



Transcript

Release of 2004 National Survey of Latinos: Political and Civic Participation

July 22, 2004

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1 (9:31 a.m.)

2 MR. SURO: Good morning, and welcome.

3 My name is Roberto Suro. I'm the
4 director of the Pew Hispanic Center. And with
5 MollyAnn Brodie, the vice president of the Kaiser
6 Family Foundation, we will be presenting a packet
7 of research materials to you this morning.

8 This is the third in a series of national
9 surveys of the Latino population that the Pew
10 Hispanic Center had conducted in collaboration with
11 the Kaiser Family Foundation.

12 And for those of you who know that body
13 of work, it's -- we attempt to go somewhat deeper
14 than the standard newspaper polls that sort of
15 measure things from one poll to another.

16 And our goal here really is to deepen an
17 understanding of the Latino population to explore
18 its underlying dynamics and to give some
19 perspective on the news of the day.

20 Latino voters obviously are of great
21 interest right now because it's a very close
22 presidential election. And with the conventions

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1 ahead, it is important to get a reading on this
2 segment of the electorate.

3 Because, as I said, our interest goes
4 beyond the political moment, goes beyond this
5 election to explore a new and growing force on the
6 political scene, its makeup, its character and its
7 impact, all of which are evolving and changing from
8 one election cycle to another.

9 The Pew Hispanic Center and the Kaiser
10 Family Foundation have assembled a package of
11 material that, first of all, answers the obvious
12 question at the moment, which is the horse race and
13 where the election stands between President Bush
14 and Senator Kerry, but also explores the longer
15 term questions of the composition and character of
16 the Latino electorate and the political views of
17 the Latino population as a whole.

18 First, let me just go over the materials
19 that you have in your packets.

20 They are also available on the Pew
21 Hispanic Center and Kaiser Family websites. And as
22 of now, they should be up. And the transcript of

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1 the press conference will also be available on the
2 Pew Hispanic Center website later today.

3 You have a fact sheet that goes over some
4 demographic characteristics of the Latino
5 electorate. There are two surveys that we are
6 reporting on today.

7 The main survey was taken from late April
8 to early June with a very large sample of the
9 entire Latino population and explores a wide range
10 of political views and political behaviors.

11 The second survey is much narrower. It's
12 focused only on the presidential horse race and was
13 conducted from the beginning of last week through
14 the beginning of this week.

15 I'm just -- we are going to go over all
16 of this fairly quickly, and hopefully there will
17 been plenty of time for questions afterwards.

18 Let me just start with the fact sheet
19 which makes really just a few basic observations
20 that are important, if you wouldn't mind, as we try

21 to understand the Latino electorate.

22 The first is there is a very substantial

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1 difference between the total Latino population and
2 the electorate. And the most significant
3 difference is in size.

4 The Latino electorate -- the Latino
5 population as a whole includes a very large share
6 of immigrant noncitizens.

7 And the easiest way to picture the
8 difference was that in 2000, the Latino and
9 African-American populations were roughly of the
10 same size. But on election day, there were about
11 twice as many African-Americans at the polls as
12 there were Latinos.

13 And this chiefly a result of the fact
14 that you have so many noncitizen adults in the
15 Latino population.

16 Nonetheless, the Hispanic population has
17 been growing. And based on the available data, the
18 eligible electorate will have increased by about by
19 about 20 percent between 2000 and 2004.

20 However, you know, the second major point
21 in this fact sheet is important to keep in mind.

22 The largest component of growth is of

1 young people, the native-born Latinos, who turn 18.
2 This is a population, regardless of ethnicity, that
3 is notoriously difficult to mobilize for political
4 action.

5 They don't register, and they don't vote
6 in the same proportions as adults. And as a
7 result, that 20 percent increase in eligible voters
8 is not likely to produce a 20 percent increase in
9 actual voters because so much of the increase, as I
10 said, is among young people who, as I say, don't
11 vote as often as their elders.

12 And finally, there is a section on
13 Hispanic Electoral College which makes a couple of
14 the basic fact assertions.

15 About 60 percent of the Latino eligible
16 voters are located in California, New York, and
17 Texas, three states that are currently not assumed
18 to be contested. They are certainly not among the
19 battleground states.

20 There is some detail on the four states
21 that are in the standard of contested states at
22 this point, Florida, New Mexico, Nevada, and

1 Arizona, which all have very different
2 characteristics in terms of their Latino
3 populations.

4 Now, onto the horse race poll. This
5 survey was conducted between July 12 to 20th of 788
6 registered voters in a nationally representative
7 sample contacted through a random dialing sampling
8 technique.

9 In a two-way race, that survey shows
10 President Bush at 32 percent favored by Latino
11 voters compared to Kerry at 62 percent.

12 In a three-way race with the Nader ticket
13 in the mix, it's 31 percent Bush, 59 percent Kerry,
14 and 3 percent Nader.

15 It's interesting when you look at the
16 two-way numbers, the results are virtually the same
17 as they were on Election Day 2000 according to the
18 network exit polls where Gore got 62 percent and
19 Bush got 35 percent.

20 Interestingly, the general population
21 polls are now almost the same as what the exit
22 polls showed in 2000 with a country that is about

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1 evenly divided with perhaps -- you know, given from

2 one poll to another, sometimes Kerry has a slight
3 lead.

09:39:40 4 If you look back at the way Latino voters
5 have approached the Bush presidency and sort of the
6 history of polls over the last three and a half
7 years, it is clear that Bush gained with the
8 Latinos, as he did with the rest of the public,
9 after 9-11 and through the spring of 2003 with the
10 combat phase of the war in Iraq.

09:40:0111 And then his approval ratings and his
12 general popularity began to slide, except for a
13 bump last winter at the time of Saddam Hussein's
14 capture.

09:40:1315 Now, with a full-fledged campaign
16 underway, it looks pretty much like it's back to
17 where it all started. Partisan loyalties have
18 reasserted themselves. Bases are largely intact,
19 and that is where the race stands going into what
20 is now I guess the penultimate phase, the
21 convention phase of the campaign.

09:40:3222 For Bush, there are some signs -- not

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1 huge ones, but there are signals of weakness in his
2 base.

09:40:39 3 More Bush voters said they would still

4 consider voting for Kerry than vice versa. There
5 is some points in the larger poll that we touched
6 on that also indicate a feeling of weakness in the
7 Republican base.

09:40:53 8 But on overall, Bush seems to have about
9 the same standing he did on Election Day 2000.

09:40:5810 On the other hand, Bush clearly has one
11 very strong appeal in this horse race poll.
12 Leadership ability is noted very strongly as his
13 principal strength. Kerry's positives are much
14 more diffuse.

09:41:1315 A much clearer picture of partisan
16 differences emerges from the main survey, and I
17 would ask you now to turn attention to that.

09:41:2118 This survey involved a sample of 2,288
19 Latinos nationwide of whom 1,166 are registered
20 voters.

09:41:3421 It was conducted between April 21 and
22 June 9.

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09:41:39 1 The size of the sample allows some very
2 interesting comparisons, both between the
3 electorate and the total population between those
4 who are citizens and those who are not.

09:41:51 5 And also some very -- it is a substantial

9 to follow along with me in the chartpack, which is
10 this document. If you will go to the back of it,
11 you will see the charts on the screen overhead, or
12 you can follow on the screen ahead.

09:43:1413 And I'll go through the first section of
14 that.

09:43:1915 In this slide, what you see is the
16 Democrats have a 2-to-1 advantage in party
17 identification -- that was a poll from among Latino
18 registered voters -- and that has not changed over
19 time.

09:43:3420 We have -- tracking back to 1999, there
21 is virtually no difference in the basic
22 configuration of partisan loyalties among Latino

11

1 registered voters.

09:43:45 2 In this slide, you can see some of the
3 important differences by country of origin.

09:43:51 4 Most significantly, the Cubans are the
5 one major national group in which a very
6 substantial portion are identified as Republicans.

09:44:00 7 Puerto Ricans tend to be heavily
8 Democratic. And you can see among the Mexicans,
9 you have got that basic 2-to-1 split, which really
10 drives the Latino electorate given the size of the

11 Mexican origin population.

09:44:1812 In terms of the demography of partisan
13 loyalties among Latinos, you can see that basically
14 Republicans are more affluent, and there are larger
15 numbers of Republicans who are foreign born, that
16 is people who came here from another country and
17 naturalized -- acquired citizenship through
18 naturalization.

09:44:4319 Among Independents, you can see there is
20 an interesting large number of native born.

09:44:4921 In this slide, you can basically see that
22 there is really not a lot of difference either in

12

1 religion or in language by partisan loyalties.

09:45:00 2 Republicans are not significantly more
3 Protestant or more born-again than Latino
4 Democrats. The distribution is pretty well even
5 through them.

09:45:12 6 And again, on language, despite the fact
7 that is there a greater number of Republicans who
8 are foreign born, the language differences are not
9 really statistically significant.

09:45:2510 In terms of the difference -- there are
11 various ways to gauge the importance of ethnic
12 identity.

09:45:3113 And one that we have used in a number of

14 surveys over the years is perception of
15 discrimination, both whether respondents feel that
16 discrimination is a major problem to Latinos
17 impeding their progress in the United States and
18 whether they personally have experienced
19 discrimination, either directly or through a family
20 member.

09:45:5121 There is an interesting and significant
22 difference between Latino Democrats and Latino

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1 Republicans on this score. And the perception and
2 experience of discrimination is much stronger among
3 Democrats than it is among Republicans. And,
4 interestingly, stronger still among independents.

09:46:12 5 And this question attempted to establish
6 the level of interest in news of the campaign, and
7 basically it mirrors what you see in the general
8 population in terms of who is tuned in and how many
9 are not.

10 In terms of the issues the Latinos pick
11 as most significant in determining their vote for
12 president -- excuse me -- there are no surprises at
13 the top of the chart. There is something of a
14 surprise at the bottom.

15 Education has consistently been ranked as

16 the number one concern for Latino voters and for
17 the Latino population in general.

18 It, I believe, mirrors the fact that
19 you -- this is a population that has a much higher
20 number of families with children than you see in
21 the general population.

22 It's a population that is still on sort

14

1 of an aspirational track with many people seeing
2 education as an important avenue of advancement
3 across generations.

4 The economy, in jobs, health care, and
5 the war against terrorism are all obviously issues
6 and concerns for the general public as well.

7 The surprise at the bottom -- perhaps a
8 surprise -- is that immigration ranks last among
9 issues that Latinos pick as one that will decide
10 their vote.

11 It's cited as extremely important by half
12 as many Latino registered voters as education.

13 Interestingly, on this point, there is
14 not a very large difference across the board among
15 Latinos in terms of their ranking of immigration.

16 I think that this signals that among the
17 registered voters, there is not the perception of a
18 crisis in the immigration system.

21 will see that about a fifth of Latinos who identify
22 as Republicans express negative views towards the

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1 President's conduct of the war, and this is
2 consistent over a series of questions.

3 Also, you can see that the negative view
4 carries among Independents. And, again, this is
5 fairly consistent on a variety of questions about
6 the war.

7 Here, a general approval question on
8 handling of the war and a question about whether
9 the president has a clear plan to bring the war to
10 a successful conclusion, and the results are
11 similar.

12 Again, we see that is there a chunk of
13 the Republican base that is concerned, at least
14 about the President's conduct of the war. And you
15 can see it among independents, there is a majority
16 that is -- expresses concerns.

17 You can see that for about four in ten
18 voters, this is a decisive issue. Although a
19 majority said that if a candidate agreed with them
20 on other issues, they can still vote for them, even
21 if they found that they were -- did not share the
22 same views on the war.

1 The next series of slides look at health
2 care issues. Here you can see the ranking of
3 health care issues that Latinos consider most
4 important.

5 I'm going to move on to the next slide
6 which I consider some strong finding on the
7 government policy towards health care coverage.

8 Very large majorities of Latinos,
9 regardless of party identification, favor having
10 the government provide insurance to all Americans,
11 and a significant majority are willing to pay for
12 it, one way or the other.

13 And given the sizes of the majorities and
14 the fact that there is no partisan split on this,
15 it seems to be a very strong statement coming out
16 of this survey.

17 The next series of slides are about
18 immigration. Here you can see on the left-hand
19 part, about 60 percent of the Latino registered
20 voters believe that illegal or undocumented
21 immigrants help the economy, and 31 percent believe
22 that they hurt it.

1 There is no change in that question among
2 the responses to that question among Latino
3 registered voters since we asked it in 2002. The
4 results were basically identical.

5 There is a significant minority of
6 Latinos who are uncomfortable with the size in
7 flows of immigration.

8 And in the question on -- yes. On the
9 right-hand side, the right-hand side question is

10 about the size of the flow and whether the number
11 of immigrants coming through Latin America should
12 be increased, should remain the same, or should be
13 reduced.

14 The fact that 46 percent say that there
15 should be no change maybe helps explain the ranking
16 of immigration as an issue that is not an enormous
17 priority in that you have almost half of Latino
18 voters who say, Leave the situation as it is.

19 I'm not sure.

20 This slide contrasts two proposals for
21 dealing with the current population of unauthorized
22 migrants.

1 And very clearly, the Democratic plan,

2 which offers legal status to people who are here
3 without authorization, is favored by much larger
4 numbers of Latinos than put forward by President
5 Bush, which involves giving people who are here
6 temporary worker visas with the understanding that
7 they will eventually return to their countries of
8 origin.

9 The legalization plan was recently
10 embraced by Senator Kerry quite visibly. He now
11 has in one of his television ads in Spanish a
12 promise that in the first hundred days of his
13 presidency, he would adopt a plan similar to the
14 one that is described in this question.

15 In looking toward the future of
16 immigration flows in the United States and how to
17 deal with the second part of the immigration reform
18 question, after you take care of the population
19 that is already here, what do you do next in order
20 to ensure that future flows come into the country
21 through some sort of legal system; very sizable
22 majorities of Latinos of all parties, really no

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1 differentiation by partisan identification, favor
2 legal avenues rather -- avenues that lead to
3 permanent residency and eventual citizenship rather
4 than a temporary worker program that allows you to

5 stay here for a number of years and then return
6 home.

7 On the Bush tax cuts, attitudes seem to
8 reflect both incomes and partisan loyalties,
9 although, Bush does not have a hugely strong
10 showing in his base.

11 44 percent of Latino Republicans say the
12 tax cuts were good for the economy, but a majority
13 don't have that view, again, in his base.

14 The Democratic views, as I said, seem to
15 mirror both partisan loyalties and incomes.

16 On abortion, the views of the Latino
17 registered voters are very close to what you see in
18 national polls, where something over 50 percent in
19 the national polls, 54 percent over the last
20 several years favor the view that abortion should
21 be legal.

22 And, in this case, those views have been

21

1 fairly consistent.

2 You can see that 40 percent of Latino
3 Republicans say that abortion should be legal.
4 About half of Latino Catholic registered voters say
5 it should be legal.

6 This is an area where there is a very

7 substantial difference between Latino registered
8 voters and the foreign-born who are not citizens.

9 60 percent of the foreign born
10 noncitizens said that abortion should be illegal
11 compared to 44 percent of registered voters.

12 On the question of same sex marriage,
13 contrary to abortion, there is no significant
14 difference between the registered voter population
15 and the noncitizen population on this.

16 There are not a lot of differences by
17 religion or in -- you can see that there is some
18 slight differences by denomination and by party,
19 but there are not huge swings the way you saw, for
20 example, on the war, where partisan loyalties were
21 producing very substantial differences.

22 And Latinos are pretty much evenly split

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1 on the question of a constitutional amendment.
2 And, again, it is important. This question focused
3 on the policy issue, not the moral question of
4 views of homosexuality as a personal behavior.

5 This really focused on the policy issue
6 that is before now -- that President Bush has
7 endorsed a constitutional amendment that would
8 define marriage as being between a male and a

9 female.

10 And the last line shows the use of the
11 intensity for whom this is a deciding issue or not.

12 At this point, I will turn things over to
13 MollyAnn Brodie.

14 MS. BRODIE: Good morning, everyone.

15 I just want do three things very quickly.

16 I want to take a deeper look at the
17 demographic profile of the Latino electorate, going
18 into some of the generalizations that Roberto made
19 in his opening remarks.

20 I want to examine Latino's attitudes
21 towards politics, politicians, and political
22 parties.

23

1 And third, just look more closely at
2 other forms of civic and community engagement and
3 involvement, which I think will help in formulating
4 the ongoing discussions that have been happening
5 about political engagement in this country.

6 So first, on chart 20, it shows a point
7 Robert did make when he opened. A much larger
8 share of the Latino electorate was born in the U.S.
9 than the Hispanic population as a whole.

10 So you can see there on the left,

11 two-thirds of the registered Latinos were born in
12 the United States and another 8 percent in Puerto
13 Rico. This is in comparison to about four in ten
14 of all Latinos.

15 And looking at the left-hand side of the
16 chart, you will notice that, like the general
17 population of the United States, most of the
18 registered Latinos are Mexican, 15 percent are
19 Puerto Rican, 6 percent are Cuban.

20 And they primarily live in the south and
21 the west, with California, Texas, Florida, and New
22 York having the largest share of the Latinos.

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1 Now, before we turn to Chart 22 -- and I
2 know you think this is out of order, and it is -- I
3 just want to skip ahead for a minute. So you guys
4 can stay on Chart 22.

5 I just want to make sure that before we
6 start talking about some other issues with these
7 three groups that Roberto described at the
8 beginning, that we want an accurate picture of the
9 Latino electorate.

10 So you notice here that about 6 in 10
11 Latino adults in the U.S. are citizens. That's
12 that 58 percent.

13 That includes 43 percent who are

14 registered to vote, and 14 percent who are not
15 registered to vote and who say they currently
16 aren't registered. And then there is 42 who are in
17 that not-citizen group.

18 We will talk a lot more about these three
19 groups as we move forward.

20 So, now, if you look at your Chart 22 in
21 your packet, you will see that, while the majority
22 of the Latino electorate primarily speaks English

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1 or is bilingual, about 1 in 5 are Spanish dominant.

2 They are also -- the Latino electorate
3 are also much more likely to say that they get
4 their news from English language sources.

5 Although a quarter do say that both
6 Spanish and English is where they get their news,
7 and 17 percent say it's only in Spanish.

8 But look at what a completely opposite
9 picture it is in both of those cases for the
10 noncitizen populations. You can really see the
11 difference between these two populations here.

12 And lastly, on the demographic profile,
13 you know the Latino electorate is better educated
14 than the Latino population as a whole, especially
15 when you compare them to the views of the -- to the

16 experiences of those who are not citizens.

17 I'm just going to skip ahead to Chart 26.

18 As we start talking about what I think is an
19 interesting finding in the survey, and it is
20 Latinos' sort of general ambivalence in their
21 attitudes towards political leaders, political
22 parties, and even among the Latino political unity.

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1 So, for example, here in Chart 26, you
2 can see that about half of Latinos of these groups
3 that we have been talking about say that political
4 leaders don't care much about what people like them
5 think.

6 In Chart 27, if we focus just on that top
7 part, you will see that the Latino electorate is
8 much more likely to say that the Democratic party
9 has concern for Latinos than it is to say the
10 Republican party.

11 That's the 43 versus the 11 percent.

12 You do see some of this ambivalence again
13 in the fact that 42 percent of registered Latinos
14 say that there is no difference between the
15 parties.

16 Now, this is even greater for those
17 groups that are less politically active than

18 nonregistered citizens and the noncitizens.

19 And lastly on this point, look at the
20 left-hand side of this chart and notice that
21 Latinos are split on whether Latinos from different
22 countries are working together to achieve political

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1 goals.

2 About half think they are not working
3 together, but the other half think that they are
4 working together.

5 Now, as we move to Chart 30, we will
6 start talking more broadly about the Latino civic
7 and community engagement.

8 In the first notes on the left-hand side,
9 the vast majority of registered Latinos report that
10 they have voted in a U.S. election, but there is
11 still 14 percent of those who that they are
12 registered who say that they have never voted.

13 And then if you look on the right, you
14 will see that even fewer report voting in the
15 elections. And as you all know, reported voting
16 and reported registration is always higher than
17 actual numbers too, because there is a social
18 desirability about telling the person you are
19 talking to that you actually voted and that you are
20 registered to vote.

21 When we ask people why don't they always
22 vote, Latinos are more likely to cite reasons that

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1 have to do with candidates than reasons that have
2 to do with things of convenience.

3 So, for example, 59 percent agree that
4 they sometimes don't like any of the candidates.
5 56 percent agree they sometimes feel that they
6 don't know enough about the candidate, and these
7 are reasons why they don't always vote.

8 Just 12 percent say it's complicated to
9 register where they live.

10 Now, these candidate factors are even
11 more likely to be cited by the nonregistered
12 Latinos. But notice that about a quarter of them
13 also cite logistic challenges.

14 Now, these are both factors, the
15 candidates and the logistics, that may be important
16 to focus on to get these groups more engaged.

17 Now, a sizable majority -- this is 41
18 percent -- of the Latino electorate -- this charts
19 just the registered voters for right now -- say
20 that having a Latino candidate on the ballot will
21 make a difference in terms of getting them out to
22 vote.

1 So having a Latino on the ballot will
2 help increase voter turnout, at least according to
3 these registered voters.

4 A majority also say that they will be
5 likely to vote for a Latino candidate, that they
6 will be more likely to vote for a Latino candidate
7 than a nonLatino candidate if they say they share
8 the same qualifications, but not if the nonLatino
9 is better qualified.

10 Now, it is interesting on this point --
11 and you can see on this chart, is when you ask
12 Latinos who are not voters -- so they are citizens,
13 but these are nonvoters and nonregistered
14 citizens -- they are more likely to assume that
15 ethnic appeals play a larger role than what we saw
16 reported in the case of actual registered voters.

17 Now, when we looked at other forms of
18 civic engagement, we found that there are a number
19 of ways registered Latinos say they are actively
20 participating in politics, including attending
21 public meetings and contacting elected officials.

22 In fact, if you look at the bottom of

1 each column, you will see that more than four in
2 ten of registered Latinos report participating in
3 at least one of these five activities.

4 And that compares to about two in ten of
5 the other groups.

6 Registered Latinos, though, don't appear
7 to limit their political activities to those that
8 are specific to Latino concerns.

9 So Latino based appeals seem to be an
10 inference by a minority of activities.

11 So, for example, you can see on the
12 bottom bar, a little more than the quarter of those
13 who say that they have attended a couple of
14 meetings that was specifically related to Latino
15 concerns.

16 Now, instead, when we asked about other
17 type of the volunteer activities, notice that more
18 of all groups told that they participated in these
19 types of things, including six in ten of registered
20 voters and four in ten of the other groups,
21 volunteering their time to their churches, their
22 schools, and their neighborhoods is a much more

1 common activity among Latinos.

2 And here you will see that ethnic-based
3 concerns led more of the nonregistered noncitizen
4 Latinos to engage in these volunteer activities
5 than is reported by registered Latinos.

6 So it seems that specific Latino-based
7 concerns are a more important driver of civic
8 participation for these groups than for those that
9 are already engaged in the electoral system.

10 Now, finally, thinking about the future
11 of Latino's political engagement, note here -- and,
12 as we saw earlier, 14 percent of all Latino adults
13 are citizens that are not yet registered to vote.

14 This 14 percent is going to be an
15 important group for people to focus on.

16 And we already saw, they are less
17 civically engaged in a number of areas than those
18 who are already registered to vote.

19 But here you will see on the left that
20 they are also less likely to report paying
21 attention to politics and government. And on the
22 right, you will see that they are even less likely

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1 to feel an association with either of the political
2 parties.

3 In fact, more than half of the not

4 registered groups say that they are independent,
5 something else, or that they don't have a party
6 affiliation, suggesting perhaps that they are up
7 for grabs.

8 And finally, notice that despite the
9 lower levels of the civic participation and
10 interest in politics, majorities of both registered
11 Latinos and not registered Latinos feel that
12 individuals can make a difference in the political
13 system.

14 This is certainly not a bad place to
15 start in terms of mobilizing a population into
16 being more politically active.

17 Let's turn it over to Roberto to finish
18 up.

19 MR. SURO: Thank you. As I said before,
20 this question, whether the United States is a
21 country of one culture or many, is pretty much a
22 perennial question.

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1 And during periods of immigration, it
2 came into focus somewhat more sharply this spring
3 by the publication of a book by Professor Samuel
4 Huntington, a political scientist at Harvard, that
5 argued very forcefully that this country was

6 founded on a single Anglo-Protestant culture --
7 that was his phrase -- and that culture and the
8 institutions that flow from it were being
9 endangered by the recent influx of immigrants, and
10 particularly from Mexico.

11 And following publication of that book,
12 we posed several questions related to that idea,
13 which, again, was not original to Professor
14 Huntington and was a matter of debate perennially
15 at great times of immigration.

16 On the question of whether the United
17 States has a single core culture, which can be
18 identified as an Anglo-Protestant culture, this is
19 distinctly a minority view, not just among Latinos,
20 but among all Americans.

21 And you can see there comparison polls
22 that we did separately of this single question of

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1 the general population.

2 And they are a very strong majority who
3 were almost unanimous in saying that this is a
4 country made up of many cultures rather than single
5 one.

6 It is interesting that almost twice as
7 many Latinos as in the general population say that,

8 in fact, this is a country with a single culture.

9 And I don't know whether that's from the
10 perspective of outside looking in or what, or how
11 do you explain that.

12 In terms of the question of assimilation,
13 there is a paradox that we have found in a number
14 of past polls asking questions, these questions,
15 and others like it, that among the Latinos, you
16 find large majorities who are willing to say that
17 it is important to blend in and to become part of
18 the mainstream and who say it is important to
19 maintain a distinct culture and to preserve
20 Spanish.

21 I said it is a seeming paradox. This is
22 a much longer conversation than for today.

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1 And we have polled on this subject and
2 produced reports on it rather extensively are the
3 first national survey of Latino -- it's a survey of
4 national -- sorry -- national Latino survey went to
5 the question of assimilation in great detail.

6 But its -- these are not perceived as
7 mutually exclusive by Latinos.

8 There is a perception that this is a
9 country where it is possible to be in the
10 mainstream and maintain a distinct identity both.

13 into the end of July, we are basically in a dead
14 heat, it's really going to depend on, you know, how
15 the electoral college map plays out, what states
16 the election is decided in.

17 And if it is this close, arguably, any
18 constituency of any size could be decisive.

19 So it's very hard to say.

20 QUESTION: Did you ask about the value of
21 education?

22 MS. BRODIE: We actually didn't ask it

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1 about it in this survey.

2 We did last January, I guess. We did an
3 entire survey on education, and there is a bunch of
4 questions on that. And actually, I think the
5 chartpack from that and the summary from that
6 survey are -- is out on the table, and you should
7 pick that up.

8 And generally there is support for a
9 bilingual education.

10 Basically, there is tremendous support in
11 the Latino population for learning English,
12 especially for adult immigrants to learn English,
13 and of course for children to learn English.

14 It's as high as it is for the general
15 U.S. population.

16 But then when it comes to bilingual
17 debate, there were some differences by assimilation
18 and some of those kind of issues.

19 You know, turning to Rebecca here, we
20 should identify her at this point. Rebecca Levin
21 has worked with the Kaiser Family Foundation, and
22 has been a project manager on all of these Latino

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1 surveys, and we couldn't have produced any of this
2 stuff without her.

3 So it's a perfect time to acknowledge
4 her.

5 QUESTION: Yes. I have a question on the
6 battleground issue in Florida in particular and the
7 influx of Puerto Ricans and other Latino groups.

8 Florida, obviously is a battleground
9 state, and how influential is the Latino vote going
10 to be in Florida this year?

11 Did you take a look at that?

12 MR. SURO: We don't have -- did not do a
13 sufficient sampling to divide out by country of
14 origin within Florida.

15 But -- we did? I take that back.

16 This is just the percentage. This is not
17 the actual --

18 MS. BRODIE: Percentage of registered.

19 MR. SURO: In terms of the size in
20 Florida, our survey found that 26 percent of
21 registered voters in Florida are Puerto Ricans,
22 which is a population that has been growing

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1 fastest, and the one that is perceived as
2 potentially sort of a changing dynamic politically
3 there because it has been traditionally a
4 Democratic constituency and 42 percent Cuba still.

10:14:23 5 In terms of their preferences, on that we
6 don't have a breakdown by country of origin in
7 Florida.

10:14:30 8 Generally, the horse race poll showed
9 that a President Bush is not going as well in
10 Florida or among Cubans as he did in 2000.

11 MS. BRODIE: But it is also true that
12 when we look at the total national data by country
13 of origin, there are big differences between the
14 views of Puerto Ricans and the views of Cubans as,
15 you know, pretty historical, conventional wisdom
16 type differences.

17 And so that may play out in Florida.

18 But as Roberto said, we can't look at it
19 in that level of detail.

20 QUESTION: I'm concerned about the

21 immigration question that you had on your survey.

22 So the question is why does immigration

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1 run so low? Is that because they think it is to
2 individuals, but they don't see the connection with
3 the whole system?

4 You know, the system is broken pretty
5 much. Because I think most of us would have
6 consensus to say that it is broken.

7 Now, the second part to that is
8 immigration important to voters versus recent
9 immigrants.

10:15:4110 Is there a difference?

10:15:4211 And the third part of that is then how
12 important would immigration as an issue be for the
13 candidates right now.

14 MR. SURO: You know, as with a lot of
15 surveys, you ask a question. And then when you see
16 the result, you wish you could call 2,000 people
17 back and say, Why did you say that, and this
18 happens all the time.

19 Unfortunately, we are left with the
20 result, and people will apply their interpretations
21 to it as they want us to. Why? It is a pretty
22 clear result.

1 I mean, you are talking about, as I said,
2 between education and immigration, it is a
3 two-to-one difference in terms of ranking of
4 priority.

5 And I was -- the obvious, very simple,
6 first-level analysis is it is just not perceived as
7 an urgent problem, that there is not a perception
8 of a crisis.

9 And as you see in some of the other
10 responses on sort of the size of the flow, very
11 narrowly a majority say that to leave it as it is.
12 And then you have got minorities that they either
13 increase it or decrease it.

14 But there is really no basis for sort of
15 further speculation as to what explains that very
16 interesting number.

17 MS. BRODIE: And then in your packet, one
18 of the things you have is a complete top line which
19 shows every question we ask and the result for the
20 total Latino population, registered Latinos, not
21 registered, and not citizens.

22 And in that document, you can see that

1 those who are not citizens, or the more recent
2 immigrants, are no more likely to say that
3 immigration would be extremely important to their
4 vote than the other groups.

5 So, you know, what Roberto is saying it
6 is a personal issue, and I see this a lot.

7 We do mostly health care related things.
8 And there is a lot of issues in health care that
9 people see as personal issues, but not as national
10 issues.

11 And then I think you might be getting
12 some of that here too.

13 QUESTION: I was very curious about that
14 question because I think that, on the immigration
15 side, these findings are consistent in the sense
16 that there has been some holes where immigration --
17 or it ranks near the bottom.

18 What I notice is the way the question is
19 asked. So, in this one in particular is would it
20 make you vote no or so and so as opposed to whether
21 it is an important issue.

22 And I think that is an important

1 qualification, particularly because, I mean, when

2 you say that Latinos didn't vote for that because
3 they don't think it's broken, I wonder to what
4 extent that is an interpretation as opposed to what
5 people actually said because immigration sometimes
6 ranks latter in terms of priority.

7 Because for a lot of people, particularly
8 they are more citizen and more detached to the
9 immigrant experience, it's more of a litmus test
10 for the candidate than in their respect for the
11 candidate for the community rather than a pressing
12 problem that needs to be immediately solved in
13 their daily life.

14 So I was wondering how you arrived the
15 conclusion that people don't think the system is
16 broken or the issue.

17 MR. SURO: You know, as I said, it is
18 just a very first-level sort of analysis, and it is
19 just from supposition that if it ranks so low in
20 terms of an issue that would be determinative of a
21 vote, that I, you know, there would be -- there was
22 a deduction on my part that that suggests that

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1 there is no sense of crisis about it.

2 So you can see clearly on other issues
3 where other polling suggests there is a sense of
4 crisis and where you have got clearly health care,

5 it affects a great -- you know, an absence of
6 insurance coverage affects a great many Latinos who
7 have got a very strong mind that this is an
8 important issue as well.

10:19:51 9 It was purely a deduction.

10 MS. BRODIE: And I'll just say too, your
11 point about the question wording and the way you
12 ask the question really doesn't matter.

10:20:0113 I mean, we ask them questions all the
14 time about the most important problems for
15 government to address. You will you get a
16 different list of the most important problem facing
17 the nation. You will get a different list of the
18 most urgent problem.

10:20:1419 We do the most urgent health problem. We
20 get a different list.

10:20:1621 So there is some -- again, you know, it's
22 an election season, and now it is time to be asking

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1 about voting. And if it is not coming up as
2 extremely important to the people's vote, then
3 that's, you know -- you have to take them at their
4 word.

5 QUESTION: Right. I agree. It is just
6 (inaudible) ask only, without (inaudible)

7 candidate --

8 MS. BRODIE: (Simultaneously) Yeah.

9 QUESTION: (Inaudible).

10 MS. BRODIE: Of course it's important.

11 QUESTION: Do you believe a strong

12 campaign working for registering the younger

13 population would a significant impact upon the

14 Latino vote?

15 MR. SURO: Yeah. I mean, it is a very

16 sizable source of growth. The numbers really quite

17 impressive.

18 It is -- every year since 2000 on

19 average, about 425,000 native born Latinos are

20 turning 18. That's a lot of voters around the

21 country.

22 And they are no different than other

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1 native born Americans in the same age group in

2 terms of being very difficult to mobilize.

3 MS. BRODIE: And I think that's a really

4 important point.

5 Because if you look at the voter trend

6 over time in predictive models of what is going to

7 happen to voter trends -- and this is for the whole

8 electorate, not just the Latino electorate -- an

9 18-year-old today is much less likely to show up at
10 the polls than an 18-year-old was, say, 20 years
11 ago.

12 So even though it has always been the
13 case that young people are less likely to be
14 engaged in politics than older people and through
15 your life cycle you are more likely to register and
16 start voting, the curves have shifted down.

17 So it is actually -- I think young people
18 should be a great concern to anybody who is
19 interested in our electoral system because, as a
20 group, they are much less likely show up than they
21 used to be.

22 MR. SURO: I mean, there is another

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1 interesting wrinkle that distinguishes these young
2 voters from others, in that a very large share of
3 them are the children of immigrants.

4 And often, as they are often the first in
5 their families to finish high school and the first
6 in their families to go to college, the first in
7 their families to get a white collar job. They are
8 also the first in their families to vote in a U.S.
9 election.

10 And they are not coming out of households
11 where there is sort of a tradition of partisan

12 education of one party or another. They are not
13 likely to learn from their parents saying they are
14 a Democrat or a Republican, or they talk about one
15 candidate or another.

16 And so presumably, (inaudible) because
17 they don't -- because they are sort of the first,
18 you know, of their family to be voting in the
19 United States.

20 QUESTION: Good morning.

21 I'm interested in the poll on
22 discrimination. You say that Latino Democrats are

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1 more likely to feel that discrimination is a major
2 problem compared to the Republican democrats (sic).

3 I was wondering what the differences are,
4 for example. Is it because of where they live or
5 any kind of economic difference?

6 And I'm also kind of curious about the
7 concept of discrimination.

8 Is it a specific dimension of
9 discrimination, for example, racial, ethnic,
10 housing, access to health care, police enforcement?
11 So sort of the holding out a little bit of the
12 concept of the discrimination.

13 MR. SURO: That is a very interesting

14 question.

15 And I confess, it was enough of a race to
16 finish to present a first-level analysis of the
17 data.

18 There is enough of a data set here to do
19 the kind of regression analysis that would be
20 necessary to determine whether it is an income,
21 education, region, country of origin, or one of the
22 other variables that would be most determinative of

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1 somebody's likelihood to say that they were -- they
2 cite (inaudible) or that they or their family
3 members had been victims.

4 We asked questions in a past survey,
5 2002, and, again, that report is out on the table,
6 that did differentiate forms of immigration and on
7 different subjects.

8 We didn't in this survey.

9 QUESTION: Looking at the survey
10 findings, particularly at civic participation and
11 volunteering, where do you gauge Latinos stand
12 compared to other ethnic groups and mainstream
13 society?

14 MS. BRODIE: That's a great question.

15 And there are -- there is enough data out

16 there that we could do a more scientific analysis.
17 But my impression, looking at it, is that it is
18 fairly similar that you see, you know, people who
19 are engaged in politics at one level are more
20 likely to do some of those other activities.

21 People who are disengaged from voting are
22 also disengaged from all sorts of other civic

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1 activities. So that to me is very consistent.

2 In terms of the exact levels, we need to
3 look at population -- general population surveys
4 and do some comparisons, which we haven't done yet.

5 But we could and should.

6 QUESTION: I had a question about the
7 fact that the electorate had increased only 20
8 percent from the year 2000, and the largest
9 increase has been in the native-born Latino
10 population, which is, as you said, the young
11 demographic.

12 I'm curious if there are any issues
13 particularly important for young Latinos as opposed
14 to older Latinos?

15 MR. SURO: Yeah. It is important to
16 remember these refer to electorate rather than the
17 population as a whole.

18 Obviously immigration is a much bigger

19 contributor to the overall growth of the population
20 than it is to the electorate.

21 On this fact sheet, there are some -- a
22 couple of issues that are pulled out where younger

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1 Latino voters are different than older ones.

2 For example, on the question of the
3 Constitutional amendment on same sex marriage, that
4 is the only age group, the 18 to 24-year-old age
5 group, in which a majority is opposed to the
6 amendment, 55 percent saying they are opposed
7 compared to 39 percent of voters over 55.

8 And also, younger Latino voters tend to
9 be more skeptical of administration's conduct of
10 the war.

11 On that series of questions we asked, the
12 negative responses are somewhat higher among
13 younger voters than they of older voters.

14 QUESTION: I have a question about the
15 Cuban-American vote and Chart 22 saying that they
16 are 52 percent Republican, and historically they
17 have been Republican.

18 I wanted to compare that to Chart 7 where
19 you talk about the top issues for Latino voters.

20 And I'm wondering if there is a

21 difference in the overall Latino electorate versus
22 the Cubans say are their most important issues to

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1 try determine kind of what the issues are that are
2 turning Cubans more to the Republican party rather
3 than the Democratic party.

4 MS. BRODIE: There is a lot of data in
5 that survey.

6 I know we had that. My recollection is
7 they didn't have that difference, that many
8 differences on the priorities of the questions --
9 I'm sorry -- the priorities that are affecting
10 their vote. My recollection is that it wasn't that
11 different.

12 But, let me see if I have it here. And
13 if not -- let me take a look at it while somebody
14 else asks a question, and I will let you know.

15 QUESTION: Just a general question.

16 As you said, surveys tend to, by the
17 nature of questions, slant the answers in one
18 direction or another.

19 But also the timing of this survey, do
20 you consider to be a definitive survey from your
21 perspective, given that this is the peak time for
22 the opposition candidate, in the case, Kerry would

1 be just entering the convention?

2 Would you do a follow up survey, let's
3 say, in September, October, to see how this survey
4 matches against the rest of the nation?

5 MR. SURO: I mean, speaking of the horse
6 race survey, as with any horse race survey, you
7 know, it is only as good until sort of the next
8 event that changes things or until the next horse
9 race survey comes out.

10 I mean, it's -- I think we have got a
11 fairly good read on where Latino voters are at this
12 moment going into the convention period of the
13 campaign.

14 And the larger survey is a very different
15 matter.

16 I would argue that the larger survey is
17 fairly -- it is definitive in terms of how the
18 Latino population voters and nonvoters think about
19 an entire range of issues in the early part of
20 2004.

21 And it is by far the larger sample and
22 most detailed questionnaire looking at the state of

1 Latino political thinking and Latino participation
2 that has certainly been done in this election, and
3 probably for several years.

4 I'm not sure if there has ever been one
5 that is quite as extensive as this.

6 It is a very important benchmark for sure
7 of the larger survey.

8 And as to whether we will do another
9 horse race poll or not, that's not our primary
10 activity. There is a lot of other people who do
11 horse race polls.

12 We basically produced the horse race poll
13 because we had done a larger survey.

14 And it seemed logical to try to answer
15 the question, as we were releasing the larger
16 survey. Okay, where does the presidential race
17 stand right now.

18 But it may become tempting later on.

19 MS. BRODIE: To get back to the Cuban
20 question. It looks in general that Cubans have
21 sort of the same level of concern about the issues
22 as the other groups.

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1 Although they are a little bit less
2 likely to say education will be extremely important

3 to their vote, economy would be extremely
4 important, and the war in Iraq.

5 So it's not that their rankings are any
6 different. It is just that all of the issues are a
7 little bit less likely to say it would be extremely
8 important to their vote.

9 QUESTION: My question regards your
10 survey's reporting on party affiliation for
11 registered Latino voters, and it says that 20
12 percent consider them independent, and 7 percent
13 are something else.

14 I was wondering, first of all, would
15 independent mean that they are independent thinkers
16 or that they are actually registered independents?

17 And my second question what does or
18 something else mean within that 7 percent?

19 MR. SURO: Independent means that they
20 answered independent.

21 And something else means that they came
22 up with, you know, something other than democrat,

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1 republican, independent, or don't know, that they
2 could have been green, it could have been, you
3 know, some other party affiliation or some sort of
4 other answer that wasn't easily coded as either

5 Democratic or Republican.

6 MS. BRODIE: As with all survey research,
7 there is lots of different ways to ask very similar
8 questions. And one of the standard ways is the way
9 we do it, which is do you consider yourself
10 Republican, Democratic, Independent, or something
11 else.

12 And then, after they answer that, for the
13 people who say independent, something else, or
14 don't know, we say, Do you consider yourself closer
15 to the Democratic or Republican party.

16 So those leaned party numbers for
17 registered voters are 55 percent Democrat, 28
18 percent Republican, 8 percent independent, three
19 something else, and 5 percent don't know.

20 And those are all in your top line 2.

21 But, again, the question was, Do you
22 consider yourself an independent. So, as Roberto

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1 said, it is how they self-identify. It is a
2 self-identification question.

3 QUESTION: Did you ask about affirmative
4 action, and this is particular for Latinos?

5 MR. SURO: Yeah. Not on this survey.

10:33:02 6 We did it in the education survey, which
7 is out there.

8 MS. BRODIE: You wanted to come in
9 January.

10 QUESTION: I was wondering if you broke
11 it down by gender at all, if Latinos were any more
12 likely or less likely than Hispanic men to register
13 to vote, if they showed any significant difference
14 of opinion on certain issues.

15 Is that something that you were going to
16 record?

17 MS. BRODIE: We certainly have all of
18 that.

19 We haven't looked at it completely in
20 depth.

21 I don't remember anything jumping out as
22 being really, really different because usually if

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1 something jumped out as really, really different,
2 we would have put it in the press release.

3 But we certainly will look more closely.
4 We can get all of the numbers for you. Just come
5 up to Rebecca or I afterwards, and we can do that.

6 QUESTION: I was just wondering on terms
7 of the multiethnic question, were there any
8 follow-up questions in terms of the Latinos saw as
9 positive or negative aspects for multicultural

10 society or a single cultural society?

11 MR. SURO: No. What you see is pretty
12 much what we did this time.

13 And I hate to keep referring people to
14 past surveys, but -- anyway.

15 Part of the idea of this project has been
16 sort of developed, you know, a wide array of
17 information, and the 2002 survey does have much
18 more depth on perceptions of U.S. society and on
19 those issues and the question about behavior or how
20 you are supposed act in terms of dealing with
21 multiethnic racial differences.

22 QUESTION: And my question is about

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1 hypergrowth areas.

2 If I'm not mistaken, in 2003, the Pew
3 Center published information about locations in the
4 United States that in the last 20 years, peer
5 growth has doubled nationally in the Latino
6 populations.

7 And I'm curious about if there were any
8 differences in trends or morays that you noticed in
9 this area in those hypergrowth areas as opposed to
10 areas where growth might have slowed like in
11 California or in Texas.

12 MR. SURO: We have not done that kind of

13 analysis. It is something we could try to do.

14 I mean, generally, what we do know is
15 that a lot of movement in the hypergrowth areas has
16 been was immigrants and with much lower rates of
17 citizenship and registered voting.

18 So you wouldn't -- it would be much
19 harder to do that analysis in terms of -- aspects
20 of this polling really relate to electoral
21 behavior. Because a lot of those areas, as you
22 said, are being populated by fairly recent

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1 immigrants.

2 But it's a question if we will pursue it.

3 Are we done? I think that's it.

4 Well, thank you all for very much.

5 (Whereupon, the proceedings in the
6 above-captioned matter were concluded at 10:33
7 a.m.)

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