



SOUTHWEST VOTER RESEARCH NOTES

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LATINO TURNOUT SETS RECORD FOR TEXAS DESPITE LOW STATE TOTAL

While state turnout fell by 15% compared to 1994, the Latino electorate recorded the most votes cast ever in a gubernatorial election with 473,000, according to an election day turnout study done by WCVI. Latino votes cast increased by 26,000 or 5.8% from the 1994 election. The Latino share of total votes cast also increased from the 1994 election, 10.2% to 12.7%.

In addition, Latinos experienced big gains in voter registration. Latino voter registration grew by 36.4% since the 1994 election. This increase translated into 472,723 new Latino registered voters. This increase was slightly greater than the

The William C. Velásquez Institute, conducted an election day exit poll on November 3, 1998 of Latino voters in Texas. The following newsletter is a brief report of the findings of the exit poll and turnout study. The source for all information referenced in this newsletter is the 1998 WCVI exit poll and turnout study, unless otherwise noted. Detailed methodology of the exit poll can be found on Page 8 of the newsletter.

Texas Total/Latino Voter Turnout: A Comparison of the 1994 and 1998 Gubernatorial Elections

	TVC	TVR	Turnout %	
1994	4,396,242	8,641,848	50.9%	
1998	3,738,483	11,538,235	32.4%	
94-98 +/-	-657,759	2,896,387		
94-98 % +/-	-15.0%	33.5%		
	LVC	LVR	Turnout %	Share TVC
1994	447,000	1,299,419	34.4%	10.2%
1998	473,000	1,772,142	26.7%	12.7%
94-98 +/-	26,000	472,723		
94-98 % +/-	5.8%	36.4%		

TVC = Total Votes Cast LVC = Latino Votes Cast
TVR = Total Voter Registration LVR = Latino Voter Registration

Source: TVC / TVR - 1994/98, Texas Secretary of State
LVC - 1994/98 WCVI Turnout Study
LVR - 1994, WCVI Spanish surname analysis of TVR
1998, Analytical Data Management

(Continued on page 2)

Texas Latino Voters Issues Influencing Gubernatorial Choice Profile by Candidate

Which one issue mattered most in deciding how you voted for Governor?

	TOTAL	MAURO	BUSH
Public Education	19.0%	17.6%	21.7%
Bilingual Education	14.7%	17.6%	8.7%
Health Care	13.8%	16.1%	9.6%
Economy/Jobs	10.1%	12.7%	6.1%
Character & Ethics	9.2%	4.9%	17.4%
Other	9.2%	8.8%	10.4%
Crime/Drugs	8.0%	7.3%	8.7%
Abortion	6.7%	4.9%	9.6%
Immigration Policy	3.4%	2.4%	5.2%
Taxes	2.5%	2.4%	2.6%
The Environment	1.5%	2.4%	0.0%
Gun Control	0.9%	1.5%	0.0%
School Voucher	0.6%	1.0%	0.0%
Teacher Testing	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%

EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, & JOBS TOP LATINO VOTER

Texas Latinos spoke out in the 1998 election, and education was one of the key factors in garnering the Latino vote. 34.6% of Latinos identified an education issue as key to determining their vote for governor. These issues included Bilingual Education, 14.7%, Public Education, 19.0%, School Vouchers, 0.6%, and Teacher Testing, 0.3%. 13.5% of all Latino voters also identified Health Care as a key issue.

This finding represents a marked difference from the 1996 Presidential election where Latinos identified Economy/Jobs, 19.1% as the key issue. Economy/Jobs was identified

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LATINO ELECTORATE SETS RECORD VOTES CAST IN GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

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growth in total voter registration, 33.5%. The Latino electorate still recorded a modest increase in the share of total voter registration, 15.0% to 15.4% compared to 1994.

According to WCVI, since 1988, Latino voter registration in Texas has grown by 56.8% or 642,000 new net Latino registered voters. 73.7% of the Latino voter registration growth over the past decade has occurred in the past four years, bol-

stered by the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) and a large number of new Latino citizens.

With the many accomplishments of the Latino electorate over the past ten years, it is still important to remember that work remains undone. A special WCVI analysis of the 1998 Census Voting-Age Population Statistics shows that approximately 937,00 eligible Latinos remain unregistered. (See chart below)

Texas Latino Voting-Age Population	
	1998
Latino Voting-Age Population	3,799,000
Latino Citizen Voting-Age Population	2,709,000
Latino Voter Registration	1,772,142
% Registered VAP	46.6%
% Registered CVAP	65.4%
Latino Unregistered Potential	936,858

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, [Projections of the Voting-Age Population for States: November 1998](#), WCVI, Political Data

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EDITORIAL



Bush Support Amongst Latinos Debated

Once upon a time, Latinos were an invisible group to the world of political research, not represented in any fact or figure, and, for a great duration, neglected from all electoral research and studies. Leaders, like Willie Velásquez, stepped in and made sure the Latino community had a voice. Studies and exit polls were designed to exclusively represent the Latino electorate.

Fast forward twenty-five years to 1998. The Latino electorate is no longer an invisible monolith. In almost every major media markets across the United States, from Los Angeles to New York, Latinos are making a difference at the polls. And so the debate has shifted from why isn't there Latino representation in electoral studies, but rather whose Latino numbers are right? Such a debate arose when the percentage of Latino support for Gov. George W. Bush was questioned. National numbers, from Voter News Service (VNS), placed his support at 49%, yet an exit poll conducted by WCVI placed that percentage at 39%. George Stein, a Rice University political scientist who helped design the questionnaire, noted that with appropriate weighting the Bush percentage would be somewhere in the high 30's or low 40's. VNS speculated on the weaknesses of the WCVI study and challenged the numbers in open media.

With 15 years of examining the Latino electorate, WCVI's experience is unparalleled. While exit polling is an inexact science, WCVI's specialized methodology of large Latino samples in a broad range of precincts ensures the most accurate representation of the Latino electorate. Other surveys, like VNS, sampled only a few heavily Latino precincts, skewing the results towards "Bush" supporting suburbs.

Unfortunately, all the debate mars the bottom line. Bush received the highest Latino support ever recorded by a Republican non-Latino candidate in Texas. The Republican Party, as a whole, made inroads into the Latino community. It is now the duty of the Latino electorate to make those elected officials accountable for their support.

LATINO VOTE SHOWS MODEST INCREASES IN REPUBLICAN SUPPORT

The 1998 Election marked a shift in the traditionally high Latino support of Democrats in statewide votes in Texas. As evidenced in the Gubernatorial campaign, Governor George W. Bush received 39.1% of the Latino vote, an all-time high for a non-Latino Republican candidate. The higher support for Governor Bush translated into gains for Republican candidates down the ticket as Republicans received an average of 29.6% of the Latino vote in the races followed by the 1998 WCVI Exit Poll. In Texas, Tony Garza, Railroad Commissioner-elect, received 50.1% of the Latino vote.

In the race for Lieutenant Governor, John Sharp (D) received 69.7% of the Latino vote compared to 28.9% for Rick Perry (R). In the Attorney General's race, Jim Mattox (D) received 72.8% of the Latino vote compared to 25.1% for Jim Cornyn (R). In the race for Land Commissioner, Richard Raymond (D) received 83.8% of the Latino vote compared to 13.8% for (R) David Dewhurst. In the race for Railroad Commissioner, Joe Henderson (D) received 48.8% of the Latino vote com-

pared to 50.1% for Tony Garza (R).

However, in the Congressional District races, Latinos in Texas reported voting for the Democratic candidate 78.7% of the time compared to 20.7% for the Republican candidate continuing the traditional pattern of high support for the Democratic candidate.

The increase of the Latino vote for the Republican

party can be attributed to several factors. First, the Latino vote in Texas can be seen as a reaction to the pro-Latino attitude of Governor George W. Bush. Governor Bush, not only separated himself from the anti-Latino agenda, as seen in California with the Prop. 187 and Prop. 209.

Second, the media campaign of the Bush election team targeted the Latino

community. Spanish media, such as the commercial featuring Tejano star, Emilio, appealed to the Latino voters of Texas.

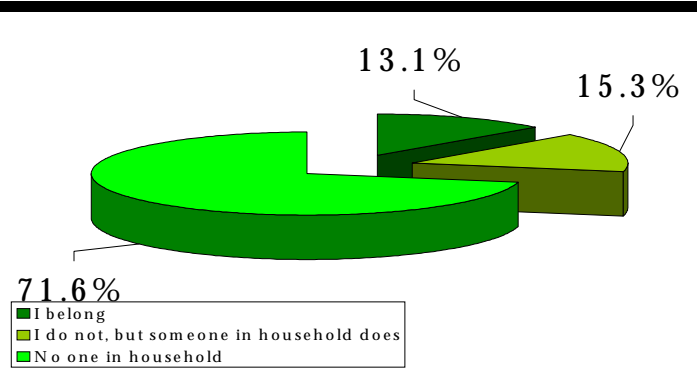
Third, George W. Bush was the incumbent. Incumbency, during a period of relative economic prosperity, usually equates in strong support for the cur-

(Continued on page 7)

Texas Latino Vote of Candidates			
VOTE FOR GOVERNOR			
	MAURO	BUSH	OTHER
1998	60.5%	39.1%	0.4%
VOTE FOR LT. GOVERNOR			
	SHARP	PERRY	OTHER
1998	69.7%	28.9%	1.4%
VOTE FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL			
	MATTOX	CORNYN	OTHER
1998	72.8%	25.1%	2.1%
VOTE FOR LAND COMMISSIONER			
	RAYMOND	DEWHURST	OTHER
1998	83.8%	13.8%	2.5%
VOTE FOR RAILROAD COMMISSIONER			
	HENDERSON	GARZA	OTHER
1998	48.8%	50.1%	1.1%
VOTE IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT			
	DEM	REP	OTHER
1998	78.7%	20.7%	0.6%

Latino Voter Union Membership

Do you or any member of your household belong to labor union or a teachers' organization?



LATINO HOUSEHOLDS REFLECT UNION MEMBERSHIP

Texas Latinos in the 1998 election demonstrated their membership in unions as evidenced in the WCVI exit poll. 28.4% of all Latino voters reported themselves, or a member of their household, as union members. That figure is consistent to the 1996 Election when that figure was 31.2%.

The distribution of Latino union members or Latino household union members was split with 13.1% reporting themselves as union members and 15.3% reporting a household union member. With the union vote increasingly playing a key role in elections, the Latino electorate is contributing to that voice.

TEXAS LATINO VOTERS REPORT MOD-EST IMPROVEMENTS

Texas election day Latino voters polled in 1998 represent changes in the Latino community that have occurred since the early 1990's. It represents a community growing in leaps and bounds due to an influx of new naturalized citizens.

Texas Latino voters are a young group. 55.7% of all Latino voters reported being 45 or younger. The largest voting group, with regards to age was the 36-45 demographic.

Mexican/Mexican-Americans made up 85.2% of Texas Latino voters. 69.7% reported an income under \$40,000. This figure is a slight improvement from the 1994 election when 71.0% reported a sub-\$40,000 income. 13.7% reported an income over \$60,000 with only 2.3% reported an income of 100K+.

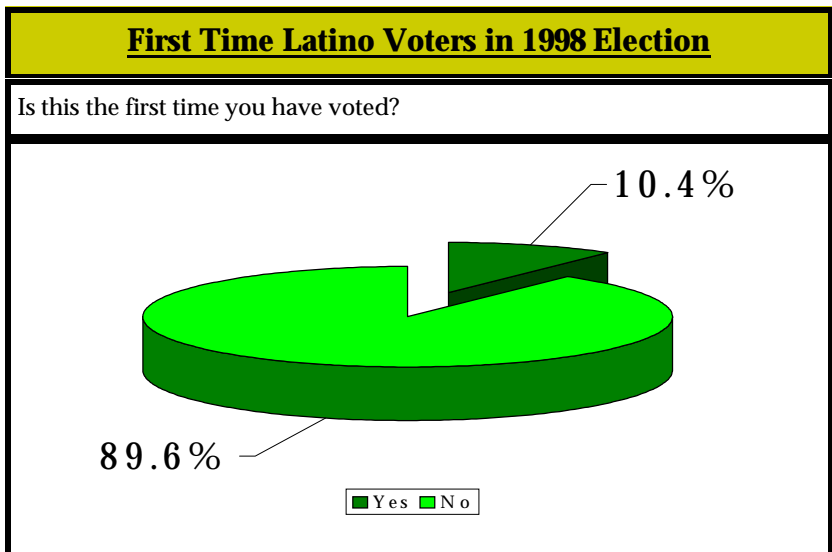
Texas Latino voters continue to show strong support for the Democratic party. 75% of all Texas Latino voters self-

identified as Democrats as opposed to the 17.4% that identified as Republican. Yet on election day, at the polls, Republicans received an increase in support from Latino voters, indicating cross-over support occurred from Latino self-identified Democrats.

Texas Latino voters were evenly split amongst gender with 49.5% males and 50.5% females. The education levels of the electorate seem to be improving as well as 58.3% reported some type of post-high school training in the form of vocational training or college education. This is a slight improvement from 1996 when that figure was 51.0%.

A large percentage reported voting in past elections, while only 10.4% reported the 1998 election as their first-time voting.

Texas Latino Vote in 1998 Gubernatorial Election Profile by Candidate			
	TOTAL MAURO	BUSH	
TOTAL	n/a	60.5%	39.1%
GENDER			
Male	49.5%	50.2%	48.9%
Female	50.5%	49.8%	51.1%
AGE			
18-25	8.5%	6.4%	12.2%
26-35	18.9%	19.6%	19.1%
36-45	28.3%	26.8%	32.1%
46-55	20.8%	22.1%	19.1%
56-65	13.6%	15.3%	10.7%
65+	9.9%	9.8%	6.9%
HOUSEHOLD INCOME			
< \$5,000	3.4%	4.2%	1.6%
\$5-15,000	17.7%	16.2%	18.0%
\$15-25,000	26.3%	26.9%	26.6%
\$25-40,000	22.3%	23.6%	20.3%
\$40-60,000	16.6%	13.4%	22.7%
\$60-100,000	11.4%	13.4%	8.6%
\$100,000+	2.3%	2.3%	2.3%
EDUCATION			
Some HS or less	17.2%	16.3%	14.5%
HS Graduate	24.5%	24.7%	24.4%
Some college or vocational	34.6%	36.1%	34.4%
College Graduate	16.6%	15.4%	19.8%
Post Graduate	7.1%	7.5%	6.9%
ANCESTRY			
Mexican	85.2%	87.4%	80.2%
Puerto Rican	2.1%	2.9%	0.8%
Cuban	0.5%	0.4%	0.8%
Central American	1.3%	0.8%	2.3%
South American	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%
Other Latino/Hispanic	10.6%	7.9%	16.0%
PLACE OF BIRTH			
US	84.9%	85.7%	84.0%
Mexico	12.7%	11.3%	14.5%
El Salvador	1.6%	2.1%	0.8%
Other	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
CITIZENSHIP			
Before 1994	12.6%	12.3%	12.3%
After 1994	5.6%	4.6%	7.7%
Does Not Apply	81.7%	83.1%	80.0%
POLITICAL AFFILIATION			
Democrat	75.0%	91.3%	45.8%
Republican	17.4%	5.4%	39.7%
Other	2.9%	0.8%	5.3%
None of the above	4.7%	2.5%	9.2%
REGISTERED			
Before 1994	83.0%	83.1%	82.6%
After 1994	17.0%	16.9%	17.4%
FIRST-TIME VOTER			
Yes	10.4%	10.2%	10.7%
No	89.6%	89.8%	89.3%
HOUSEHOLD UNION MEMBER			
I belong	13.1%	12.1%	15.3%
I do not, but someone in household does	15.3%	16.9%	13.0%
No one in household	71.6%	71.0%	71.8%



SINCE 94'S REPRESENTATIVE OF NEW LATINO IMMIGRANTS

Latino voter registration has experienced a sharp increase since 1994, and the majority of the growth of these "Since 94's" is the result of new Latino immigrants. A recent exit poll by WCVI gives evidence to this trend.

A demographic profile of Latino voters that registered since 1994 shows that 43.4% reported being Foreign-Born. 26.7% reported naturalizing after 1994.

This group is slightly more diversified than the total Latino electorate with 5.0% representing Latinos of Puerto Rican background. While an overwhelmingly large 36.7% report being born in Mexico, 6.7% reported being born in another country.

This group is even younger than the total Latino electorate with 76.3% reporting being under the age of 45.

While "Since 94's" felt education was an important issue in determining their vote for Governor, the majority saw the specific issue of Bilingual Education as most important reporting this issue at 19.3%.

Two other issues resonated within

the "Since 94's": Public Education, 15.8%, and Economy/Jobs, 10.5%. Clearly, the large percentage of new naturalized citizens influenced the shift of issues from Public education to Bilingual Education. The specific issue of bilingual education relates directly to the immigrant community.

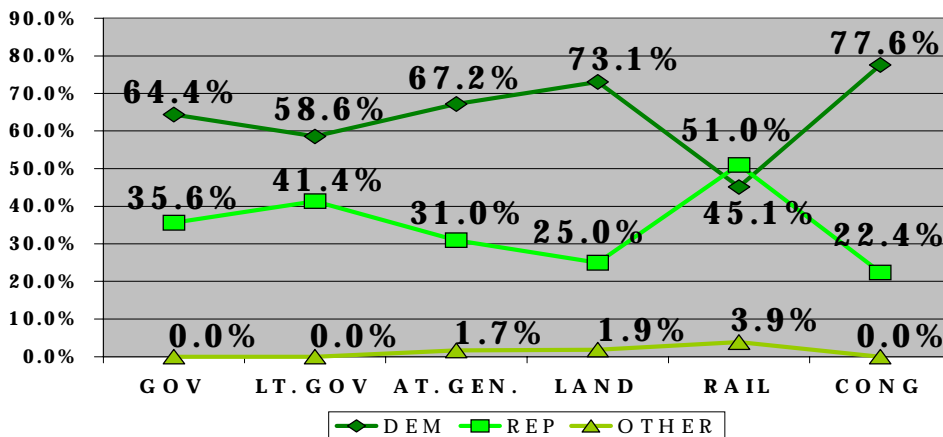
This finding is important because it demonstrates the influence of the "Since 94's." Bilingual Education was also one of the most chosen topics for the total Latino electorate, 14.7%

The "Since 94's" self-identified as Democrats at a rate of 75%, 20.0% identified as Republican.

Texas Since 94's Profile

GENDER	
Male	51.7%
Female	48.3%
AGE	
18-25	35.6%
26-35	15.3%
36-45	25.4%
46-55	11.9%
56-65	8.5%
65+	3.4%
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	
< \$5,000	0.0%
\$5-15,000	23.3%
\$15-25,000	36.7%
\$25-40,000	21.7%
\$40-60,000	10.0%
\$60-100,000	8.3%
\$100,000+	0.0%
EDUCATION	
Some HS or less	16.7%
HS Graduate	23.3%
Some college or vocational	45.0%
College Graduate	11.7%
Post Graduate	3.3%
ANCESTRY	
Mexican	76.7%
Puerto Rican	5.0%
Cuban	0.0%
Central American	1.7%
South American	1.7%
Other Latino/Hispanic	15.0%
PLACE OF BIRTH	
US	56.7%
Mexico	36.7%
El Salvador	5.0%
Other	1.7%
CITIZENSHIP	
Before 1994	15.0%
After 1994	26.7%
Does Not Apply	58.3%
POLITICAL AFFILIATION	
Democrat	75.0%
Republican	20.0%
Other	1.7%
None of the above	3.3%
FIRST-TIME VOTER	
Yes	35.0%
No	65.0%
HOUSEHOLD UNION MEMBER	
I belong	11.7%
I do not, but someone in household does	18.3%
No one in household	70.0%

"Since 94" Vote for Candidates



**Texas
Foreign-Born Profile**

GENDER	
Male	41.1%
Female	58.9%
AGE	
18-25	5.3%
26-35	19.3%
36-45	24.6%
46-55	17.5%
56-65	17.5%
65+	15.8%
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	
< \$5,000	1.8%
\$5-15,000	40.0%
\$15-25,000	23.6%
\$25-40,000	16.4%
\$40-60,000	10.9%
\$60-100,000	5.5%
\$100,000+	1.8%
EDUCATION	
Some HS or less	21.1%
HS Graduate	31.6%
Some college or vocational	29.8%
College Graduate	8.8%
Post Graduate	8.8%
ANCESTRY	
Mexican	80.7%
Puerto Rican	5.3%
Cuban	1.8%
Central American	7.0%
South American	1.8%
Other Latino/Hispanic	3.5%
CITIZENSHIP	
Before 1994	58.9%
After 1994	35.7%
Does Not Apply	5.4%
POLITICAL AFFILIATION	
Democrat	75.4%
Republican	17.5%
Other	3.5%
None of the above	3.5%
REGISTERED	
Before 1994	51.9%
After 1994	48.1%
FIRST-TIME VOTER	
Yes	25.5%
No	74.5%
HOUSEHOLD UNION MEMBER	
I belong	14.5%
I do not, but someone in household does	9.1%
No one in household	76.4%

FOREIGN-BORN BREAK MYTHS IN 1998

The Foreign-Born make up a large percentage of "Since 94's." According to a WCVI exit poll, 48.1% of all Latino voters who reported being born in another country registered after 1994. 35.7% report naturalizing after 1994.

Again, this group is far more diversified than all election day Texas Latino voters. 15.9% of the Foreign-Born electorate report being Puerto Rican, Cuban, South American, or Central American.

This group is slightly older than all election day Texas Latino voters with 49.2% reporting being 45 years or younger, and unfortunately, this group also reports a higher drop out rate, 21.1% to 17.2%. 52.7% report having a high school education or less.

This demographic may lend evidence to the overwhelmingly large number that place an education issue as paramount to their vote.

Election day Texas Latino voters reporting being Foreign-Born placed Bilingual Education as the most important issue in determining who they voted for Governor. 25.9% identified Bilingual Education as the key issue. Another 13.0% identified Health Care as the key issue, while another 13.0%

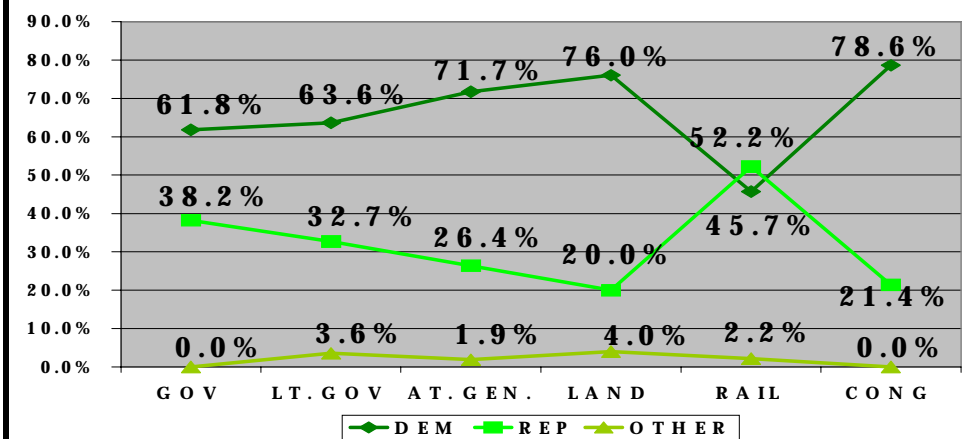
saw Immigration Policy as a key issue. As we can see, the views of the Foreign-Born seem to correlate with the "Since 94's."

81.8% of all election day Latino voters reported an income under \$40,000. 41.8% reported an income less than 15,000. Only 7.3% reported an income over \$60,000. 1.8% reported an income over \$100,000. Clearly, the most economically disadvantaged segment of Latino voters are the Foreign-Born.

The Foreign-Born continue the pattern of strong Democratic support at 75.4%, yet this support is followed by a respectable 17.5% that identify as Republicans. Part of this support for the parties comes from immigrants that have been in the United States for generations and new support is emerging from the "Since 94's."

The Foreign-Born "Since 94's" are the newest segment of the Texas Latino electorate, and any development of the Latino electorate will have to focus on the needs of this group. Further studies on the Since 94's and the Foreign-Born will be done by WCVI in the 2000 Presidential Election.

Foreign-Born Vote for Candidates



1998 ELECTION BRINGS A MODEST SHIFT IN TEXAS LATINO VOTERS

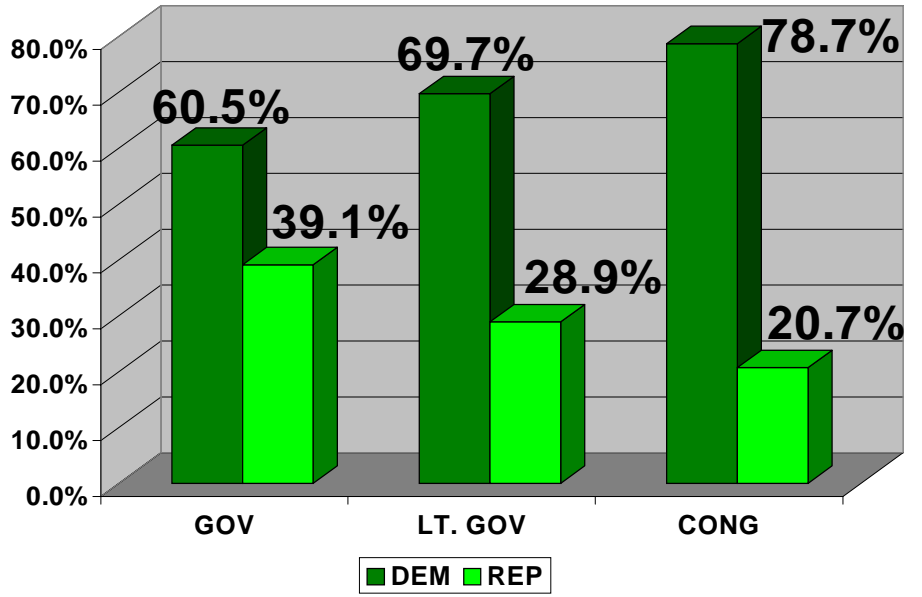
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rent administration.

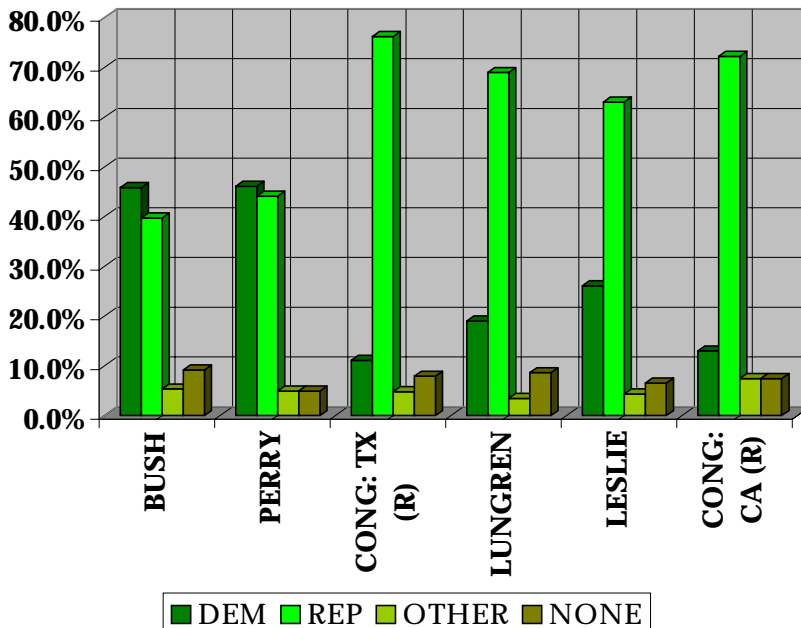
Fourth, Republicans received more cross-over support from Latino Democrats. In Texas, 45.8% of all Bush supporters self-identified as Democrats.

Finally, it can be said that Texas Democrats fell apart. Not only was there cross-over from registered Democrats for Republican candidates, the Democratic base did not come out to vote in the 1998 election. In 1998, only 32.5% of all registered voters cast ballots in the 1998 election, one of the lowest ever recorded for a mid-term election.

The Latino Vote for Democrats/Republicans in the 1998 Election: Texas



A Comparison of the Party Identification of Latino Voters Supporting Republican Candidates in the 1998 Election: Texas and California



LATINO VOTER AGENDA

(Continued from page 1)

10.1% of the time. While still an important issue for the Latino community, education has become the key issue for the Latino electorate. In many ways, education touches on all other issues, and by many Latinos, is viewed as a means of obtaining security in other areas such as the economy/jobs. As the 2000 election approaches, it will be interesting to see if the Latino electorate continues to place education at the forefront.



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LATINO ISSUES FORUM

METHODOLOGY: WCVI 1998 EXIT POLL & TURNOUT STUDY

The William C. Velásquez Institute conducted an exit poll to measure how Latinos voted during the November 1998 mid-term elections. The survey was administered by trained interviewers in both English and Spanish. WCVI pollsters interviewed 380 Latino voters in 24 Texas precincts. The sample was designed to cover 90% of all Latino voters in the state. Precincts from 5% to 100% of registered Latino voters were included in the sample. The design is a stratified, two stage, probability-based sample. Precincts were included in the universe if they met minimum levels with respect to number and percentage of Latino voters. Precincts were then stratified by geography and percent Latino voter population. The voters poll touched on issues specially relevant to the Latino community which were either represented in the November election or are subject of on-going local and national debate.

WCVI subsequently conducted its 1998 Election Turnout Study. Using the randomly-selected precincts identified for the exit poll conducted, actual counts of election day Latino voters were tabulated. Estimates of early voting by Latinos were used to develop a more accurate turnout figure. The results were weighted for a more exact estimate of total Latino turnout in Texas. Election results in counties with 80% Latino population were used proportionally in the weighting process not to skew turnout numbers.

The margin of error for this study is \pm 5.1%. Results may not add up to 100% due to rounding. Margin of error higher for subgroups.