

Latino National Survey

Executive Summary

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES: Principal Investigators

LUIS RICARDO FRAGA STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Luis Ricardo Fraga is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and Associate Professor in the School of Education (by courtesy) at Stanford University. His research interests are in urban politics, politics of race and ethnicity, educational policy, and voting rights. He is co-author of *Ethnic Moments: The Politics of Urban Education Reform* (Temple University Press 2006). He was a member of the APSA Standing Committee on Civic Engagement and Education that co-authored *Democracy at Risk: How Political Choices Undermine Citizen Participation, and What We Can Do About It* (Brookings Institution Press 2005). Among other recent publications are the co-authored "Culture Clash: Contesting Notions of American Identity and the Effects of Latin American Immigration" *Perspectives on Politics* (2006) and "Playing the 'Latino Card': Race, Ethnicity, and National Party Politics" *Du Bois Review* (2004). He has also published in the *Journal of Politics*, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *West European Politics*, the *Journal of State Government*, as well as many edited volumes. He is co-editor of the volume entitled *Ethnic and Racial Minorities in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Greenwood Press 1992). He is currently completing two book manuscripts: *The Changing Urban Regime: Toward an Informed Public Interest*, analyzing changing politics and policy-making in San Antonio from 1836 to 2006; and *Missed Opportunities: The Politics of Schools in San Francisco*, looking at the implementation of that city's desegregation consent decree from 1983-2005. Professor Fraga also co-edits a book series entitled *Race, Ethnicity and Politics* with the University of Virginia Press. With the other members of the LNS team he is co-author of "Su Casa Es Nuestra Casa: Latino Politics Research and the Development of American Political Science," *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming 2007). Professor Fraga brings to the project an extensive background in ethnic and racial politics and policy, with special emphases in education and voting rights.

JOHN A. GARCIA UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

John A. Garcia is Professor of Political Science at the University of Arizona and has been at the University since 1972. His primary areas of research have been in the area American politics-- minority group politics, especially Latinos, and urban governments, survey research, and public policy. Professor Garcia was one of the co-principal investigators on the original National Chicano Survey in 1979, and also one of the four principal investigators on the Latino National Political Survey in 1989-90. He has extensive expertise on Latino demographic change and its political effects, and the methodological issues of both sample-design and census-taking among Latinos. His work bridges basic and applied research as evident by his participation on the decennial Census advisory committee, ICPSR executive council, and the NSF Social and Behavioral and Economic Science Directorate Advisory committee. His research has focused on issues of political mobilization, political participation, and policy implementation and

formation. He was co-author of *Latino Voices: Perspectives of Cubans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans* (Westview Press, 1992), and a chapter, "Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries: Black, Latino, and Racial Minority Group Politics in Political Science" in *The State of the Discipline II* (1993). He has authored: *Latino Politics: Community Formation and Political Empowerment* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

RODNEY HERO
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Rodney Hero is Professor of Political Science and Department Chair, at the University of Notre Dame. He received his Ph. D. in American Politics from Purdue University in 1980. Before moving to Notre Dame in 2000, he taught at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Arizona State University, and the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs. His major areas of research have been in American Politics and democracy, particularly as viewed through the analytical lenses of Latino/minority politics, state/local politics and federalism. He has published a number of articles on these topics in such journals as the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, and *Political Research Quarterly*. He also authored two award winning books, *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-tiered Pluralism* (1992), and *Faces of Inequality: Social Diversity in American Politics* (1998). He is currently working on reexamining and extending his social diversity thesis, particularly in its implications for social capital arguments. Professor Hero brings to this project an expertise on how Latino politics varies across state social and institutional contexts.

MICHAEL JONES-CORREA
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Michael Jones-Correa is Associate Professor of Government at Cornell University, having received his PhD in Politics at Princeton University in 1994 and taught at Harvard as an Assistant and Associate Professor of Government from 1994 to 2001. His research interests include immigrant politics and immigration policy, minority politics and inter-ethnic relations in the United States, and urban and suburban politics. He is the author of *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City* (Cornell, 1998), and the editor of *Governing American Cities: Inter-Ethnic Coalitions, Competition and Conflict* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2001). Jones-Correa has also written more than a dozen articles and book chapters on, among other things, the diffusion of racial restrictive covenants, religion and political participation, Latino identity and politics, the role of gender in shaping immigrant politics, dual nationality, immigrant naturalization and voting, and Hispanics as a foreign policy lobby. He is currently completing a book looking at the re-negotiation of ethnic relations in the aftermath of civil disturbances in New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Washington D.C. and embarking on a new project on the increasing ethnic diversity of suburbs, and its implication for local and national politics in the United States. Professor Jones-Correa brings to this project considerable substantive knowledge of emerging Latino communities of South American and Caribbean origin.

VALERIE MARTINEZ-EBERS
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Valerie Martinez-Ebers is Associate Professor of Political Science at Texas Christian University and the president of the Western Political Science Association. The former co-president of the Race, Ethnicity and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, Martinez teaches courses in race, ethnicity and politics, Latino politics, public policy, research methods, and civil liberties and political tolerance. Many of her publications are on the consequences of education policy for minority students but she also has publications on Latino politics, methods of survey research and aging policy. She received her Ph.D. in Public Policy at the Ohio State University in 1990, and taught at the University of North Texas before joining the faculty at TCU. Her forthcoming book with UT Press is entitled, *Politiclas: Latina Trailblazers in the Texas Political Arena*. Her most recent publication, "Su Casa Es Nuestra Casa: Latino Politics Research and the Development of American Political Science," is forthcoming in APSR. Earlier publications include "The Politics of Latino Education: The Biases of At-Large Elections" (2004) in the *Journal of Politics*, "Liberal Equity in Education: A Comparison of Choice Options" (1998) and "Equity, Diversity and Tolerance in Education" (1998), both in the *Social Science Quarterly*, and "Using Monetary Incentives with Hard-To-Reach Populations in Panel Surveys" (1997) in the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*.

GARY M. SEGURA
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Gary M. Segura is an Associate Professor of American Politics at the University of Washington and Director of the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Sexuality. He received his Ph.D. in American Politics and Political Philosophy from the University of Illinois in 1992. His work focuses on issues of political representation, and currently is focusing on the accessibility of government and politics to America's growing Latino minority, as well as a book-length project on the links between casualties in international conflict and domestic politics. Among his most recent publications are "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout" in the *American Political Science Review* (2004), "War Casualties, Policy Positions, and the Fate of Legislators" in *Political Research Quarterly* (2004), and the edited volume *Diversity In Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*, published in 2005 by the University of Virginia Press. Among his publications this year are "Earth Quakes and After Shocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change," in the *American Journal of Political Science*, "Culture Clash? Contesting Notions of American Identity and the Effects of Latin American Immigration," in *Perspectives on Politics* and "Explaining the Latino Vote: Issue Voting among Latinos in the 2000 Presidential Election," in the *Political Research Quarterly*. Earlier research has appeared in the *Journal of Politics*, *Political Behavior*, and other journals, and his work has, on four occasions, been funded by the National Science Foundation.

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Lawrence Bobo is the Norman Tishman and Charles M. Diker Professor of Sociology and Afro-American Studies at Harvard University. He is co-author of *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations* (Harvard University Press, 1997) and was the principal investigator of the four-city Urban Inequality Study in 1994.

Nancy Burns is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan. She is a nationally recognized expert on survey research and a principal investigator of the American National Election Studies. She is the author of *Formation of Local Governments* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

Bruce Cain is a Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute of Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Berkeley. He is among the top experts on political demography and legislative redistricting, and has written extensively on the political incorporation of Latinos in California.

Robert Huckfeldt is a Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Davis. He is broadly recognized as the leading figure in the study of social networks, socio-political context, and political behavior, and was among the principal investigators of the path-breaking South Bend Study.

Pei-te Lien is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Ethnic Studies at the University of Utah. She was the principal investigator of the Pilot Asian-American National Political Survey, and is an award winning author of studies on both the Asian-American experience in the United States as well as comparative analyses of Asian, African-American, and Latino political behavior.

Kenneth Meier is a Professor of Political Science and holds the Charles H. Gregory Chair in Liberal Arts at Texas A&M University. He also directs the Texas Educational Excellence Project and the Carlos Cantu Hispanic Education and Opportunity Endowment. He is a nationally recognized figure in the theory of public policy and specifically education policy. His current work focuses on the politics of Latino and African American education in 1800 school districts throughout the United States. Prof. Meier is also the Past President of the Midwest Political Science Association, and former editor of the *American Journal of Political Science*.

Vilma Ortiz is a Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. She is an expert on Puerto Rican migration and the lives of Latinas in contemporary America. She is currently engaged in a path-breaking follow-up study of 750 Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles first interviewed almost 30 years ago.

Lisandro Perez is a professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Florida International University, where he founded the Cuban Research Institute. He currently directs the Center for International Migration Initiatives within the Center for Transnational and Comparative Studies at FIU. Professor Perez is a noted expert on the inter-generational change and assimilation among children of immigrants. He is the editor of the journal *Cuban Studies*, and has a forthcoming book, entitled *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the United States*.

Kenneth Prewitt is Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs, in the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. Dr. Prewitt was Director of the United States Census Bureau from 1998 to 2001. He previously has served as Dean of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science at New School University, President of the Social Science Research Council, Senior Vice President of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Director of the National Opinion Research Center, at the University of Chicago.

Ricardo Ramirez is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern California and a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California. His work on Latino electoral mobilization has appeared in the *Political Research Quarterly*, and he has a book length project under development on the trajectories of political participation among newly registered Latino voters.

Denise Segura is a Professor of Sociology and the former director of the Center for Chicano Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She is the author of several pieces widely read work on Latina immigration and Mexican-American labor force participation.

Christine Sierra is a Professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico. She is a widely published expert on the political and social incorporation of women of color and the evolution of contemporary Chicano political culture. She is the co-principal investigator of a Ford Foundation funded project on “Gender and Multicultural Leadership.”

Carlos Vargas Ramos is a Research Associate of Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos at Hunter College, City University of New York. As their principal researcher on matters of public policy, he has focused on the role of social service organizations in providing service to Latinos in the city. His research interests include the dynamics of circular migration between the island and mainland, and the effects this migration has on political participation at both ends of the journey, as well as patterns of racial and ethnic identity among Puerto Ricans living on the mainland.

Survey Description and Methodology

The Latino National Survey contains 8634 completed interviews (unweighted) of self-identified Latino/Hispanic residents of the United States. Interviewing began on November 17, 2005, and continued through August 4, 2006.¹ The survey instrument contained approximately 165 distinct items ranging from demographic descriptions to political attitudes and policy preferences, as well as a variety of social indicators and experiences, and resulted in a mean interview length of 40.6 minutes.

The survey was conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviewing software by Interviewing Service of America, headquartered in Van Nuys, California. All interviewers were bilingual, English and Spanish. Respondents were greeted in both languages and immediately offered the opportunity to interview in either and provided a consent script to allow them to opt-out of the survey, should they choose.

Respondents were selected from a random sample of Latino households in the jurisdictions covered. The sample was drawn by Geoscape International, a research and sampling firm in Miami, FL, with particular expertise in identifying Hispanic households. The sample was drawn from a household database of approximately 11 million households in the United States that are identified as Latino or Hispanic.

The Latino National Survey covers 15 states and the District of Columbia metropolitan area (including counties and municipalities in Virginia and Maryland). The universe of analysis contains approximately 87.5% of the US Hispanic population. States were selected based, first, on the overall size of the Latino/Hispanic population. In addition, four states, Arkansas, Georgia, Iowa, and North Carolina, were added in an attempt to capture the evolving nature of emerging populations in states without lengthy histories of large Latino populations. Both Georgia and North Carolina, however, rank 12th and 14th, respectively, in terms of Latino population size and would have been included on that basis alone.

The sample is stratified by geographic designation, meaning that each state sample is a valid, stand-alone representation of that state's Latino population. State sample sizes vary as a result of specific funders' requests, but all national figures reported are appropriately weighted such that the numbers are accurately representative of the universe covered by the study. The national margin of error is approximately $\pm 1.05\%$. The smallest sample size for any unit was 400, yielding a margin of error of less than $\pm 5\%$ for each state. Table 1 reports each state, its Latino population, and the number of complete interviews.

A number of states were stratified internally, a description of which is offered in Table 2. In each case but California, internal strata were represented proportionately in the final

¹ A hiatus in the interviewing occurred from 12/15-1/10 to account for the large number of potential respondents in the sample who were likely to be unavailable in that period. Completed interviews in that time-frame represent only call-backs of interviews begun on an earlier date.

sample, and imposed solely to ensure that lower density regions were in the final sample. In California, additional strata were imposed in a non-proportional fashion, owing in part to the larger sample size, to allow greater between-region comparisons. All state-level results are computed using state-level weights such that they remain representative of the state population.

Public Release of the Data Set

The questionnaire, selected topline, demographic tables, and a copy of today's presentation are currently available at the website of the University of Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race, and Sexuality (WISER) at <http://depts.washington.edu/uwiser/index.shtml>.

The actual data file will be released to the Advisory Board in Spring 2007. The Investigators have planned to stage a conference for Assistant Professors and Graduate Students in AY 2007-8 selected from a call for papers to be issued Summer 2007. The actual data release to general political science public will occur at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, and be widely available thereafter.

Table 1: States and Regions Sampled in the Latino National Survey

<i>State</i>	<i>Latino Population 2000</i>	<i>Share of US Latinos</i>	<i>Cumulative Share Sampled in Study</i>	<i>Completed Interviews</i>
California	10,966,556	31.06	31.06	1204
Texas	6,669,666	18.9	49.96	811
New York	2,867,583	8.12	58.08	800
Florida	2,682,715	7.60	65.68	800
Illinois	1,530,262	4.33	70.01	600
Arizona	1,295,617	3.67	73.68	400
New Jersey	1,117,191	3.16	76.84	403
New Mexico	765,386	2.11	78.95	400
Colorado	735,601	2.08	81.03	404
Washington	441,509	1.25	82.28	403
Washington DC PSA	432,003	1.22	83.50	404
Georgia	435,227	1.23	84.73	400
Nevada	393,970	1.12	85.85	403
North Carolina	378,963	1.07	86.92	401
Arkansas	86,666	.25	87.17	401
Iowa	82,473	.23	87.40	400

Table 2: Geographic Sample Strata within States

Jurisdiction	Geographic Needs	County
Arizona	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
Arkansas	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
California	Los Angeles Metro	Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura
	Inland Empire	Riverside County (western part), San Bernardino County (southwestern part)
	San Diego Metro	San Diego County
	Central Valley	Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Joaquin County, Stanislaus, Tulare
	San Francisco Metro	Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, Sonoma
Colorado	Denver Metro	Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Broomfield, Denver, Douglas, Jefferson
	Other Colorado	Remaining counties in state
District of Columbia	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	District of Columbia, Calvert County, Charles County, Frederick County, Montgomery County, Prince George's County, Arlington County, Clarke County, Fairfax County, Fauquier County, Loudoun County, Prince William County, Spotsylvania County, Stafford County, Warren County, Alexandria city, Fairfax city, Falls Church city, Fredericksburg city, Manassas city, Manassas Park city, Jefferson County
Florida	Miami Metro	Broward, Miami-Dade, Palm Beach
	Orlando Metro	Orange, Osceola, Seminole
	Tampa Metro	Hillsborough, Pinellas
Georgia	Atlanta Metro	Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Fulton, Gwinnett
	Other Georgia	Remaining counties in state
Illinois	Chicago Metro	Cook, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, Will
	Other Illinois	Remaining counties in state
Iowa	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
Nevada	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
New Jersey	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
New Mexico	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
New York	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
North Carolina	<i>complete state</i>	All counties
Texas	Dallas-Fort Worth	Collin, Dallas, Denton, Tarrant
	Houston Metro	Brazoria, Chambers, Fort Bend, Galveston, Harris, Liberty, Montgomery
	San Antonio Metro	Bexar, Comal, Guadalupe
	El Paso Metro	El Paso County
	Rio Grande Valley	Cameron, Dimmit, Hidalgo, Kinney, Maverick, Starr, Val Verde, Webb, Zapata
Washington	Seattle Metro	King, Kitsap, Pierce, Snohomish
	Yakima Valley	Yakima County
	Other Washington	Remaining counties in state