

Center for American Progress



Redefining America: Findings from the 2006 Latino National Survey

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Latino National Survey

- A “national” telephone survey of 8600 Latino residents of the United States, seeking a broad understanding of the qualitative nature of Latino political and social life in America
- State-stratified samples that reach approximately 90% coverage of the national Latino population
- Approximately 40 minutes (length and number of questions depends on split-samples, etc)
- English and Spanish
- Universe is all Latino adults, not citizens or voters

Themes within the Survey

- Survey includes...many of the questions or topics you have grown to love from existing surveys, whenever possible to ensure comparability;
 - Questions submitted by various political scientists specifically targeted at states;
 - Questions suggested by the advisory board
- Beyond the standard, we focused on transnationalism, identity, inter-group and intra-group relations, gender, education, policy preferences, discrimination, mobilization and overall political orientations
- Some questions specific to foreign born, non-citizens, registered voters, and residents of specific states

Stratified Structure

- The survey is stratified, that is, creates stand-alone samples in 15 states and the DC Metro area allowing us to speak to specific political contexts

▪ Arizona	400
▪ Arkansas	400
▪ California	1200
▪ Colorado	400
▪ DC-SMSA	400
▪ Florida	800
▪ Georgia	400
▪ Illinois	600
▪ Iowa	400
▪ Nevada	400
▪ New Jersey	400
▪ New Mexico	400
▪ New York	800
▪ North Carolina	400
▪ Texas	800
▪ Washington	400

Latino Diversity

44 million Latinos in the US

Census Bureau (*American Community Survey, Released August 2006*)

Mexican	63.9%
Puerto Rican	9%
Cuban	3.5%
Salvadoran	2.9%
Dominican	2.7%
Guatemalan	1.7%
Colombian	1.8%
ALL OTHERS	14.3%

Native-born (not Island-born):
35.4%
Foreign-born 61%
Island-born PR 3.6%

No high school diploma 43%
College graduate 11.1%

Latino National Survey (*unweighted N*)
Summer 2006

*Mexican	66.1% (5704)
*Puerto Rican	9.5% (822)
*Cuban	4.9% (420)
*Salvadoran	4.7% (407)
*Dominican	3.9% (335)
*Guatemalan	1.7% (149)
*Colombian	1.6% (139)
*All Others	7.6%

*Native-born	28.4% (2450)
*Foreign-born (adults)	66.2% (5717)
*Island-born PR	5.4% (467)

*No high school diploma	37%
*College graduate	16.2%



Assimilation, Values, and Identity

Language Proficiency across Generations

	1 st Gen	2 nd Gen	3 rd Gen	4 th Gen
Answered in English	19.2	73.7	90.4	91.3
Answered in Spanish, Speak English	19.1	19.5	8.2	7.7
Total Share with English Proficiency	38.3	93.2	98.6	99.0
Retain Spanish Proficiency	99.2	91.6	68.7	60.5

- Strong English dominance and nearly universal English proficiency among the first-generation of US born;
- Generally strong Spanish retention, aided by refreshed populations of Spanish-speakers.

Importance of Learning English/ Retaining Spanish across Generations

1st Gen

2nd Gen

3rd Gen

4th Gen

How important do you think it is that everyone in the United States learn English?

Somewhat

5.2

8.6

11.8

11.6

Very

94.1

89.3

86.1

84.0

How important do you think it is for you or your family to maintain the ability to speak Spanish?

Somewhat

9.7

13.7

17.9

22.2

Very

88.6

84.4

73.0

66.7

Sense of American and Home-Country Identity Across Generations

1st

2nd

3rd

4th

How strongly do you think of yourself as “American”?

Somewhat Strongly

28.7

25.1

15.2

16.3

Very Strongly

24.5

56.9

78.5

76.4

How strongly do you think of yourself as (Mexican, Cuban, etc)?

Somewhat Strongly

19.6

22.2

26.1

34.3

Very Strongly

67.6

64.3

45.1

40.5

A Multiplicity of Identities

- **Simultaneous strong sense of pan-ethnic identity, national origin identity, and American-ness**
 - Puerto Ricans illustrate best that identities are not mutually exclusive
 - Cuban pan-ethnicity surprisingly high
 - Mexican sense of American-ness high considering the share foreign born

	American	National Origin	Pan-Ethnic
Mexican	61.7	84.0	87.4
Cuban	77.8	82.1	81.6
Puerto Rican	83.7	90.7	89.3
All	65.0	84.0	87.2

Cells are percent expressing
“somewhat” or “very strongly”

Levels of Pan Ethnicity and Connectedness Of One's Subgroup to Other Latinos

- One-half of LNS Latinos perceive a lot of commonalities with one's group and other Latinos
- Stronger pan-ethnic identifiers are more inclined to see this connection.
- Over three- fourths of the combined stronger pan-ethnic identifiers see their own national origin group as having a similar fate with other Latinos

Selected Markers of Societal Assimilation

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Roman Catholics	73.8	69.7	66.8	58.1
Social Capital (Group Participation)	14.1	25.0	29.4	33.4
Military Service, Self or Family	16.1	48.9	68.6	72.3
Education < High School	49.7	22.9	17.6	16.2
Household income <\$35k	53.4	34.9	29.2	33.4
Percent Marrying non- Latinos	13.3	32.2	42.6	53.3

Attention to US and “Home Country” Politics and Public Affairs

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
<hr/>				
Attention to/Interest in US politics				
Somewhat or Very Interested	60.0	73.9	79.2	81.3

Attention to/Interest in “Home-Country” politics

Little or No Attention Paid	57.5	61.0	72.8	72.8
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- Attention to US politics is strong, even among the foreign born, and approaches (and in some cases surpasses) levels for all other groups, among Latinos born in the US.
- While about 57% of foreign born respondents agree that they should be able to vote in home country elections, only about 4% have ever done so, and about 58% report paying little or no attention to politics back home.

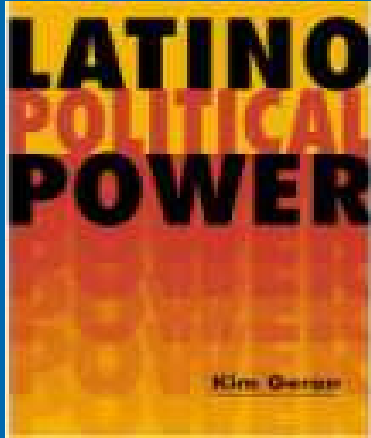
Preferences for Cultural Assimilation and Distinctness

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Importance of Changing to Blend into Larger Society				
Somewhat	26.2	33.3	34.7	37.5
Very	61.4	44.6	40.6	35.7
Importance of Maintaining Distinct Culture				
Somewhat	16.2	18.3	20.3	26.1
Very	78.6	75.8	72.9	66.7

- Support for blending into the larger culture and for maintaining a distinct culture are positively related ($r=.1415$):
 - Not seen as an either/or proposition

Expressions of American Values

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Equality of Right, without regard to political beliefs				
Strongly agree	76.1	76.7	81.9	84.4
Individual Responsibility, life outcomes not the fault of the “system”				
Somewhat agree	16.1	27.2	28.4	28.9
Strongly agree	49.6	42.5	45.3	41.4
Equality of Opportunity, uneven life chances are not a problem				
Somewhat or Strongly disagree	32.9	48.1	47.9	53.8



Civic and Political Participation



Latino Interest in Politics

(in percentages)

	All Respondents	US Born Citizens	Naturalized Citizens	Non- Citizens
Not Interested	32	21	28	41
Somewhat Interested	48	50	48	48
Very Interested	20	29	24	1

QUESTION: How interested are you in politics and public affairs? Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested or not at all interested?

Civic Engagement Among Naturalized and Non- Citizens

(in percentages)

	All Respondents	US Born Citizens	Naturalized Citizens	Non- Citizens
Group participation	19	29	23	10
Contacts officials	30	45	37	17
Organizational problem-solving	43	46	43	42
Multiple contacts w/ officials	25	20	19	31

2004 Election Participation Among US Born and Naturalized Citizens

	US Born	Naturalized
% of eligible Respondents (n=5321)	63%	37%
Asked to Vote/give\$	39%	25%
Registered	81%	73%
Voted	65%	58%
Voted for Kerry	56%	50%
Voted for Bush	38%	46%

- Almost twice as many US Born as Naturalized eligible to participate
- Significantly more US Born than Naturalized asked to vote or contribute money to candidates or a political party, 14% difference!
- More US Born registered and voted than Naturalized
- Significantly more US Born voted for Kerry than Bush, 18% difference!
- More Naturalized citizens also voted for Kerry, but the gap in those who voted for Kerry versus those who voted for Bush is much smaller, only 4%

Gender Differences in 2004 Election Participation

	Latino	Latina
% of eligible Respondents (n=5321)	46%	54%
Asked to Vote/give\$	36%	31%
Registered	77%	80%
Voted	61%	63%
Voted for Kerry	52%	55%
Voted for Bush	43%	39%

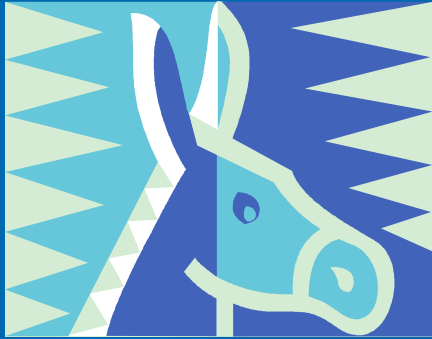
- Latinas were a significantly larger share of the eligible participants
- More Latino men asked to participate than Latinas

YET,

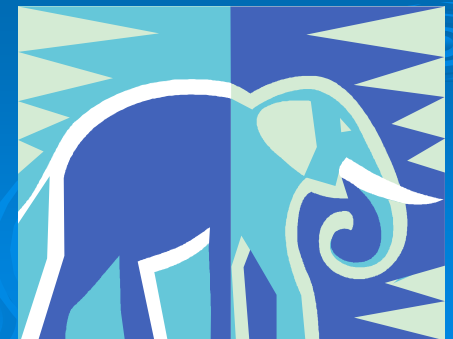
- Latinas participated at higher rates than Latino men
- Both Latinas and Latinos voted more for Kerry than Bush

STILL,

- Significantly more Latinas voted for Kerry than voted for Bush



Latinos and Partisanship



Patterns of Partisanship

	Overall	U.S. Born	Puerto Rico	Born Outside U.S.
Democrat	42.1	55.9	56.3	33.9
Republican	21.5	26.0	22.9	18.8
Independent	8.1	5.6	3.1	10.0
Don't Care	12.7	4.8	5.5	17.4
Don't Know	15.6	8.6	12.7	20.0

Partisanship Among Citizens

	U.S. Born	Naturalized	Registered	Not Registered
Democrat	55.9	43.9	55.9	33.6
Republican	26.0	24.9	26.1	22.3
Independent	5.6	8.6	6.1	8.2
Don't Care	4.8	9.2	3.9	15.4
Don't Know	8.6	13.4	8.1	20.6

Partisanship and Gender

	Male	Female
Democrat	41.2	40.7
Republican	23.7	18.7
Independent	9.3	7.6
Don't Care	11.7	14.6
Don't Know	14.1	18.4

Citizenship and Issue Positions: Problem Facing the Country

	Citizen	Non-citizen
Iraq War	30.0	33.2
Economy	14.7	12.4
Illegal Immigration	8.4	14.8
Education/ Schools	4.2	4.7
Other	12.4	6.6

“What do you think is THE one most important problem facing the country today?”

Partisanship and Issue Positions: Problem Facing the Country

	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Iraq War	33.8	25.1	25.8
Economy	15.0	14.6	14.5
Illegal Immigration	6.9	9.0	10.6
Education/ Schools	5.4	4.5	5.0
Other	11.7	17.3	16.1

“What do you think is THE one most important problem facing the country today?”

Partisanship and Issue Positions: Preferred Party to Address Problem Facing Country

	Democrats	Republicans	Neither	Don't Know
Democrat	39.4	7.4	43.1	10.1
Republican	14.6	26.2	46.3	13.0
Independent	12.1	6.8	63.8	17.2
Don't Care	6.2	3.9	54.2	35.7
Don't Know	6.1	4.8	48.5	40.6

“Which political party do you think has a better approach to address this problem?”

Citizenship and Issue Positions: Problem Facing Latinos

	Citizen	Non-citizen
Illegal Immigration	25.0	35.1
Education/ Schools	13.9	3.6
Unemp/Jobs	11.7	12.6
Iraq War	1.5	1.6
Other	13.6	9.2

“What do you think is THE one most important problem facing the country today?”

Partisanship and Issue Positions: Problem Facing Latinos

	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Illegal Immigration	24.7	23.7	27.5
Education/ Schools	18.2	15.3	11.3
Unemp/Jobs	12.4	11.0	9.7
Iraq War	1.8	0.9	1.9
Other	13.8	16.4	14.4

“What do you think is THE one most important problem facing the Latino community today?”

Partisanship and Issue Positions: Preferred Party to Address Problem Facing Latinos

	Democrats	Republicans	Neither	Don't Know
Democrat	44.8	6.7	37.1	11.4
Republican	19.3	21.0	42.1	17.6
Independent	14.4	7.8	55.7	22.0
Don't Care	12.1	6.2	48.2	33.5
Don't Know	7.7	6.2	40.5	45.6

“Which political party do you think has a better approach to address this problem?”

Latino National Survey

- Executive Summary
- Demographic Tables
- Background Tables
- Questionnaire and Toplines

Available at the website of the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race, and Sexuality (WISER), University of Washington, Seattle:

<http://depts.washington.edu/uwiser/LNS.shtml>

THE AMERICAS PROJECT

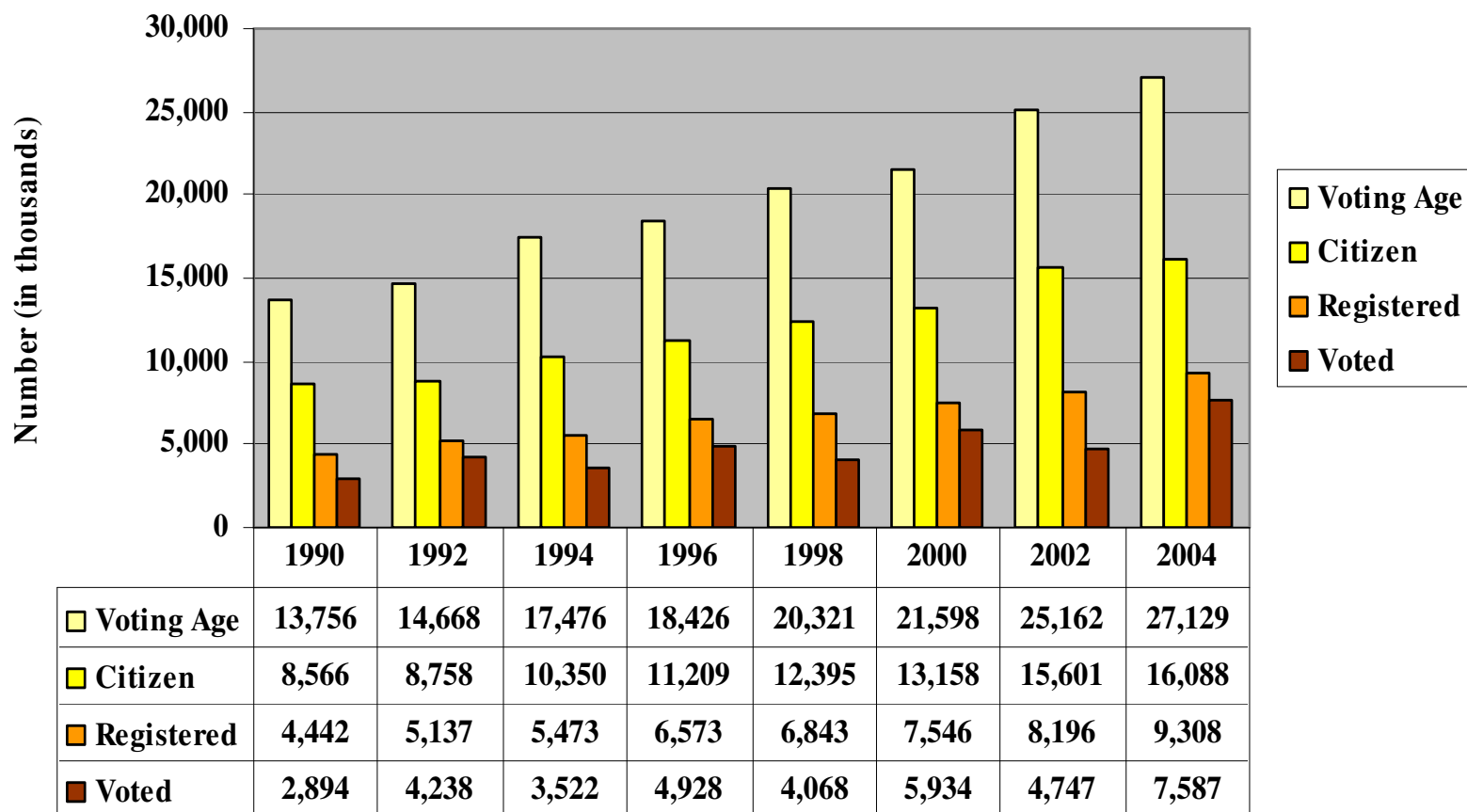




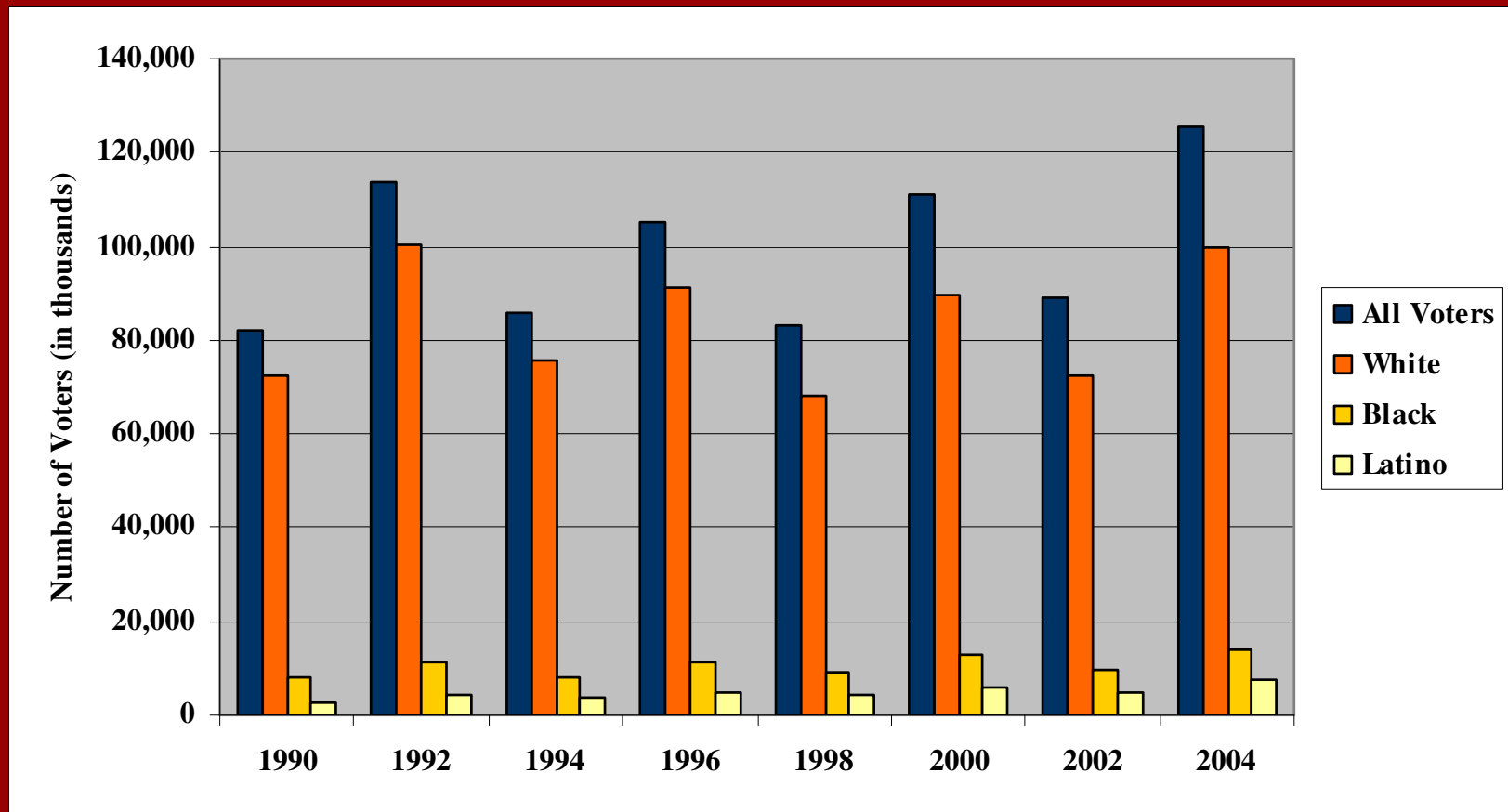
The Latino Electorate: Profile and Trends

Clarissa Martinez-De-Castro

Latino Voting Age Population, 1990-2004

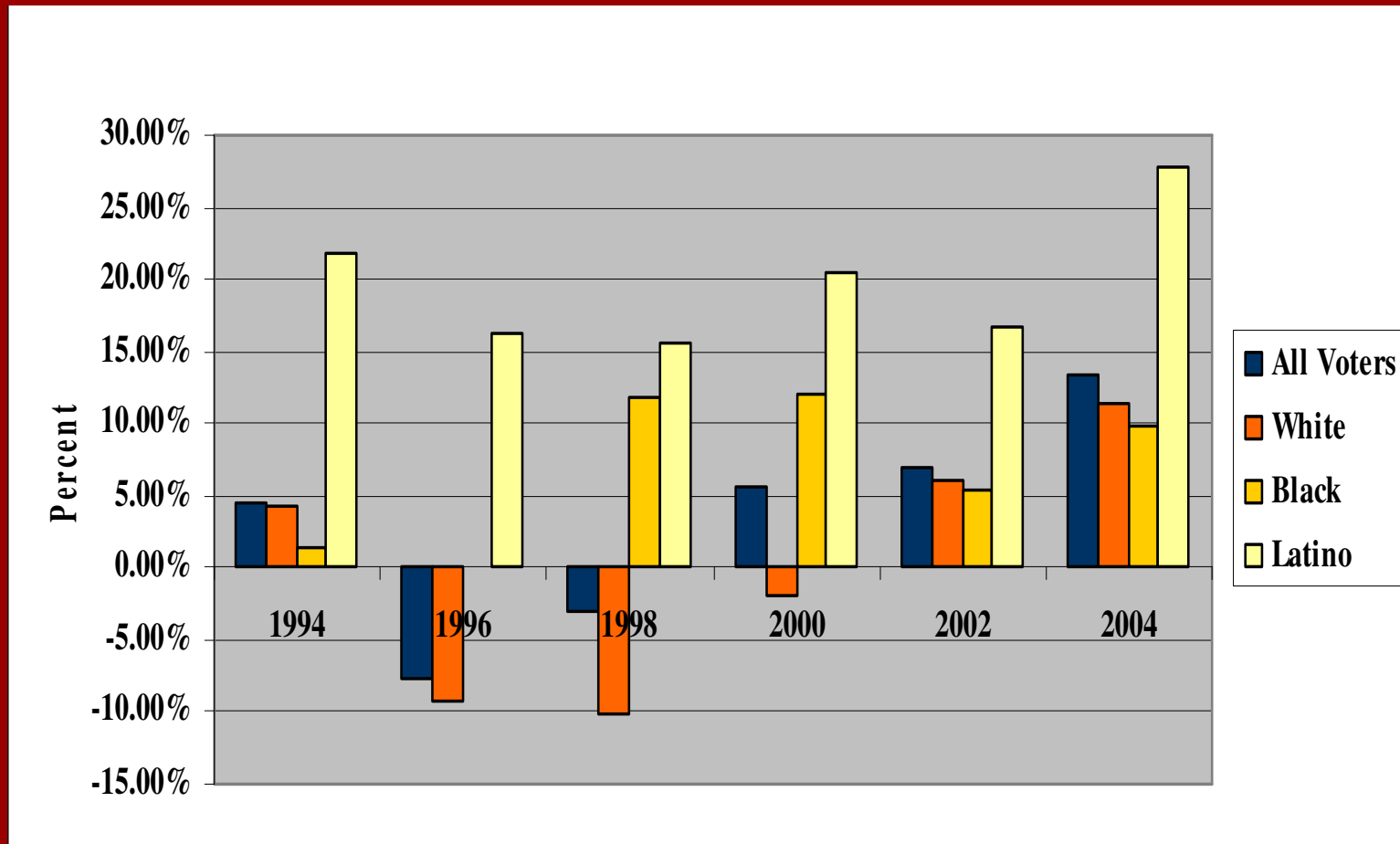


Profile of U.S. Vote, 1990-2004

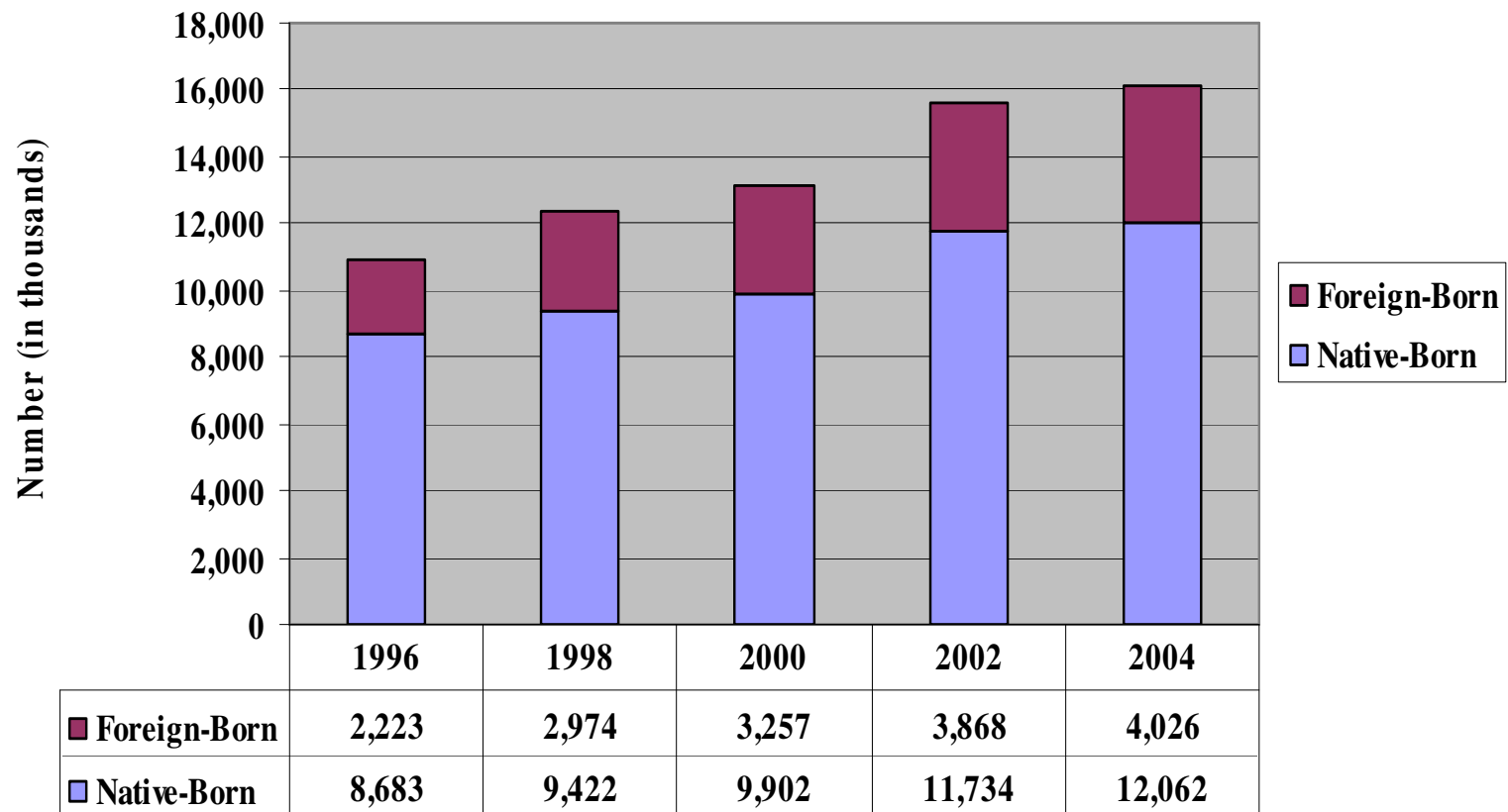


Group Voter Growth Rate, 1994- 2004

(midterm to midterm, presidential to presidential)



Latino Citizen Population, 1996- 2004



Trends

- **The majority of Latinos vote Democrat, but shifts are evident**
- **Hispanics look at candidates' records and positions, not party affiliation alone**
- **Hispanics have shown a tendency to “split the ticket”**
- **Latinos are becoming a swing vote in some competitive states**

Recommendations

- **Immigrant integration and citizenship Promotion strategies are essential**
- **Investments in Latino-focused voter registration and outreach are strongly needed**
- **Particular attention to innovative youth outreach and voter registration strategies designed with Latinos in mind need to be advanced**

NCLR
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

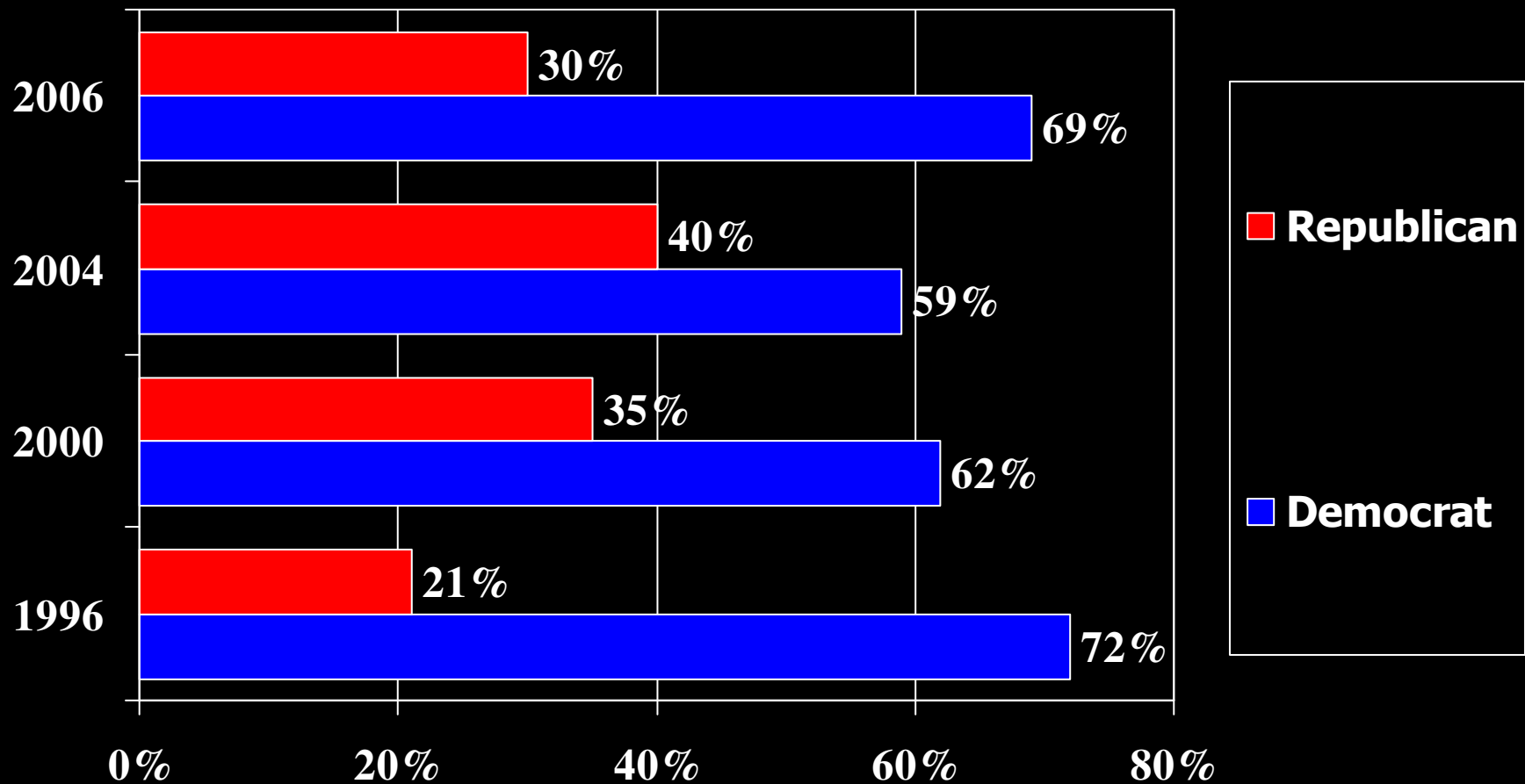
The 2006 Elections: the Issues and the Hispanic Electorate

Center for American Progress
Washington, D.C.

February 15, 2007



Hispanic Electorate General Election Results



* Source: Exit Polls

The Immigration Issue

- 76 percent of Hispanic voters feel that there is a growing anti-immigrant, anti-Hispanic sentiment in the United States.
- 62 percent of Hispanic voters report that this anti-immigrant sentiment has had a negative impact on their families.
- 64 percent of Hispanic voters think that this sentiment is being fueled by racism against Latin Americans and Asians.

* Source: New America Media / CAP / LCCR Poll (March 2006)

“The Hispanic Challenge”

“America's Latino immigration deluge... is so little like any earlier wave, so hostile or resistant to sharing the common American language, civic rites and virtues upon which our republican self-governance depends, that it constitutes a major potential threat to the cultural and possibly political integrity of the United States.”

- Samuel Huntington
Foreign Policy essay

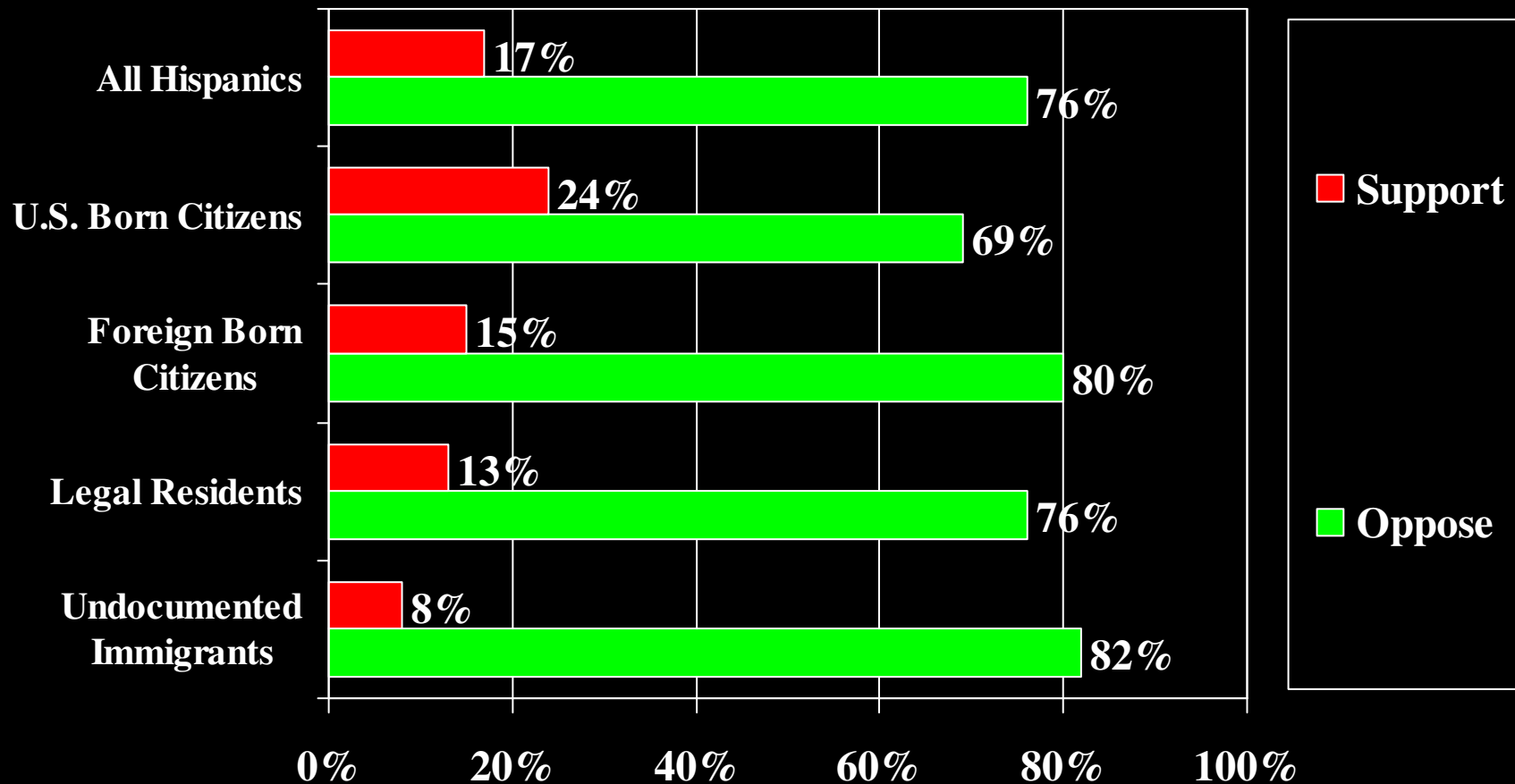


National Survey of Hispanics

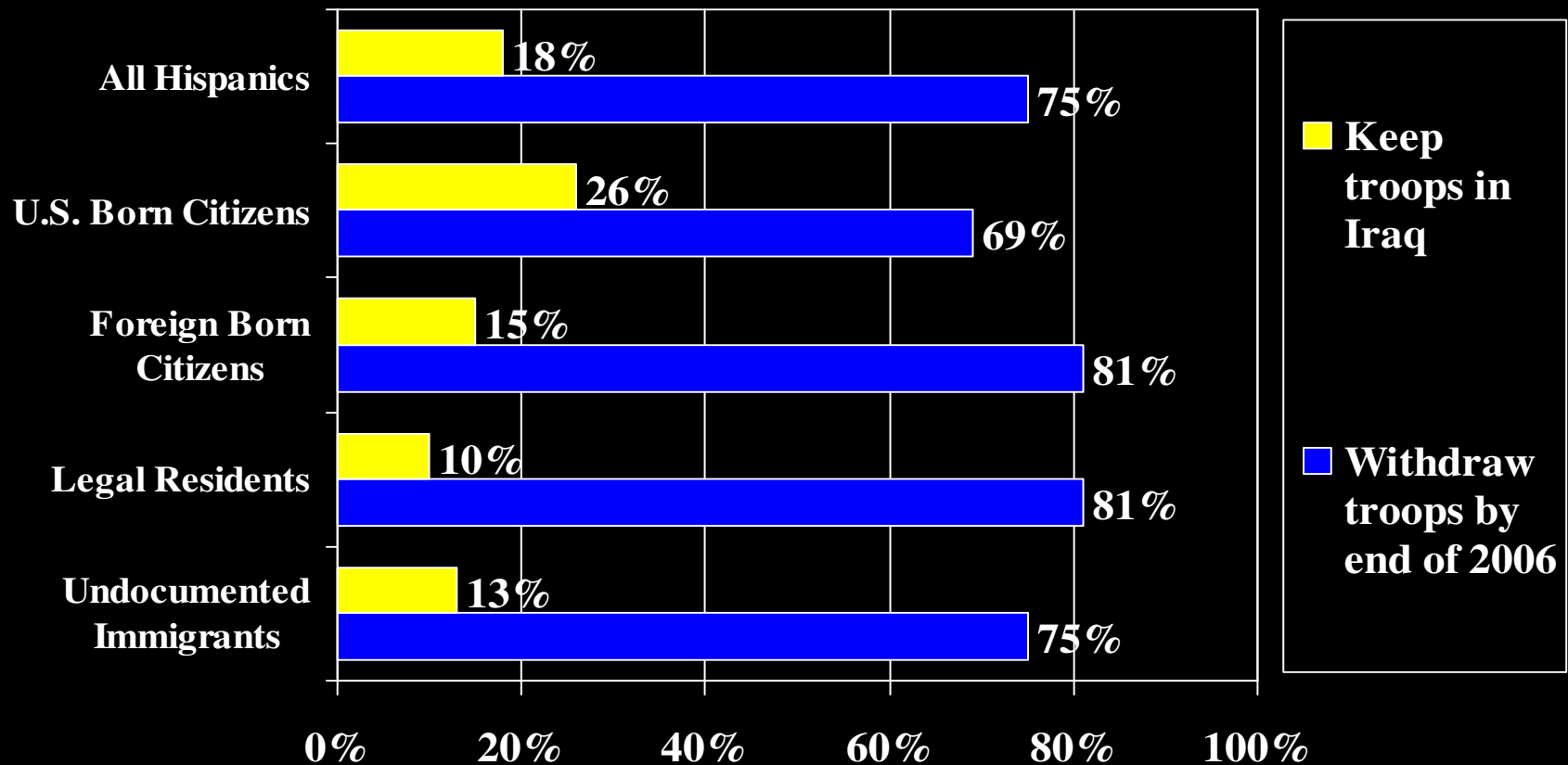
June 2006



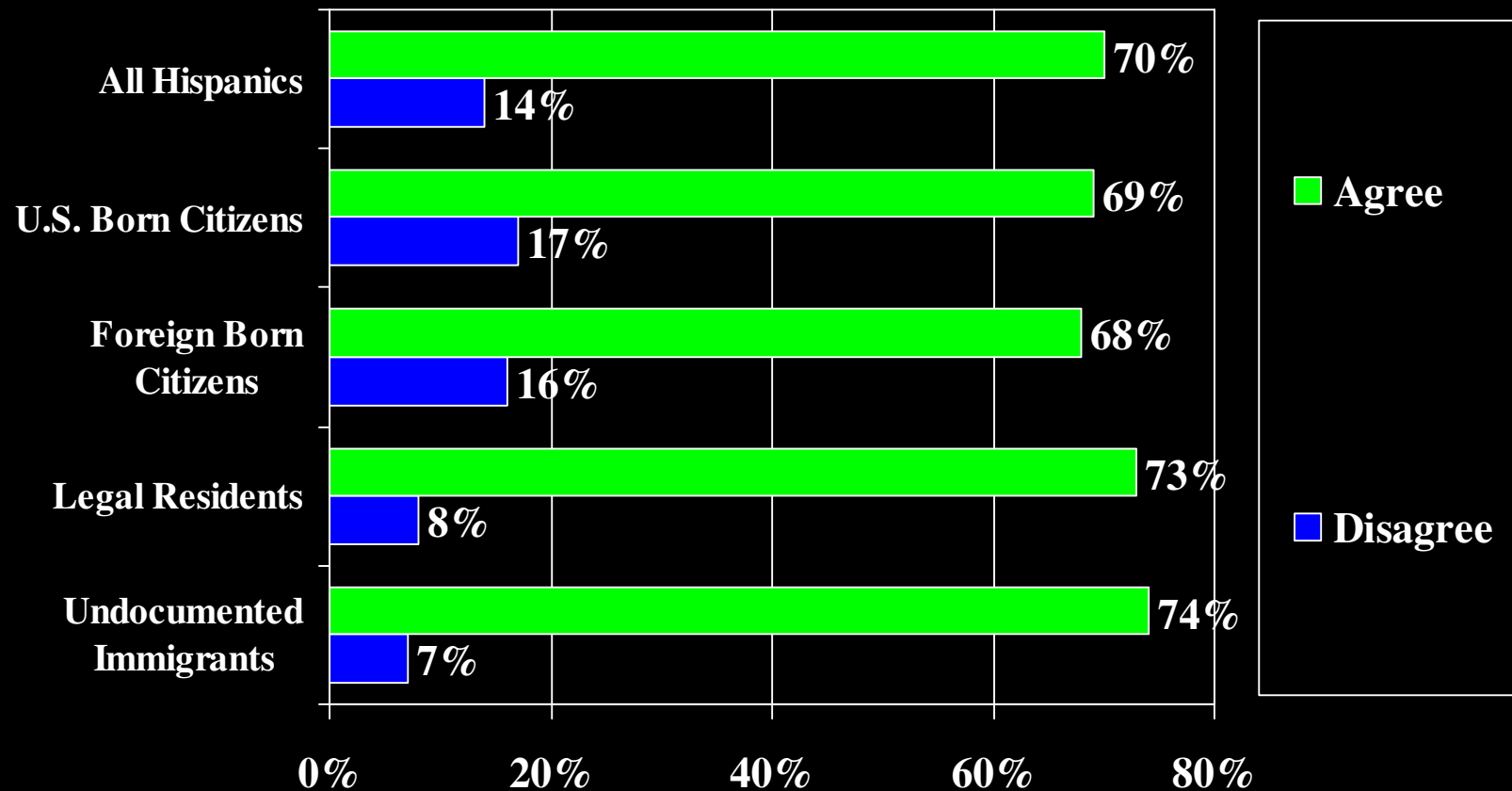
Do you support or oppose the war in Iraq?



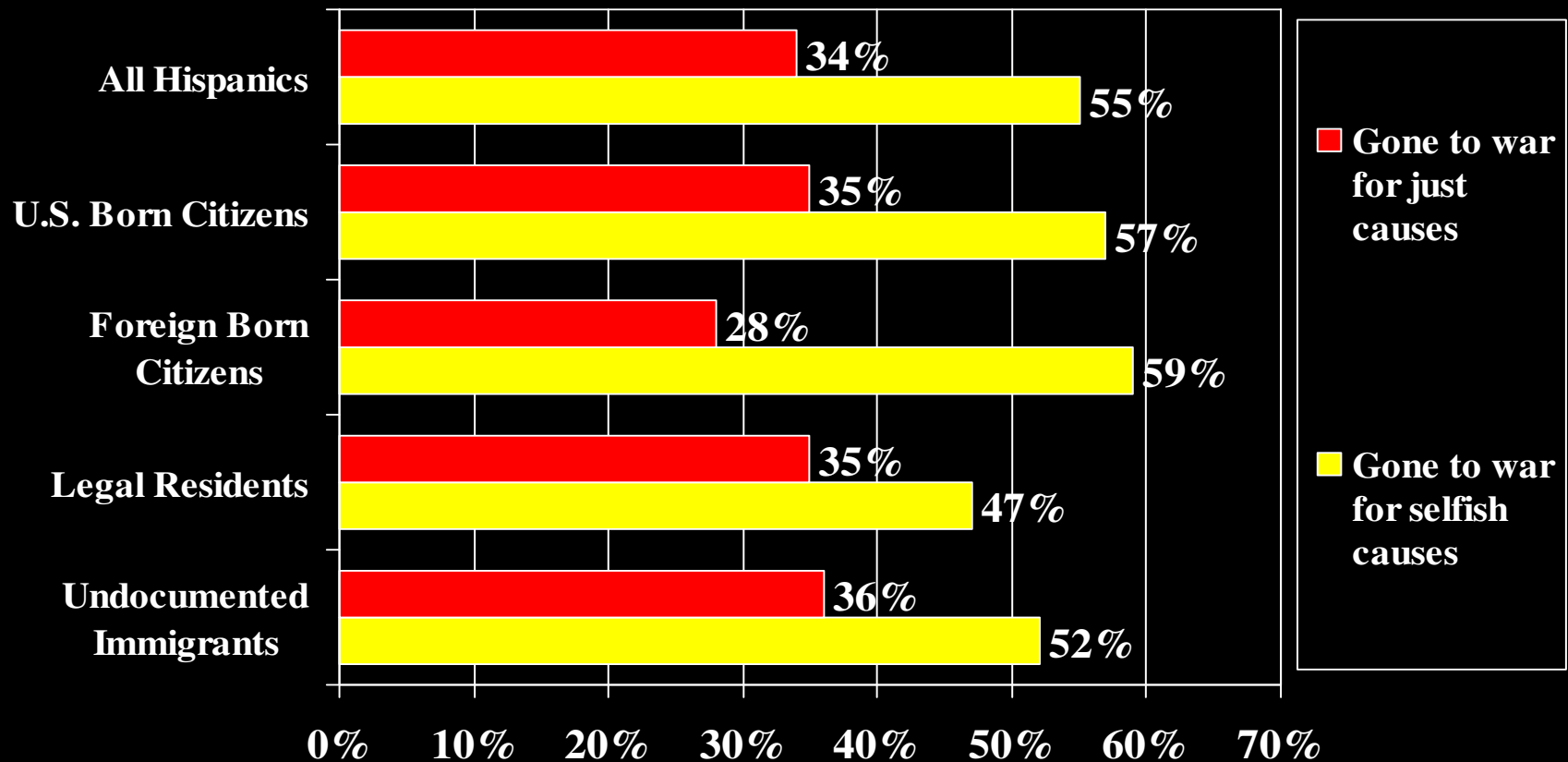
Do you think that the U.S. should keep its troops in Iraq until it achieves its objectives or should withdraw its troops from Iraq by the end of 2006?



The foreign policy of the U.S. needs to be acceptable to the United Nations and to the most important countries of Europe and Latin America.



Would you say that the U.S. has used its military power and gone to war mostly for just causes that have made the world better or that the U.S. has used its military power and gone to war for selfish causes that have made the world a more dangerous place?



Domestic Issues

- 83 percent of all Hispanic voters support an increase in minimum wage.
- 70 percent of all Hispanic voters support a national health care plan, even if taxes need to be raised significantly to finance it.
- Only 29 percent of all Hispanic voters support school vouchers to subsidize private schools.

NCLR
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Candidates must
view Latinos as the
“Next Great Wave of
American Talent.”

Candidates must
have a strong grasp of
Latino values.

Comparing Core Values

LATINO VALUES

Based on
Catholicism, Spanish
colonialism and respect
for tradition

U.S. DOMINANT CULTURE VALUES

Based on
Puritan, Protestant and
Calvinistic thinking of a
new and free America

Latino

INTERDEPENDENCE

*FAMILY FIRST
FAMILY HELPS FAMILY
FAITH IN GOD
HUMILITY
WORK HARD
SACRIFICE
STABILITY
RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY
MODESTY
GOD LOVES THE POOR
I ACCEPT LIFE'S PROBLEMS
SMALL SUCCESS IS GOOD
WHATEVER GOD WANTS
I HOPE TO ACHIEVE*

Mainstream USA

INDEPENDENCE

*ME FIRST
HELPING SELF HELPS FAMILY
FAITH IN SELF AND IN GOD
SELF-EXPRESSION
WORK SMART
PAY YOUR DUES
WHAT'S NEW? WHAT'S NEXT?
CHALLENGE AUTHORITY
TOOT YOUR HORN
GOD LOVES THE RICH, TOO
I SOLVE LIFE'S PROBLEMS
BIG SUCCESS IS BETTER
WHAT I WANT, TOO!
I BELIEVE I WILL ACHIEVE*

They must understand
that to varying degrees
US Latinos embrace both
these value systems.

US Latino Values: a combination of the best

FAMILY FIRST

FAMILY HELPS FAMILY getting an education is the best way

FAITH IN GOD and in me

HUMILITY but not too much

WORK HARD and smart

SACRIFICE but not for long

STABILITY a little risk is good too

RESPECT AUTHORITY challenge it too

MODESTY as long as I don't disappear

GOD LOVES THE POOR and the rich, too

I ACCEPT some of LIFE'S PROBLEMS solve most of them

SMALL SUCCESS IS GOOD so are big successes

WHATEVER GOD WANTS but I have a say, too.

*I have a responsibility to make the most of what I have
in order to succeed and contribute.*

Family Values

- Family comes first.
- Work to help the family
 - Old way: Drop out of school, get a job
 - New way: Finish college, earn more, contribute more. It's a better way to help the family.

Family Values

- Money is not important
- God loves the poor
 - Old way: Stay poor, go straight to heaven
 - New way: It's OK to have a little money.
God loves the poor as well as the rich.

Family Values

- Money is not important
- God loves the poor
 - Old way: “We’ll never be able to afford college, so why invite disappointment by getting ready for it?”
 - New way: “If I work hard and get prepared, the money will be there, just be creative and resourceful and start planning now.

Family Values

- Hard work is good
- Hard work is honorable
 - Old way: Any steady job is honorable.
 - New way: Set your goals on a good career. You are capable of achieving any position in any company you want. Go for it. You will be successful.

To get our vote,
candidates must go after
it.

Most Latinos are predisposed to
vote Democrat, but are becoming
more open to considering the
person.

The undecided Latino must first
like

and trust a candidate
before they will listen and
believe

what they have to say.

"Communicate expectations, not
Issues"

A better day for our children.

Opportunity and equality.

A piece of the American Dream.

Equal American citizens,
not helpless victims.

Hispanic conservative values
are the key.

Family

Personal responsibility

Work ethic

Patriotism

Strong moral character

The candidate who communicates
these expectations better,
more often,
and with greater enthusiasm
will get the Latino vote.

The message:

- You are the future of America. You are equal and productive Americans, not helpless victims.
- This country is better and stronger because of you.
- Be optimistic about the future. Set big goals. With our help, you'll get there.

The Message:

- America needs your talent, intelligence and leadership.
- You are today's role models because of the strong family values you bring.
- Our conservative values are the ties that bind us.

The Message:

- As a sovereign country, we must secure our borders. But we must also be mindful of the immigrant struggle for betterment that built this country. America needs the immigrant worker. We must find the solution by supporting practical and comprehensive immigration reform that decriminalizes the hard working people we need.

The Message:

- We need you. We want you. We will never take you for granted. We will demonstrate our commitment by spending time with you, spending money to court you, treating you with respect and including you in all we do. Our future depends on you.

Center for American Progress

