the Trump Latino supporter´s. On the eyes of the Rational Choice theory, they would have made the wrong choice in accordance to the ideal political choices that they could have, like the inclusive migratory policies that were suggested by Hilary Clinton.

Therefore, the approach I´m going to use is based, in parts, on constructivist meta-theoretical principles of the cultural construction principles of the cultural construction of interests and identities. Still, it is necessary to concretize this meta-theory by drawing on the importance of analyzing the processes in which political behavior can produce a change as a conglomerate of actions and choices that involves the interaction between specific groups. Considering that the political behavior also has consequences on the person´s attitude, goals, personality and motivations (Stone and Shacffner 1974)

The alignment of the Latino community with the Trump political ideals shows the influence of the current political institutions in the development of a collective form of action (Neuman 2006). A behaviour that can be understood from the perspective of political sociology, a conception that considers power as a crucial factor that can change the modalities and constitution of the identities that are part of a social structure. According to Brah, the psychic identity is always involved in a

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never-ending process of construction, in other words, it will never reach a final end. This identity also conceals political aspects when it determines which political ideologies is going to follow, it can be considered as a self-perception exercise when a persons declares himself as follower of a specifc type of ideology.

Being attached to a specific type of ideology or political party necessary involves the subjection of the person to a specific type of power. Therefore, is necessary to review Althusser´s Marxist theory about the implications that institutions can have over the human being. The intention of transforming the raw material known as the subject through the use of Ideological State Apparatuses can be crucial to explain the actions of the Latinos (Lewis 2017), the main purpose of the ISA is to subject the individual into a specific type of ideology. To explain the process of subjection or interpellation by an external power to a person can result on a familiar and harrowing way. With this in mind is important to mention the comments of Pécheux (2014) over Atlthusser´s interpellation process.

A theory that can be suitable for the understanding of the sudden change of the political behavior of the Latinos that decided to vote for Trump, would be the conception of "Cruel optimism" that was proposed by Berlant (2011). She explains that the attachment of an object that has been build up upon fantasies of a good life, like political and social equality that only keeps the person attached to liberal-capitalist society that can no longer be counted on providing proper opportunities for individuals.

As discussed above there is a change in the identity of the subject, in the case of the Latino population that decided to vote for Trump there is a glimpse about an intent of becoming something that they are clearly not. A reaction that is presented thus the lack of social inclusion in

the American society, which will mean that they will try to adapt to that specific context by presenting themselves as Trump follower´s. This is one of the reasons, of deciding to use the theory of subject formation by Butler (1997) and the act of mimicry that is described by Bhabha (1994). The act of performing becomes a very important moment for every type of subjection process, because it does not only act as the internalization of an ideology but also of a way of leaving. Either performativity or mimicry these are acts of repetition rather than representation that seek to integrate the subject to a social context.

In the case of the Latinos that supported Trump during the election, besides openly supporting the campaign trough the social media, they were also showing pictures and videos in which they were performing by the rules of the popular culture. Understanding popular culture is very important because it is not only the sum of a variety performances but also the expression and symbolisms that influences and reflect the human culture (Fedorak 2009). Equally it tries to remain as a natural or fabricated bind that play a vital role in the expression of a cultural identity and keeps the well-being of the subjects that are involved in it.

1.4 Methodology

This study uses a qualitative case study approach to investigate the considerable support that a fraction of the Latino community in the USA gave to Trump´s presidential campaign despite his anti-Latino platform. An action that causes the denigration of the Latino culture and weakens the cohesion within the already mentioned society. By employing the interpretivist method that is used by the social sciences, I expect to focus on meanings and meaning making practices of the Latino community (Schwartz-Sea y Yanow 2012). Besides understanding what meanings are attached to their own comprehension of the world, the development of the interpretative method comes from the conception of power knowledge and genealogy that was introduced by Foucault (1993), as a way to understand how a different "situation" can be explained from many perspectives and how

the same "situation" can be affected by a hierarchical knowledge that attempts to explain every characteristic of the same situation.

Since the research is going to focus on the textual productions and actions of the Latino community that supported Trump, it is necessary to use the method known as discourse analysis. One of the main aims of the method is to reveal the social characteristics of the person rather than the structure of the text (Angermuller, Maingueneau y Wodak 2014). With this in mind, the upcoming discourse analysis developments assume that all objects and actions are meaningful, in the case of the social and political discourses the meanings are constructions of different objects and practices that constitute the identity of the subject.

The discourse theory inquires on the way in which social practices formulate and contend the discourses that produce social reality (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis 2000). The disocurse is a contigent system of emanings that can never be completely exhausted to a single field of meaning. If the researcher wants to unpack and elaborate upon a complex set of statements, is neccesary to understand that discourse analysis refers to the practice of analysing empirical materials and other types of information as discursive forms. The discursive forms are all the objects that are part of a discourse and their meainng always depend on the socially constructed system of rules and the significant differences that each object has between themselves.

A characteristics that Laclau and Mouffe (1985) I consider important in the development of a discourse is the need to have a nodal point that organises the discourse around a reference point, one that will manage to bind the discourse around a paricular set of meanings. The reason of mentioning the former concept is to understand and analyze if the Latino community that

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supported Trump has completley assimilated the chain of meanings that are attached to Trump´s discourse and ideology.

Besides being able to understand the discourses and other textual productions of the Latino Trump supporter´s, the inclusion of discourse analysis and hermeneutical approach will help the research to understand the production beyond the clear meaning of the words. It will improve the procedure of understanding what type of meanings are attached to those words and the actions that the same community has over a given space in the world. Therefore, it is a method that will enable the understanding of the world as how they see it and probably with this we I will reach an understanding on their decision to support Trump in the last election.

The analysis of the discourse of the Latino community that supported Trump during the election can be one tool to understand the power that has been inflicted on them and therefore their vision about the reality. However, I consider important as well the analysis of the photographies. These productions are important because they reflect and spread the cultural symbols, ideas and other practices that are particular from each group.

1.5   Data Collection

For the current research two major different groups have been chosen: "Latinos for Trump" and "GOP Hispanic", both groups were openly supporting Trump´s campaign during the elections. Besides having almost, the same political ideals, it is important to explain the differences they have between each other. The group "Latinos for Trump" was founded during the campaign and manage to unify the community under conservative principles, but they still use the word "Latino" to define themselves. The word refers to almost anyone born in Latin America or with ancestors

within it that are currently living in the United States, but excludes the Brazilians, Spaniards, Italians and Frenches[11].

In the case of "Latinos for Trump" they count with a Facebook page and a website domain, on both they are presenting news about the reforms that the president has been proposing before and after being elected, in some occasions there are posts that make fun of the democratic coalition. In other cases, there is also the inclusion of videos that explain the experiences of other Trump supporters alongside the United States. As well as the inclusion of video interviews and books that have been published by the Latin Americans that support Trump and its current policies, in both media channels the people show discontent on the constant migration of people to the United States.[12]

In the case of the second group, I present the "The Republican National Committee" that goes for the acronym "GOP" that means "Gallant Old Party"[13]. They have an official website that is dedicated to the Hispanic community and it's known as the "GOP Hispanics". One of the first differences that prevails on this group is to use the word "Hispanic" that is use to refer only to the Spanish-speaking countries, that includes the Caribbean countries and Spain[14]. One problematic that the word carries on is the incapacity to include the indigenous population from the Spanish speaking countries that do not identify themselves with the Spanish culture.

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[11] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "What's the Difference Between Hispanic and Latino? | Britannica.Com," Demystified, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/story/whats-the-difference-between-hispanic-and-latino.
[12] Latinos For Trump, "Home |," Home | Latinos for trump, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.officiallatinos4trump.com.
[13] "History of the GOP," GOP, accessed May 31, 2018, https://gop.com/.
[14] Ibid.

The "GOP Hispanics" division also count with a Facebook page and a general website domain, they characterize themselves by presenting videos that are dedicated to the "cultural heritage movements", news about outstanding Hispanic Republican Leaders, Reforms and general statements that are appointed to the Latino Republican Community. It is important to appoint that this groups have a longer trajectory that the one that was previously mentioned, since there are many Latinos that have claimed to follow the Republican Party before. Some examples would be Ted Cruz who is the current U. S. Senator for Texas and Marco Rubio who is the Junior U. S. Senator for Florida, they have been members of Republican Party for a long time and also have proposed immigrations policies against illegal aliens.

Both groups are representative to explain the upcoming social and political movement that affected the Latino community during Trump´s campaign, they show in a very explicit way the ideologies and representations of their reality through the use of social media. These are the best examples to understand the way these Latinos express themselves and understand the world that surrounds them. Besides having differences between each other, it would be enriching for the research to analyze how they represent on their own terms the same ideologies.

The empirical evidence that both groups can supply to the research are the political differences that both have in relation to an older political affiliation to the Republican Party and therefore to the conservative politics. It will enrich the research by showing that GOP Hispanic has a better structured society than the "Latinos for Trump" group, which has can be labeled under the category of populism due to the comments that they do on the social media. The most interesting outcome that will come from the analysis of both groups will rely on the fact that they are supporting the same ideology but they expressed it in different ways. They use different words,

discourses, videos and photographs to expresses themselves and the way they perceive their activities.

Second Chapter:
Identity formation

In the following chapter, the aim is to understand the subjection theories and examine how they relate to the change of identity and perspective of a specific group of people. In this case, I am working on those Latinos who decided to support Mr. Donald Trump´s political ideals. The subjection process cannot only involve ideology as mentioned by Althusser (1966), the clarification of the existence of individuals also includes the influence of power, political promises, political expectations and culture. A clarification of this shall be provided in the following sections of the chapter.

2.1 Why to be a subject?

As a means of introducing the case at hand, it seems important to understand why people would easily agree to be subjectified, in others words, to let a certain thought or power rule their lives. Berlant´s (2011) proposition is focused on the optimist attachment that the subject has over an object of desire. Since, the subject is attached to this object, it is easier for them to be embedded into an institution or with concordance to a specific norm. The process of alignment is possible because of a cluster of promises that results in an incomprehensive attachment to an object that might never come. A postulation that resembles to what Stavrakakis (1999) explains about how the subject agrees to identify themselves to a political identity because of the constitutive lack[15] that is imprinted in their identity.

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[15] Refers to the lack of enjoyment that makes the subject feel fully realized, it is a restriction that has been imposed since the constitution of the psychic apparatus.

For both authors, the human being has an object of desire or the need to fulfill a need that will bring them some comfort if they manage to find it. This need of finding the object of desire is what causes the motivation on the subject to adapt the society in order to gain it. In the case of a political scenario, the subject is drawn by the object of desire reflected in a particular political system that promises to provide the desired object within the reality domain of the subject. As a reaction to this promise the subject will be spurred to live and work in accordance to the political order.

The condition of maintaining ties to a problematic object results in "cruel optimism" Berlant (2011). This object is not only attached to a desire but is also fixated to the loss of hope and optimism, because these factors remain the prime motifs that inspire the subject to live. Should these motifs extinguish due to the fulfillment of the desire, there would not be anything left to motivate the subject to live. In the best-case scenario this object will be related to love and social inclusion, but when this is used for the establishment of a political object/scene that can be structured through the use of power or the promise of belonging to the social structure it might become dangerous. It may then lead to the manipulation or attachment of the subject to an oppressive form of power.

Stavrakakis (2007) demonstrates to have a previous consideration from what Berlant (2011), on his scenario he explains that the lack of fullness is an "imaginary promise" that was made in order to recapture the impossible enjoyment that is lost. This is one of the reasons why most political discourses focus on delivering a better life for the population or towards an improved society. This promise represents the pleasure or enjoyment that will come when the structure grants the subject what he wants the most. The subject becomes thus prompted to take a decision of reestablishing a relation to the political object/scene that has structured their relation to strangers, power and

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the infrastructure of belonging (Berlant 2011). Such notions serve to build on the subjects' optimism, enabling them thenceforth to live an ordinary live in submission. The world setting that was promised to them will wear them out so that they can see the ordinariness of suffering and the violence of normativity that the power can set over them.

The process of subjection does not only involve the use of promises of an object of desire but also requires the involvement of an ideology so that the person becomes a subject of the system. This phenomenon can be called interpellation. Pécheux (2014) comments on the concept that was firstly introduced by Althusser (1964), mentioning that is the exact moment when the reproduction of capitalist relations happens through the process of continuous subjection to a certain type of ideology. Pécheux points out that interpellation of the subject does not have to be a capitalist relation, but also connected to political and social ideals

An example of the subjectification process would be the use of the Ideological State apparatuses and Repressive State Apparatuses, as instruments to fulfill the reproduction of the political relation, so that interpellation can be embodied in the major social sphere and the current political institution (Lecercle 2017). If the major ideology or political power manages to be successful while controlling the institutions and the social realm, the subject would be tempted by the social interaction.

The process of interpellation or subjection is a part of the subject identity formation from the very first moment that depends on the ideals and promises that the subject is willing to follow. Under these circumstances, the act of interpellation involves Althusser´s constitutive subject/Subject[16].

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[16] A conception that resemble the Hegelian perception of other/Other, in other words, the Hegelian Dialectics

The first subject is defined as the one that "splits into a singular, grasped in the empirical obviousness of its identity and its place" (Pécheux 2014). The second, which is the Great subject is the one that resembles God, Justice, Knowledge and other forms that convey how things should be.

In the process of identification, the framework in which the subject/Subject split is characterized by a coincidence, the subject finds understanding within the Subject and the individual is freely interpellated as a subject to the Subject (Pécheux 2014). The subject then recognizes the state of how things are and agrees that things should remain as is, or as the Subject declares. When the relation between the subject/Subject comes to an end, the result is the creation of unappropriated subjects that will carry out a series of refusals and revolts over the first identification with the Subject.

This is known as the process of counter-identification- It might seem that the subject has broken out from the ideology of the Subject. It is interesting to analyze how a subject becomes attracted to something that goes against what was previously established, as well as how a subject finally gets subjected by another type of ideology. Even though the subject decides to identify with or negate a prior moment of subjection with another ideology, the desubjectification process still seems impossible. The only possible outcome would be the transformation of the subject-form, in other words, it means that the person becomes a subject of another type of ideology (Pécheux, 2014).

It is important to take into consideration that there process in which the subject agrees to subjectify or interpellate to a certain ideology is always going to make him part of a social structure. However, the individual cannot only be portrayed as satisfactory pursuer. There is still other factors that

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should be taken into consideration to understand the integration to a political institution. What is important to understand is the involvement of power in the process of interpellation and how integrates its notions on the subject.

2.2 Subjection via Power

There is an inner cohesion that exists between power and the production of identity, a process known as identity building. To understand how certain power structures, manage to become prevalent objects of long term identification and how people get attached to them is necessary to understand the phenomena known as "voluntary servitude". This is a concept suggested by de la Boétie (1942) that initiates a quality discussion looking into subjects' willingness towards submission under a certain hierarchy. Stavrakakis (2007) main concern about what has been commented by Boétie (1942) is the possibility to relate it to what Lacan conceals as the (1993) "Name of the Father" and how it reflects repression and prohibition on the subject. He argues that the structure of reality is imposed through the imposition of the law, which predisposes social subjects to accept and obey what the "Other"[17] is imposing. From a social perspective the subject is invested with the gloss of authority, with these movements it becomes part of the organized reality.

Obedience can be presented as a psychological mechanism that is linked to the conditioning of the individual action with concordance to the higher political purpose and through exercising compulsive force over the individual (Milgram 2005). The source of the authority is one of the major factors that can influence the decision of the subject to be subjected to a specific type of

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[17] The great other (Other) is formed in the symbolic order when the subject exchanges objects for words and their presence is lost in the order of the real

political ideology. Apparently, there are some subjects that expect someone else to be in charge, if the "figure in charge" manages to appear then it will set the development of the identity of the subject. I consider important to develop the notion of obedience as a blind loyalty to the political figure, I would not consider that there is a precondition of obedience on the human being but rather a condition that makes it obey the structure of power in order to be part of it.

Society usually needs to have someone in command so the social reality would not disintegrate, in other words, it sets the norm of how reality should be and how the culture should be. According to Bourdieu (1991) the implications that symbolic power has over the subject has major role on the development of the society and its ways. He describes the "habitus", a deep embodiment of a set of dispositions that improve the position or maintain of the subject on a given social space and physical world. It is possible to consider that the "habitus" can be an American one that has been endorsed to the Latinos that have accepted Trump´s American form of power.

The incorporation of the "habitus" begins in the family through seemingly insignificant and sometimes no verbal actions that seek to adjust the behavior of the subject. In fact, many of these actions are learned through mimicry as a way to perform in an adequately form in the given social space. The main concern is the need of the subject to adjust and correct himself by the incorporation of a determined set of rules and social/physical demands of the given space. This Bourdieuesque approach is retaken by Zizek (1989) when he argues that the ideological operation does not only take place on a cognitive level - it structures the reality itself and the way the subject acts within it.

Bourdieu (1991) was mostly referring to the division between classes and the adjustment of the subjects within them. On the case of the Latino community it is possible to imply that the set of

adjustment is not clearly directed to the division of classes but rather to the adjustment to a new physical space known as the "US". The process that requires the assimilation of cultural and political ideas that results on a blend of cultures. Stavrakakis (2007) explanation would be that the set of rules that related to obedience are strongly connected to the "enjoyment", it is a concept that is related to the extreme state of pleasure, one that cannot be achieved due to the state of repression.

There is a correlation between what Stavrakakis and Berlant express in relation to the acceptance of rules. It can be understood as if power had the power to bring back either the object of desire or the enjoyment in the subject's reality. It might seem that the formal structure of power has a stronger relation to the affective notion of the subject than the social order. According to Stavrakaki´s and Berlant´s postures the act of subordination is aligned to the promises of enjoyment or an object of desire, that are going to make the subject stick to a specific symbolic construction which is disabling him. In the case of the Latino Community that decided to vote for Trump I would not consider that is the case. I would rather considerate that is an opportunity that will enable them to change their identity by not being attack as illegal immigrants. The Latino Supporters want to model the society in the future

The involvement of another factor might expand the construction of the process of subordination, like the involvement of the charismatic political figure as mentioned by Weber (1920, 1978). The involvement of charisma on a political figure that is perceived by the society as virtuous, extraordinary and with exceptional might be the bind that is required to provoke the emotional affection in the subject. The subject is involved in a political scenario, where he finds a charismatic political figure that claims to speak on behalf of the population and by this the followers have the duty to create a personal loyalty to it. The devotion to a leader that has promised to bring back

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what they have lost, as a reaction the leader has extorted emotional dominance over the population. This dominance is characterized by the absolute blindness that allows the leader to represent and speak for certain groups (Bourdieu 2005). The leader acts as the general representative of the group, an imposition that is legitimized by those who are being represented.

In general, this requires, a process that locates the power figure in a privileged position where they will always find ways of suffusing subjects with a symbolical spirit of their campaigns. However, the subject will always find sense within the promises that have been made for them, without thinking about the repercussions. Therefore, the subject that was considered as submissive becomes the creator in turn because he manipulates the knowledge and symbolism that has been given to them (Certeau, Giard y Mayol 1998). De Certeau´s major framework is majorly related to the understanding of culture consumption and the assimilation process that have been going on since the colonization. Even though there is a powerful set of rules intended to structure a society, in many cases, the subjects are involved in reshaping their cultural corporae.

What is surprising is the ease with which the theorization given above can be applied to the case of the Latino community in the U.S. Firstly, the implications that come with the symbolic power and how it forms the subject through the use of education and politics. As mentioned before, they are in power of the everyday practices that have been imposed to them, like the use of language (Certeau, Giard y Mayol 1998). They are capable of producing new forms of language and non-verbal actions, so they can change the dynamics of it and therefore performed an operation on it. Influencing in turn the disseminator of the cultural values whose own understanding of symbolic language then reshapes in concordance with the action of the subjects.

2.3 Performing the subjection

The main aim of the following section is to explain how the subjection process changes the perspectives of the subject´s world. It also affects the form the subject acts within the same world as a result of the political subjection process that is affecting it. Therefore, the following section will help to will help to explain how the political ideals of Mr. Donald Trump besides interpellating the subject it can also produce the act of performance. In the case on the Latino Community, they have been interpellated by the American Ideology. One that provides the individual with the imaginary relationship of individual to their real condition of existence (Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays 1971). In this case the Latino has been given a condition of existence, one that needs to perform in accordance to the American ideals.

The concept of performativity is firstly introduced by Austin (1975) as the capacity of the speech and communication to act or to consume an action. He described it as "performative utterances", this are the situation where saying was doing something, rather than describing the reality. Since the research is analyzing what does the Latino community is saying as a way to act in their own reality in relation to their major ideology. The importance of mentioning the performative utterances, is the intention and the capacity of being. This capacity is what destabilizes the previous conception of the reality that subject is acting in and with this change the perspectives over his own act of performance, that is regulated by previously established norms of the order.

In the following section I find it useful to examine Judith Butler's (1990) gender-related theorization. With gender outplays, there exist a series of identity performances. These identity performances always involve a partial assimilation into the given role that can be used to understand the assimilation process that the Latino community experienced while acquiring a new

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type of ideology. Butler (1990) argues that the constant repetition of performances or "mis-performances" serves towards social change. As well, Bhabha (1994) also comments that the process of mimicry is characterized by repetition rather than a process that "re-presents". In this case the Latino community is seeking to change their own perspective of the U.S. by repeating a performance that will enable them to be part of the American society, not as a continuous act of repetition but rather as the act of performing the ideology that they decided to take.

Butler (1990) as well considers that the gendered and racialized identities are being constructed through ambivalent identity performances. In this case the identity performance is focused on subverting and disavowing the identity that is conceived as inadequate. At this point Butler (1995) implies that the adaptation of a specific type of performance seeks to find notions of belonging and a kind of citizenship. As a result, the subject performs in a symbolical and linguistic form that portrays him as proper executor.

Butler´s perception of identity as a performative action is a creation that comes from Althusser´s (1968) argument about how ideology leads the subject. He explained that in order for individuals to become subjects who want to belong to the symbolic order, they must continually perform as subjects of a specific ideology. Butler (1997), mentions that the subject formation has three primary components. First, the main aim of the discourse is to normalize the power relationships amongst the subjects. Secondly, the disciplinary apparatuses play a key role in the production of the subjects. Finally, language and discourse will generate a power that is recognized as truthful.

During the final stage the subject is produced within a regime of truth. This process of interpellation that is described by Butler (1990) shows that the subject is an effect of the discursive practice, therefore the act of interpellation can be understood as a performative act. At this point,

Butler implies that the performative practice produces the subjects that are going to be part of a specific genre practice or a particular race.

As mentioned before, the act of performance for Butler is based on an ambivalence identity. The conceptualization that was already mentioned by Bhabha (1994) when he was describing the act of mimicking on the colonial context. He explains that the colonized person can only become a subject through mimicking the ideals of the colonizer. Unless, there is a change on the "diaspora" that is described as Brah (1996) as a multi axial performative conception of power which highlight the ways in which a group that is constituted as a minority may find the way of constituting itself as a majority along another. In the case of the Latino community, it can be conceived as a minority of people that decided to vote for Trump but managed to become part of the majority of people that supported Trump. In this case they would not be mimicking rather performing the axial power that they decided to choose.

It can be understood as an act of camouflaging, one that involves the violent repression of the difference; it involves the aggressive act of identification with the other (Lacan, 2006). It is a process of identification or subjection that even if it is voluntary carries on within it the problem of ambivalence. For the reason that they have to neglect the original identity, it is a sign of a double articulation that acts as a strategy of reform and performance, which appropriates the Other´s identity (Bhabha 1994). It is related to the connection between what is allowed to do and what it is not, an example would be the comment that has been made by Ray Pascual: "When you start flooding the country with people from other countries, they don't assimilate, they form their own

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enclaves. They isolate themselves. They don't want to be Americans. At some point, you have to stop it to let those that are here become Americans."[18]

Performativity or mimicry is a crucial phenomenon in a framework in which actions, gestures and words serve to create a vivid fantasy that shows the power in which the person is subjected. In the current case is not the creation of an ideal identity, it is about bringing confidence to the person within the structure of power that they decided to align with. It is likely to observe that the acceptance of an interpellation process can be a double-sided action that grants the subject the authorization to perform in the given space and other contexts with the condition of following the rules of the preconceived order, but also as a form of appropriation of an identity that needs to be protected because it has been achieved with great work.

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[18] Compiled by Francisco Navas, "What Hispanic People Think of Trump: US Latinos Give a Wide Range of Answers," *The Guardian*, January 23, 2017, sec. World news, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/23/what-do-hispanic-people-think-of-trump-us-latinos.

Third Chapter:
Latino Trump´s Supporter Discourse

This chapter provides and empirical analysis of the various discourses supplied by the "GOP Hispanics" and "Latinos for Trump". The chapter is to be divided in two sections, each dedicated to one group. The sections will further examine the speeches delivered by the members of each group. Before starting the section, it is suitable to mention that in both cases some of the comments that are mentioned in this section are part of Facebook posts that are related to a second publication from a journalistic note.

3.1 GOP Hispanic

3.1.1 Background and Context

The Republican Party has conceived itself as the home for Hispanic citizens that are living across the U.S. Its main goal is to engage with the community so that it can understand the community's concerns and provide a safe space for sharing the values and ideas related to American culture, such as marriage, family, society, culture of hope, education and preserving quality in healthcare. The presentation of the Hispanic division implies that the Republican Party is focused on taking care of the future of the community. The party is also focused on building a whole-year permanent engagement effort, throughout the country, built to outlast any candidate or election cycle. They seek to include the Hispanic community in a project that attempts to restore the principles and ideas that made America one of the greatest countries of the world[19].

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[19] "GOP Hispanics," GOP, accessed May 31, 2018, https://gop.com/.

To track down the first activities of the Hispanic community in relation to their political affiliation to the Republican Party remains a difficult task because the site GOP Hispanics does not give an exact date of the creation of the group but does show the history of the Republican Party as a whole. The only information that can be obtained about the number of Latinos that are officially affiliated to the Republican Party, was obtained through the Hispanic Pew Research. According to the Hispanic Pew researcher group the percentage of Latinos that consider themselves Republican in 2016 are 24%[20]. Even though there has been a high political fluctuation in the United States for the past years, the percentage of the Latino supporters of the Republican Party has remained unchanged since 1999.

In order to have a further understanding of the Republican Party Hispanic affiliations, it would be important to understand two of their major Hispanic Representatives. The first one would be Marco Rubio who is the current U.S. Senator of the state of Florida. He was a pre-candidate for the U.S. elections of 2016. Rubio had pitched his candidacy as an effort to restore the American Dream for the middle and working-class families. Subsequently, he suspended his campaign after placing second in his own home state of Florida. Rubio proposals for the presidency were similar to Trump´s. He too had an intention to secure the border and make it more difficult for immigrants to get the American citizenship. It is also important to recall that Rubio has been involved with GOP Hispanic section ever since he started his political career[21].

The second would be Ted Cruz, the current U.S. Senator of the State of Texas. He was also a former candidate for the president of the United States. He is also a strong member of the GOP Hispanic movement. Most of the statements that he makes are against Obamacare and how it was

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[20] Ibid page 1
[21]"Marco Rubio on the Issues," accessed May 31, 2018, http://www.ontheissues.org/Senate/Marco_Rubio.htm.

not properly helping the Americans since the insurance was becoming more expensive, immigration reforms that sought to strengthen the border control and forbid the homosexual sex marriage[22].

The purpose of mentioning these remarkable figures of the GOP Hispanic division is to understand the general values and political ideals that are part of the party rhetoric, as well as to understand how a "respectable actor of the community" should look and behave like.

3.1.2 Members discourses

For this section I have selected a series of discourses and comments given during Trump´s campaign for those Hispanic supporters that are part of the Republican Party. Curiously enough, the GOP Hispanic division presented these on its official site, as well as on its Facebook profile, in both English and Spanish – a trend that was continued with the publications presented both during Trump's campaign and afterwards.

The comments presented on the GOP Hispanic official webpage are well structured. They declare full support to the Trump campaign but do not address to the political ideals related to immigration issues. However, they do make political statements related to Hilary Clinton email controversy:

"It is clear we cannot trust Clinton to look out for anyone but herself. She broke the rules, endangered national security, and lied without hesitation over and over again while seeking the highest office in the land".[23]

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[22]"About Senator Cruz | Ted Cruz | U.S. Senator for Texas," accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.cruz.senate.gov/?p=about_senator.
[23] "WATCH: The RNC Exposes Hillary Clinton's Blatant Email Lies," GOP, July 6, 2016, https://gop.com/watch-the-rnc-exposes-hillary-clintons-blatant-email-lies.

Another political statement that has been made in support to Trump´s involvement in the community, as a way to show the Hispanic Republicans that the candidate was involved in the issues that concerned the Latino and African American Community interests:

"Continuing his efforts to engage Americans from all walks of life, Mr. Trump met with African American and Hispanic leaders from the Republican National Committee's Republican Leadership Initiative (RLI) program today at Trump Tower."[24]

In accordance to what has been mentioned, it might be understandable that The GOP Hispanic are promoting the idea that Trump´s interests in people have reached the Hispanic community within the republican party. Something that cannot be perceived on Clinton´s intents to approach and establish a presence in communities across the country through the use of a similar program. As mentioned before, most of the posts are intended to show how is that Clintons is considered as someone incapable of leading a country. In reaction to they present the following statement:

"A presidential election is not just a decision about who will lead our country at this time, but also a decision that will define who we will be in the future."[25]

The importance of supporting Trump during the election comes from the duty that the Hispanic Americans have to shape their own future, an opportunity they have to represent themselves as who they want to be. They have in their hands the opportunity of taking the right decision for the

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[24] "Donald Trump Meets With African American And Hispanic GOP Leaders," GOP, August 26, 2016, https://gop.com/donald-trump-meets-with-african-american-and-hispanic-gop-leaders.
[25] ibid

U.S. and by that for them. They are defining themselves as subject of Trump´s ideology, which will grant them a change on their lives (Stavrakakis 2007). It can be understood as the consideration that they have not being receiving from other political affiliations like the Democratic Party.

In the next section, they follow the same pattern of thinking:

"For too long, the American people have suffered from the failed policies of the status quo, diminishing hopes for the future of our country. Enough of career politicians who are dishonest, corrupt and with vested interests. If we do not elect Donald Trump as president, inevitably, these will be the pitiful and untenable characteristics of a Clinton presidency."[26]

In the case of Facebook page for the GOP Hispanic movement, it is possible to find personal comments of the Hispanic Republicans that decided to vote for Trump and support his policies. Through the use of news post that are available at the website. John Castillo who is an inspector for an aerospace company and former marine, who considers Trump to be a relievable candidate because "He speaks like a regular person," Castillo says. "If I were running for President, that's how I would talk." He likes that Trump is not a politician. "I'm pretty much fed up with career politicians," he says. Castillo believes Trump will manage to extricate the United States from unfair agreements, and he likes the idea of Trump imposing tariffs on imported goods. He firmly believes that this will help "bring jobs back" Stateside. He also likes the fact that a number of "world leaders" have expressed concerns over a potential Trump Presidency: "He must be doing something right if the élite doesn't want him."[27]

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[26] "No Podemos Permitir Una Presidencia Con Hillary Clinton," GOP, August 10, 2016, https://gop.com/no-podemos-permitir-una-presidencia-con-hillary-clinton.
[27] León Krauze, "Me Gusta Trump: Portrait of a Hispanic Trump Voter," *The New Yorker*, March 20, 2016, https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/me-gusta-trump-portrait-of-a-hispanic-trump-voter. Post found on the Official Facebook group of "GOP Hispanic Division"

Castillo has expressed that he cannot easily express himself as a Republican outside his group because he is afraid of being called "traitor", the only place he is able to talk about politics is at the GOP Hispanic division. He is also afraid of how he can be perceived by his colleagues on his workplace, he comments: "They might fire me if they knew I like Trump." "I am not anti-Hispanic at all," he says. "What I am is anti-breaking-the-law." He comments on the need to understand that the idea of deporting illegal immigrants is not a race prejudice, it is rather a legal issued. He expects that Trump deporting the criminals will leave other criminals with no choice but to retreat. At the end he comments the following: "If I thought that Trump, was a racist. I wouldn't follow him".

The next case is the one of Ximena Rivera, she is a 20-year-old Mexican that is a current student at the University of Texas at Brownsville. Since she is not a naturalized American citizen she was not able to vote for Donald Trump during the 2016 election. She says: "*I support Donald Trump because he is the one candidate who opposes*

Figure 1: Ximena Rivera

abortion. He may have wavered in the beginning, but since becoming the nominee he has taken a strong stand against abortion."[28]

She mentions as well that she did not support Hilary Clinton because she was the leader of a party that has pro-choice platform. She believes that democrats like her running partner, Tim Kaine have compromised their Catholic position by supporting the abortion reforms.

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[28] Ibid. page 7 Post found on the Official Facebook group of "GOP Hispanic Division"

On relation to the immigration problematics she says the following: *"I don't always agree with his positions on immigration. I see the border wall every day. I'm not convinced that it's effective. The people who want to cross will find a way. I don't think its right that they do, but most of them are looking for a better way of life. A wall won't stop them."*

The following comments were made on the Facebook domain of the group, a former Harvard government professor called Carlos Diaz Rosillo is the Director of Policy and Interagency Coordination in the White House. He was born in Venezuela and his parents are Cuban migrants. He says: *"I never really wanted to be involved in a campaign because I wanted to be objective, but I felt that his election was far too important not to get involved. This is the first time I've ever been involved in any political endeavor but I felt that Donald Trump was the guy to lead the country,"* He believes that the president needs people that think outside the box, people capable of bringing new ideas to the next administration. Besides of never having been interested in getting involved in politics he believes that this was his moment to contribute to the creation of a new type of politics. [29]

He mentions that Trump has been badly interpreted by the media and he has not been properly represented, he says: *"He is a warm and talented guy who really wants to do what's best for the country, and that's not what you read or hear when you turn on the television."*

Finally, the last selected comment comes from GOP strategist Adolfo Franco, who says that now that Trump is president, it is time to work together. *"I think he will be good for the Latino community. I haven't been asked to join the Trump administration, but I would certainly consider it"*. He also believes that

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[29]"Cubanoamericano entre los asesores de Trump durante la transición," diariolasamericas.com, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.diariolasamericas.com/eeuu/el-cubanoamericano-carlos-e-diaz-rosillo-los-asesores-trump-la-transicion-n4108035. Post found on the Official Facebook group of "GOP Hispanic Division"

the tax reform legislation will bring more money to the small business and will engross the inner economy of the U.S.[30]

3.2 Latinos for Trump

3.2.1Background and Context

"Latinos for Trump" describe themselves as a group that wants to build media relationships and change the narrative by using media to promote, educate and spread awareness of the conservative principles in the Hispanic Communities.[31]. In each of their publications they refer to themselves as Hispanic Republicans, but they do support Marco Rubio and GOP upcoming political involvements within the federal government. The group "Latinos for Trump" was built by the Cuban-American members of the community of Florida, the group was firstly impulses by women who were active supporters of Trump and founded "Latinas for Trump"[32]. Afterwards they joined other Latinos communities and formed in Florida and California the group named "Latinos for Trump".

The group that is being analyzed is the one that has its headquarters in California and whose former founder is Marco Gutierrez, a naturalized Mexican-American. There is not an exact date of the foundation of the movement, besides its sudden appearance during Trump´s 2016 campaign. While doing research on Marco Gutierrez's background, several news appeared that were related to his famous quote "*Defend your countries from Hispanics*". The existence of news reports that

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[30] "Outstanding Hispanic Republican Leader: Adolfo Franco | GOP," accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.gop.com/outstanding-hispanic-republican-leader-adolfo-franco./

[31] "About |," Home | Latinos for trump, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.officiallatinos4trump.com/about.

[32] Juan Arredondo, "Speaking with the Founder of 'Latinas for Trump' Is as Bizarre as You Can Imagine," November 8, 2016, https://www.vibe.com/2016/11/denise-galvez-latinas-for-trump-interview/.

declared that he has filled with his wife 12 personal bankruptcy forms and how his real estate license has been revoked once for shady client's transactions.[33]

While examining the website and main statements that have been made by Marco Gutierrez and his followers, show that most of their concerns are related to the need of having a unified community that encourages its members to be more involved in Hispanic functions like voting and empowering small communities alongside the country. What is more important is to delimit the issues that are being discussed within the group: the universalization of language within the US; the need to use the American flag during every demonstration; support of the Minuteman project and their rejection of Islamic culture. Finally, there is a clear prevalence of the use of English over Spanish language, there are some cases where they use a few words in Spanish but nothing significant.

3.2.2 Members discourses.

The following discourse was found on the main Website of "Latinos for Trump", here Marco Gutierrez answers to some comments that have been done about his person and then compares himself to Trump by saying the next: *"Like Mr. Trump I have developed survival instincts in how to defend myself and what I have worked for in this life. I possess unique abilities, specific knowledge, and special techniques on how to communicate and help first generation immigrants integrate into our American culture successfully and in a more healthy way."* [34]

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[33]Ben Mathis-Lilley, "Shocker: The 'Taco Trucks on Every Corner' Trump Guy Is a Serial Scam Artist," *Slate*, September 6, 2016,
http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2016/09/06/_taco_trucks_on_every_corner_latinos_for_trump _founder_wife_filed_for_bankruptcy.html?via=gdpr-consent.&via=gdpr-consent.
[34] Marco Gutierrez, "I Continue to Disagree with NBC over Their Interpretation of Latinos I| Latinos for Trump," Blog | Latinos for trump, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.officiallatinos4trump.com/blank-2/2017/04/13/I-continue-to-disagree-with-NBC-over-their-interpretation-of-Latinos-in-the-US.

An interesting comment came afterwards, when he defends the position of the community against those who have underlined the fact that Trump as a president was a bad choice for the Nation, he says: *"The fact is that we the LatinosFortrump do not see the Trump administration as a threat to Latinos in USA. Au contraire we think this is the biggest opportunity Latinos have had in decades. To bring forward to America the qualities that makes us who we genuinely are aside from the image that the left has imposed on us…Latinos will finally have the opportunity to show America the qualities that set us apart from the chaos and despair of an overpopulated, underdeveloped, and undocumented third world subculture in decay."*

Next, we have the comments that were made by Denise Ruiz is recurrent blogger for Latinos for Trump, she as well expressed that she did not feel understood by her community when she declared herself as a Trump follower. She explains herself with the following words: *"I am a legal citizen, born and raised American, and love my country. Trump has worked to broaden his appeal to Hispanics, promising a better life if he's president."*[35]

She is amazed by the effort that Trump has placed on his campaign, she believes it is necessary to deport the illegal criminals. She says: *"He will do a fantastic job deporting illegal criminals back to Mexico."Construir ese muro!" Build that wall- Bringing jobs back! I myself am very proud of the progress he can do in our country…It's a Trump Nation... no longer an illegal Nation!"*

Figure 2 : Denise Ruiz

Alejandro Balli case has been mentioned on the official Facebook page of "Latinos for Trump". During the development of his narrative he mentions that it is very difficult for him to express

[35] Denise Ruiz, "Taco Bowl? I Love Tacos!| Latinos for Trump," Blog | Latinos for trump, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.officiallatinos4trump.com/blank-2/2017/04/17/Taco-Bowl-I-love-Tacos.

himself with the Hispanic community that is outside the Republican Party. He expresses his disagreement on the laws that give illegal immigrants proper driving licenses. In that regard he mentions "*Providing them with a license is legitimizing that they're here and that you're giving them more government assistance, more government recognition, which I think is wrong," said Balli. "If they want a driver's license, they should apply for citizenship, become legal and go through the same process as everybody else."[36]*

Balli assures that he has met other Hispanics outside the Republican Party that feel the same way but have mentioned to be scared to speak up. He *says "I've actually been called a race traitor on more than one occasion because I disagree and I think that immigration should be stricter and I think that securing the border is a good* idea". He also has a strong opinion over the illegal immigrant's issue, he believes that immigrants should not get any special treatment.

"I started to find out about all the privileges that they would receive for coming here illegally, like free college tuition and car loans from the government," said Balli. *"I've worked all my life and I'll never get anything like that. Why should they get a handout? I'm Mexican, they're Mexican, but they're getting better treatment than I would."* This is one of the reasons he believes that building a wall between Mexico and the Unites States is the correct idea.

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[36] Rebecca Russell, "'I've Been Called a Race Traitor'. Hispanic Man Disagrees with March Spotting Illegal Immigration," accessed May 31, 2018, http://fox17online.com/2018/05/02/ive-been-called-a-race-traitor-hispanic-man-disagrees-with-march-supporting-illegal-immigration/. Post Found on the Official Facebook group of "Latinos for Trump"

Another perspective is showed by Omar Navarro a small business owner that is currently running for Congress in California´s 43rd district, He expresses a fond admiration to Donald Trump. He believes that he can make a strong change in American politics because he is a businessman and is therefore capable of bringing back the "American Dream" to the people. How is that the son of a Mexican and Cuban immigrants supports a man like Donald Trump? He says: *"They are categorizing me, in this country we label people: Hispanic, African American, Asian, and Caucasian. We separate and divide people into social categories based on race, ethnicity, gender and creed. To me, this is a form of racism. I´m proud of my Hispanic Heritage but I´m an American, full stop* .

Figure 3: Omar Navarro

He explains the case of his parents and how they became American citizens by using the legal option, he says: *"They assimilated to the American way of life, learned English and opened a small business"* [37]

Finally, Angelo Gomez who is a blogger for the web page "Latinos for Trump" has strong comments dedicated to the Illegal immigration that has been going on in the US, he considers that they should be taken out because as he mentions *"the American People and LEGAL immigrants are living under the curtain of a country diseased with a bad economy, no wealth, and a government that gives more benefits to people who are here ILLEGALLY than our own veterans and citizens on welfare."* He claims that

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[37] Adrian Carrasquillo, "Meet Trump's Hispanics," BuzzFeed, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.buzzfeed.com/adriancarrasquillo/meet-trumps-hispanics. Post Found on the Official Facebook group of "Latinos for Trump"

the American people are the ones that are paying for all the commodities that the immigrants have in America, he says that is "*like funding someone who broke into your house*". [38]

He mentions that amnesty is an unfair situation for the Americans, what would be necessary instead is to secure the border in order to protect what belongs to every American that has fought for his country and has a respectable job that should not be taking by an alien, he says: "*We need to secure our border. We need a wall. We need to deport illegals within the US. We need to enforce our laws. WE NEED TRUMP!!!*"

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[38] Mike Dukes, "Latino Trump Supporter Angelo Gomez - Why He's Voting TRUMP!," June 2, 2016, https://trumpvillereport.com/latino-trump-supporter/. Post Found on the Official Facebook group of "Latinos for Trump"

Fourth Chapter:
Discussion: The light at the docks or green light at the docks

The Latino followers of Trump that have been examined in the following research have different characteristics. First, the GOP Hispanic is a Republican group that issues more complains about the failure that Democrats have showed on the following years. Beyond having a structured discourse about the improvements that will come with the tax reforms and the full support that political party has to Trump´s political campaign. They are reassuring the political position of inclusion of the Latino community in the GOP movement.   Also, the use of language of the GOP Hispanic is more similar to a proper political party than the case of "Latinos for Trump", the second one resembles more to the language that is used by local community leaders.

 The group "Latinos for Trump" is mostly focus on discussions that are related on building an improved Latino image before the society and appreciating the fact that Trumps does have an improved political vision. I consider important to remark that the way in which Marco Gutierrez and Denise Ruiz expresses themselves expresses a high level of excitement in relation to their own political comments about why they support Trump.

The contrast that exist on the migration issues that are discussed by both groups, show that the GOP Hispanic division is more interested on the securitization of the border and stop the constant fluctuation of migrants. Meanwhile the group "Latinos for Trump" is more interested on deporting the illegal migrants and keep the criminals out of the U.S, as well as protecting the benefits that American citizen have over the migrants. Both groups agree that strong immigrations reforms should be made, thus the fact that these people are having an easier process of arriving to the U.S. and getting the same privileges of people that have been living there for a long time without having to work for it.

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The comments that are made by the members of "Latinos for Trump" have a wider variety of opinions about migration, like the case of Angelo Gomez he makes strong comments about how migration can be considered as "funding someone that has broken into your home". Again, Denise Ruiz mentions illegality and how she wants illegal criminals outside the country. There are no legal criminals in the U.S., she is just portraying that illegality has an undesirable connotation for her. When the members complain about "illegality" they are referring to people that are not following the proper process of achieving citizenship or a level of legality. What they really want to express is the injustice that is being felt when allowing other immigrants to enter the United States in a simpler way and that they can obtain the same privileges as a common citizen. All this without having to work and build a stability from scratch, as if they could get all the steps necessary to obtain it.

As Alejandro Balli already mentioned, migrants have been legitimized on the eyes of the government because they are obtaining driving licenses and governmental assistant without having a legal citizenship. He has work very hard to achieve his citizenship and obtain the benefits that come with it. It is understandable that he feels the injustice since the Democrats are supporting the incoming fluctuation of immigrants. It can be understood as the decline of a previous ideology that has failed to fulfil the needs of the subject (Pécheux 2014). The nodal point that connects the discourse of the Latino community is the hard work that is required to achieve the "American dream" (Fedorak 2009), Trump uses this discourse so he can inflict on the people´s inner feelings about working hard to achieve a proper standard of life.

On the eyes of the Latino community, Trump discourse represents a nodal point. He has represented himself as a hard-working man that has followed proper American laws to achieve

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success. Latinos can easily relate themselves with this discourse, like the case of Diaz Rosillo. He believes that he will bring a new perspective to the current political framework, since he has proved to think outside of the box. According to Diaz Rosillo, he is just a "warm and talented guy" that has been misinterpreted by the media. Trump is appealing to the emotions of the people that support him, he is indeed a charismatic figure (Jentges 2014) that managed to project solidarity and trust on the people he is representing.

One example would be Omar Navarro, he is fascinated by the idea of bringing back the "American Dream" and has showed to be a true core American that does not want to be categorized into a social category. He says that the he is proud of having a Hispanic heritage, but he is rather proud of being an American without having to go through the categories that are based on race. These argument is a key to understand the phenomenon in which the Latino Community has consciously accepted Trump´s ideals because they are True Americans and not the illegal immigrants that have targeted during the campaign. Most important they believe on Trumps arguments that appeal to the American dream and want to keep illegal migration outside the U.S. They believe Trump when he says: *"We want every American to know the dignity of a hard day's work, we want every child to be safe in their home at night, and we want every citizen to be proud of this land that we love"*[39].

It might seem simplistic to explain that there is a rational choice of accepting a new structure of power by having a desired object in return of it. This is not the case, by accepting Trump way of politics they are accepting the permission to use the image that they have building on for themselves through the years by using a popular cultural model. There is not a problematic by

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[39] Hannah Thomas-Peter, "President Trump Says There Is No Better Time to 'Live the American Dream,'" Sky News, accessed May 31, 2018, https://news.sky.com/story/president-trump-says-there-is-no-better-time-to-live-the-american-dream-11230084.

being recognized as a Republican or a conservative Latino, but there is one when people outside the political party or political community start pointing to the other as "racist" (Shelby 2003). A crucial event that seems to divide the Latino community in different values, like the case John Castillo who is afraid of being called a racist thus his support to Trump. On the other hand, Alejandro Balli has already faced the situation of being called a racist because of his support to stronger immigration policies, which he truly believes in.

At this point of the discussion I would like to reference that the Latino Trump followers are not cultural racists. These are persons that are seeking for the true "American Dream" and they are not trying to diminish their Hispanic heritage. The problem is rather related to the subjection to a political figure that portrays a racist discourse that sees all Latinos as a threat, on this particular case the Latinos that are supporting Trump are not part of the constructed threat of illegal immigrants. A comment that will help to understand this particular point the one that is made by Ximena Rivera when she says that she doesn't not fully agree with Trump´s immigration perspectives and understands that a wall would not stop people that are looking for a better life.

The cases of Castillo, Marco Gutierrez and Denise Ruiz are as well interesting since they do not consider Trump as racist. It is not about being a racist or not, is an ideological issue that comes with the embodiment of the cultural capital (Neveu 2007). For them Trump is a true symbol of the American dream, they are interpellated into a system of meanings that are related to hard and honest work. Trump himself believes that he is a hard-working American, an example would be the following quote of one if his speeches. He say: *"If you work hard, if you believe in America, then you can dream anything, and together, we can change the country"*[40]

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[40] "President Donald J. Trump's State of the Union Address," The White House, accessed May 31, 2018, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-state-union-address/.

The process of acquiring new social assets of the political figure will enable the subject to have social mobility within another status of society (Bourdieu, Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste 1992) , in other words, they have acquired a different social status that confers them recognition in the current political scene in the U.S. Since the Latino community has been an object of discrimination for a long time in the country, it is comprehensively to understand that their support to Trump. He has conferred them the right of being on the other side of a discourse that has followed them for a long time.

Besides integrating themselves to a different political system, some of them felt also the need to assimilate the American Pop culture, so they could properly "perform" as proper Americans. The subjection process also involves the production of a new subject through the use of power, but this subject is also inflicted by cultural requirements that creates and American "habitus" (Nowicka 2015). The production of the new identity has rooted itself on the process of discrimination as well, is because of this that the process of assimilation and performance is not intrinsically related to the Trump phenomena. It is the result of years of hard work and the right to earn the citizenship.

A factor that does not convert them in racist, is part of the construction of an identity that seeks to secure their own interests and at the same time protect them from further discriminatory discourses. They have achieved another type of recognition that allows them to change the perspective of the Latino community, they can now be part of the majority that decided to vote for Trump and follows the true American ideals, rather than a discriminated minority (Brah 1996).

Finally, I would like to comment on the pictures that were presented on the previous chapter as act of performativity. The Latinos have assimilated an American form of "habitus" that has to be

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use in order to construct and perform the identity that goes in accordance to the ideological power structure (Butler 1997). Denise Ruiz manages to perform her constructed identity by combining the stereotypical "sombrero" and by wearing a t-shirt with the American flag. An example that demonstrates the point that De Certau (1998) makes when he explains that people individualize the mass culture, in this case the American culture by altering certain things. The objects that were altered on this case are the clothes and the practices of an identity that goes according to the American dream but that still hides Latin characteristics.

In the case of Angelo Gomez, he is wearing a suit because he is a true admirer of Trump´s political and business ideals. Besides showing a pick-up truck one the back, which is a popular model for the Latino population. He is clearly performing the American dream under his own conditions, one that resembles Trump´s vision of a man who has worked hard for this life. At the end, there is the picture of Ximena Rivera. Besides not being able to vote for Trump in the former election, she joined the campaign and decided to support him with the propaganda, the way she holds the poster in her hands shows how proud she is to support a candidate who has the same anti-abortion values as her.

Conclusion

The thesis purpose is to frame the Latino community that decided to support Trump on the election of 2016, an upcoming phenomenon that results interest thus the fact that the campaign that Trump was sustaining had many anti-Latino and anti-immigration connotations. To find an answer to this puzzle requires a multidisciplinary approach, one that uses political and sociological theories to understand the construction and motivation of a community that has remained as an uncomprehend minority in the U.S.

Examining the production of the statements that were made by the members of the GOP Hispanic division and the group "Latinos for Trump", resulted to be a complicated task. Understanding a person´s perception through small lines of comments and opinions cannot be compared to have real interviews. Fortunately, their comments did show a glimpse about their motivations and perspectives about the world they are living in. The empirical data showed that the Latino support of anti-migratory policies is just a fraction to understand the whole phenomenon. Moreover, the comments that were analyzed showed the existence of a previous ongoing process of building a proper American identity.

The support for Trump by almost the 30% of the Latino community is intrinsically related to the "Americanness" and the belief of being able to reach the "American Dream" (Hochschild 1996). It is about reaching a level of legality on the eyes of the government and other political institutions. They are part of the "American" community, the one that seeks to restore the benefits and privileges that the legal citizenship should have. One that is proud of the Latino heritage but still want to maintain the boundaries between legality and illegality in relation to the immigrants. This discourse results on a contradiction to most of the cases because they mention that their families came to the U.S. as immigrants, the only difference is that they work hard to obtain the legal citizenship.

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It seems easy to understand why they have decided to support Trump, he is a working man that understand their situation. Trump also recognize the Latino community as a hard-working part of the American community, in other words they are not part of the illegal threat. As a reaction, it becomes easier them to align themselves to a new power structure and political figure, that assures them that their interest is going to be safe if they decided to trust on it. In the case of the GOP Hispanic division, for a long time they have decided to follow a structure of power that has conservative principles that go in accordance to what they expect from a government.

They want to preserve the conservative values on the society, that why they are against homosexual marriage and abortion. When it comes to the immigration policies, there has been an ongoing debate that started with Rubio´s position of placing stronger border control. Therefore, the case of the support of the Republican Party to Trump´s political does not seem surprising for the development of the research, it can be understood as a reinforcement of the political ideology they are following based on the need to protect themselves. As well as the reaffirmation of their already built on American identity.

The group "Latinos for Trump" decided to give support to Trump because his values were in accordance with Trump´s conservative principles and his perception of a "hard working American". With this in mind, it results easy to understand how they align themselves to an ideology that seemed to prove to have the correct values and the correct understanding of what is to be a Latino. In spite of everything, it is also important to mention that one of the motivations that led the Latinos who support Trump to vote for him. It is due to the continued failures of the Democrats to represent the Latino community. The democratic bases were not able to secure their

situation in the U.S., in fact it was willing to open the border to more immigrants either refuges or more Latin Americans. On this particular election they felt unprotected by the democrats.

The subjects perform as proper American citizens that follow the rules of the society. As mentioned before the conception of Butler and Bhabha about performativity is related to the repetition of specific actions that are established by the main power. On this particular case, I consider that in this ongoing process of repetition there is a level of true American identity that managed to merge with Latino or Hispanic one. Is no longer about repetition, is about the introjection of the "Americanness" that came with the full acquisition of new cultural, political, social and mind-set values. That manages to reveal characteristics of the former Latin identity while performing different actions of the everyday life.

Finally, the existence of a division inside of the Latino/Hispanic community was noticeable while analyzing the statements that were made by the members of the GOP Hispanic division and "Latinos for Trump". The members of both groups showed that they feel frightened by the idea of being called a "racist" by other members of the community that do not share the same political ideals. In some cases, forcing them to hide their political affiliation and in others to reassure their position in relation to Trump´s ideology. Nevertheless, the existence of comments that reassure their position before the community shows that they are certain about the identity that they are performing an everyday basis.

Therefore, there is the existence of many identities inside the Latino community. It can no longer be perceived as a homogenous group that is expected to support the democratic parties and political values. The Latino community is a complex group that shares different perspectives about "Americanness", ones might seem correct and others might seem incorrect. There are just

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perspectives that seek to find a better living standard within the U.S., in both cases there are

productions of new identities that are intrinsically connected with political ideologies and a cultural

baggage.

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