

O'Neill, in a Reversal, Supports Immigration Bill

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29 — Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Speaker of the House, has reversed himself and now supports a sweeping revision of immigration laws, his top aides said Tuesday.

In the Congressional session recently ended, Mr. O'Neill kept the bill off the House floor, saying he feared President Reagan would veto it for political reasons. The Administration denied planning a veto.

The Speaker's reversal was said to be a result of assurances that the President would sign a compromise being sought by supporters of the bill.

The Speaker intends to bring the bill, which passed the Senate in May, to the House floor shortly after Congress reconvenes Jan. 23, said the aides, S. Ariel Weiss, the top legislative aide, and Christopher Matthews, administrative assistance. They said the Speaker expected the bill to be approved and signed into law.

Illegal Aliens Targeted

The legislation, intended to curb illegal immigration into the United States, would penalize employers who hired illegal aliens. That is the principal objection of the Hispanic Congressional caucus, whose members contend the

bill would exacerbate discrimination against Hispanic people by encouraging employers to hire others instead so as to avoid possible criminal sanction.

Under the bill, all residents would have to be able to produce identification showing that they were citizens or, in the case of aliens, that they had valid residence permits. The bill would also grant legal status to the millions of illegal aliens already in the United States, broaden the temporary hiring of foreign workers and streamline procedures for handling asylum and deportation.

Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyo-

oming, the Republican author of the Senate bill, said Mr. O'Neill changed his mind when the two of them met Oct. 25, three weeks after Mr. O'Neill surprised many Congressional observers by preventing the bill from reaching the House floor.

Political Considerations

The Speaker previously said that he could find "no constituency" for the bill and that he suspected the measure was a political trap being set by the Reagan Administration. He said he had been told the President would veto any immigration bill approved by Congress, to win Hispanic support in the 1984 election.

The Speaker had also said he would not support any immigration bill that was not supported by the Hispanic caucus. Both the Administration and Con-

gressional Democrats have been assiduously wooing the growing Hispanic vote, which they believe could prove crucial in certain contests.

Mr. Simpson said that in his meeting with the Speaker Mr. O'Neill "related that he'd had these situations with the President where he'd been burned."

Mr. Simpson said he had assured the Speaker he would obtain the President's approval before the House took final action on the bill.

As the meeting ended, the Speaker swore the Senator to confidence, Mr. Simpson said, and told him that "when this session ends, I'm going to advise the Hispanic caucus to make their peace with Ron Mazzoli," the Kentucky Democrat who is the sponsor of the House measure. "If they can't get this done by Jan. 23, when Congress re-

turns, we'll move with this bill on the House floor," the Speaker added, according to Mr. Simpson.

Mr. Weiss said Mr. O'Neill's "principal concern was the political one, and he's satisfied that the political risks have been diminished."

"No bill will be sent to the President except with the guarantee that he'll sign it," Mr. Weiss added.

Meanwhile, members of the Hispanic caucus have been meeting with supporters of the bill to work out a compromise. Mr. Weiss said, "The Speaker hopes that they can work something out."

The bill is pending before the House Rules committee, which is controlled by the Speaker and determines if and when proposed legislation will reach the House floor.



FEDERATION for AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM

2028 P Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036 (202) 785-3474

August 2, 1983

Mr. Jim Cicconi
1st Floor, West Wing
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

Enclosed are three copies of the Executive Summary and Questionnaire of the poll which is what we are releasing to the press today at 10:00 A.M.

I will send you a full report on the poll as soon as it's available, plus more detailed information that should allow you to perform the analyses you need.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "R. C. McAlpin", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

R.C. McAlpin
Legislative Staff

KCM/uu

Enclosures



The Federation for American Immigration Reform

PRESS RELEASE

IMMEDIATE

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Thursday, July 28, 1983
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BLACK AND HISPANIC AMERICANS: WHAT DO THEY
REALLY THINK ABOUT IMMIGRATION ISSUES?
The First Comprehensive National Poll
Has The Answers

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1983, AT 10:00 A.M., E.D.T., IN ROOM 428-A, RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, NATIONAL POLLSTERS PETER D. HART (OF PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES), AND V. LANCE TARRANCE (OF LANCE TARRANCE AND ASSOCIATES) WILL RELEASE AND PRESENT THE RESULTS OF THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL POLL EVER TAKEN ON THE ATTITUDES OF HISPANIC AND BLACK AMERICANS ON U.S. IMMIGRATION ISSUES.

THIS NATIONWIDE SURVEY IS ENTITLED, "HISPANIC AND BLACK ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION POLICY." IT WAS COMMISSIONED BY THE FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM (FAIR). THE POLL OF RESPONDENTS NATIONWIDE WAS CONDUCTED BY THESE TWO NATIONALLY-KNOWN POLITICAL POLLING ORGANIZATIONS IN LATE JUNE AND EARLY JULY OF 1983.

THE SURVEY COVERS MANY AREAS OF IMPORTANCE IN THE CURRENT NATIONAL DEBATE OVER U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY. COPIES OF THE RESULTS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THOSE WHO ATTEND THIS PRESS CONFERENCE.

HISPANIC AND BLACK ATTITUDES
TOWARD IMMIGRATION POLICY

A NATIONWIDE SURVEY CONDUCTED FOR
FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM

June-July 1983

V. Lance Tarrance & Associates
Houston, Texas

Peter D. Hart Research Associates
Washington, D.C.

Introduction

This executive summary presents the key findings of a survey conducted jointly by V. Lance Tarrance & Associates and Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc., on behalf of the Federation for American Immigration Reform. The study was designed to examine attitudes toward U.S. immigration policy among representative national samples of Hispanic and black respondents.

The interviews for this survey were conducted by telephone between June 24 and July 12, 1983, using the phone bank facilities and professional field staff of V. Lance Tarrance & Associates. The data are based on completed interviews with scientifically selected random samples of 800 Hispanic respondents and 800 black respondents. The sample of Hispanics includes 266 respondents who were interviewed wholly or partly in Spanish. Among the Hispanic respondents, 76% report that they are currently U.S. citizens and 24% report that they are not U.S. citizens. An Appendix fully describes the sampling procedures and other methodological aspects of the study.

The contents of this executive summary include: (1) a narrative presentation of the major highlights from the survey findings, (2) a copy of the questionnaire, including tabulations of the results for all black respondents, all Hispanic respondents, Hispanic citizens, and Hispanic non-citizens, and (3) the Appendix referred to above.

SURVEY HIGHLIGHTS

- Majorities of both Hispanics and blacks rate the issue of immigration as having above average importance as a matter for the government's attention.
- Both with regard to legal and illegal immigration, substantial portions of the Hispanic and black communities perceive a need for change in American immigration policies--with pluralities or majorities of respondents emphasizing the need to put greater controls on immigration.
- Substantial majorities of both Hispanics and blacks favor proposals to curb illegal immigration by having penalties and fines for employers who hire illegal immigrants, and by making major increases in the amount of money the federal government spends on patrolling the borders to stop illegal immigrants from entering the country.
- Hispanics tend to be strongly sympathetic to the idea of an amnesty program for illegal immigrants who have been in the country for a certain period of time; a majority of blacks also support this idea, but with less intensity. When asked to volunteer how long an illegal immigrant should have been in the country to qualify for amnesty, 28% of Hispanics mention a period of four years or less, 32% suggest five years, 29% volunteer a period of more than five years, and 5% stress their opposition to any sort of amnesty. Among blacks, 21% mention a residency requirement of four years or less, 27% specify five years, 34% mention a period of more than five years, and 10% say no illegal immigrant should be granted amnesty.
- Pluralities of Hispanics and majorities of blacks believe that the U.S. should admit fewer immigrants into the country legally than has been the case in recent years.
- Substantial majorities of Hispanics and blacks believe that illegal immigration hurts the job situation for American workers by taking away jobs that Americans might fill. Sixty-nine percent of all blacks say this is a major problem, as do 51% of Hispanics who are U.S. citizens.
- There is no clear consensus among Hispanics or blacks with regard to the argument that restricting illegal immigration would be harmful to the economy because illegal immigrants work at low-paying jobs that would not otherwise get done.
- Throughout the survey results, there are substantial differences in attitudes toward immigration policy between Hispanics who are U.S. citizens and those who are non-citizens--with Hispanic citizens significantly more likely to favor restrictions on immigration.
- Low-income blacks are particularly likely to feel an economic threat from illegal immigration.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Concern with the Immigration Issue

1. Among both Hispanics and blacks, there is a broad degree of concern with the issue of immigration. This is particularly true among Hispanics, 72% of whom rank immigration as having above average importance among the range of issues with which government deals--including 31% who say immigration is one of the most important issues facing government and 41% who rank it as very important. Among blacks, 57% assign above average priority to the issue of immigration.

2. There is a widespread perception that illegal immigrants hurt the job situation for American workers by taking away jobs that Americans might take. Fully 82% of all blacks say that illegal immigrants hurt the job situation for Americans. Sixty-nine percent of all blacks believe that this situation is a major problem. Blacks with incomes under \$10,000 are particularly likely to feel that job losses caused by illegal immigration are a major problem (76%). Among Hispanics, a 58% majority believe that illegal immigrants take jobs away from Americans who might want them, and 46% of all Hispanics consider this to be a problem of major proportions. Fifty-one percent of Hispanics who are U.S. citizens consider the impact of illegal immigration on American employment to be a problem of major proportions, compared to 28% among non-citizen Hispanics.

3. The large majority of blacks (71%) believe that illegal immigrants cause general pay rates and wages in America to be lower than they otherwise would be, and six-out-of-ten blacks term the impact of illegal immigration on wage rates a major problem. Attitudes among Hispanics on this question are somewhat more divided--52% say that illegal immigrants undermine American wage rates, while 40% do not believe this is the case. Among Hispanics who are U.S. citizens, 55% say illegal immigrants undercut wage rates in the country, including 43% who deem this to be a major problem. Among non-citizen Hispanics, 42% say that illegal immigrants undercut wages and the issue is considered to be a major problem by 26%.

4. Attitudes among both Hispanics and blacks are divided with regard to the assertion that restricting illegal immigration would be harmful to the economy because low-wage jobs now done by illegal immigrants would not get done or employers would be forced to pay higher wages. Among Hispanics, 51% agree and 40% disagree. Among blacks, 48% agree and 44% disagree.

The Basic Direction of Immigration Policy

Both with regard to legal and illegal immigration, substantial portions of the Hispanic and black communities perceive a need for change in American immigration policies--with pluralities or majorities of respondents emphasizing the need to put greater controls on immigration.

1. On the subject of legal immigration, 46% of Hispanics say that the U.S. should admit fewer immigrants legally than has been the case over the past decade (the question cited 450,000 as the annual average over the past decade), 27% feel the recent levels of immigration are about right, and only 15% say the U.S. should increase the number of legal immigrants admitted to the country. Among Hispanics who are U.S. citizens, 50% believe fewer legal immigrants should be admitted than has been the case in the recent past, 12% prefer higher quotas, and 26% are satisfied with current levels. Among non-citizen Hispanics, 30% would prefer less legal immigration, 25% say more legal immigration should be allowed, and 28% endorse the status quo. When asked specifically about legal immigration from Mexico in a question that cited the 1980 level of 56,000, Hispanics are somewhat less agreed on the need for reductions (14% allow more, 37% allow fewer, 40% about right). There is a broad consensus among blacks in support of reducing legal immigration generally: fully 65% say the U.S. should admit fewer legal immigrants than it has under recent practices, including 45% who say the number of legal immigrants should be a lot less.

2. On the subject of illegal immigration, a substantial plurality of Hispanics and a large majority of blacks say our current laws need to be changed to be tougher and more restrictive of illegal immigration and illegal aliens. Among blacks, fully 70% favor changing current laws to be tougher on illegal immigration, 16% say the current laws are about right, and just 8% feel the laws should be changed to be made less restrictive. Among Hispanics, 47% favor tougher laws, 22% support the status quo, and 15% favor moving toward less restrictions; 16% are unsure. Again, the difference in attitudes between Hispanics who are U.S. citizens and those who are non-citizens is substantial: 55% of Hispanic citizens favor tougher laws to deal with illegal immigration, compared to 23% among Hispanic non-citizens. Among both blacks and Hispanics, attitudes toward the basic direction of U.S. policy on illegal immigration hold relatively stable after respondents are given arguments both for (protecting American jobs and wages, put the needs of Americans first) and against ("nation of immigrants" tradition, difficulty of enforcement, potential for discrimination) tough restrictions on illegal immigration. After hearing the pro and con statements, Hispanics favor tough restrictions on illegal immigration by a margin of 57% to 32%; blacks favor tough restrictions by a 71%-to-19% margin. (See attached questionnaire for wording of statements.)

Reaction to Specific Policy Proposals

Substantial majorities of both Hispanics and blacks favor proposals to curb illegal immigration by having penalties and fines for employers who hire illegal immigrants and making major increases in the amount of money the federal government spends on patrolling the borders to stop illegal immigrants from entering the country. At the same time, Hispanics tend to be strongly sympathetic to the idea of an amnesty program for illegal immigrants who have been in the country for a certain period of time; a majority of blacks also support this idea, but with less intensity. When respondents volunteer what they believe would be an appropriate amount of time an illegal immigrant should have been in the U.S. in order to qualify for amnesty, the median response among Hispanics is 4.7, while the median response among blacks is somewhat higher than five years.

1. By a margin of 60% to 33%, Hispanics support adopting legal sanctions against employers who hire illegal immigrants. Among Hispanic citizens, 66% favor these employer sanctions--including 53% who strongly support them. Hispanic non-citizens oppose employer sanctions by a margin of 55% to 38%. Blacks favor penalizing employers who hire illegal immigrants by a margin of 66% to 27%, with 56% strongly supporting employer sanctions.

2. Stepped-up spending on tougher border enforcement is supported by all Hispanics by a margin of 61% to 30%, with 47% saying they feel strongly about their support for greater efforts to patrol the borders. Among blacks, fully 69% favor major increases in funding for border patrols (including 55% who strongly favor this).

3. When asked how they feel about the idea of establishing "some sort of amnesty or legalization program that would allow illegal immigrants or undocumented workers who have been in the U.S. for a certain period of time to remain here legally," 74% of all Hispanics say they favor this idea, with 57% who say they favor it strongly; 19% oppose the plan. Blacks favor the concept of amnesty by a margin of 57% to 34%--including 38% who are strongly supportive; 29% are strongly opposed. When asked in a subsequent question to volunteer how long an illegal immigrant should have been in the country to qualify for amnesty, 28% of Hispanics mention a period of four years or less, 32% suggest five years, 29% volunteer a period of more than five years, and 5% stress their opposition to any sort of amnesty. Among blacks, 21% mention a residency requirement of four years or less, 27% specify five years, 34% mention a period of more than five years, and 10% say no illegal immigrant should be granted amnesty.

4. Finally, respondents were asked for their reaction to the provision of certain tax-funded services to illegal immigrants, with the following results:

- Hispanics broadly support the idea of having the government provide free public education to the children of illegal immigrants (71% favor, 25% oppose); blacks are also favorable to this idea, but by a somewhat smaller margin (55% favor, 40% oppose).

- Majorities of both Hispanics (57% oppose, 36% favor) and blacks (60% oppose, 36% favor) reject the idea of allowing illegal immigrants to receive welfare such as AFDC and Food Stamps. Among Hispanic citizens, 63% oppose permitting illegal immigrants to participate in these welfare programs, including 53% who are in strong opposition.

- With regard to Medicaid, Hispanics favor allowing illegal immigrants to receive benefits by a margin of 52% to 41%, while opinions among blacks are slightly more divided (50% favor, 44% oppose).

INTERVIEWER _____
 TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES AND
 PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES
 PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

STUDY # 2084
 TIME STARTED _____
 TIME ENDED _____
 FINANCE _____
 CODING _____

Hello, I'm _____ of Tarrance & Associates and Hart Research, national research firms. We're calling long-distance from our national telephone center in Houston, Texas. We're talking to people all over the country tonight about their attitudes and opinions concerning topics in the news.

A. First of all, so that we can make sure all groups are represented, what is your age please?

SEE COMPUTER PRINTOUT

(IF UNDER 18, ASK FOR OTHER RESPONDENT IN HOUSEHOLD)

(IF NO RESPONDENT 18 OR OVER, TERMINATE)

1. And, what do you consider your race or ethnic background -- black, white, Hispanic, or what?

	H	B	C	N	
White (TO 2).....	1	7%	--	8%	4%
Black (TO 3).....	2	1%	--	1%	2%
Hispanic (TO 3).....	3	91%	--	90%	94%
Other (SPECIFY) _____					
(TO 2).....	4	1%	--	1%	1%
Don't know/refused (TO 2).....	5	1%	--	1%	--

IF "WHITE", "OTHER", OR "DON'T KNOW/REFUSED" IN QUESTION 1, ASK:

2. And from what countries or part of the world did your ancestors come?

- Spanish speaking countries ONLY (Mexico, Spain, Puerto Rico, Cuba, other Carribean nations, Central and South American nations) (TO 3).....1.
- Other countries (READ TERMINATING STATEMENT).....2
- Spanish speaking countries AND other countries (READ FOLLOWING STATEMENT).....3
- Don't know/refused.....4

Note: * indicates less than 1%.
 H: indicates Hispanic respondents
 B: indicates Black respondents
 C: indicates Citizen (Hispanic)
 N: indicates Non-citizen (Hispanic)

IF "SPANISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES AND OTHER COUNTRIES" IN PREVIOUS QUESTION, ASK:

B. Which one of these countries do you feel closer to?

Spanish speaking countries (TO 3).....1
Other (READ TERMINATING STATEMENT).....2

TERMINATING STATEMENT: SINCE WE ONLY NEED TO TALK WITH CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS DURING TODAY'S INTERVIEWING, WE WON'T NEED TO BOTHER YOU ANY FURTHER. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

3. Think for a moment about immigration into this country -- that is, people coming here from other countries with legal papers, visas and the permission of the U.S. government, and illegally without papers, visas or government permission. When it comes to the range of all issues with which the government deals, how would you rank the importance of immigration? Is it... (ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
1) One of the most important issues the government has to deal with	<u>31%</u>	<u>19%</u>	<u>27%</u>	<u>45%</u>
2) Very important	<u>41%</u>	<u>38%</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u>44%</u>
3) About average in importance	<u>18%</u>	<u>23%</u>	<u>21%</u>	<u>7%</u>
4) Not very important	<u>6%</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>2%</u>
5) One of the least important issues the government has to deal with	<u>2%</u>	<u>12%</u>	<u>3%</u>	<u>1%</u>
6) Don't know/refused	<u>2%</u>	<u>2%</u>	<u>2%</u>	<u>1%</u>

4. As you may know, the number of legal immigrants and refugees coming into this country has averaged about 450,000 a year over the past 10 years. In your opinion, should the government let more immigrants and refugees come into this country legally each year, fewer immigrants and refugees into this country legally, or is this number of legal immigrants and refugees about right?

		<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u> And	A lot More.....1	10%	3%	9%	16%
would that be a <u>lot</u> more/	More.....2	5%	3%	4%	9%
fewer immigrants?	A lot fewer.....3	25%	45%	30%	11%
	Fewer.....4	21%	20%	21%	19%
	About right.....5	27%	21%	26%	28%
	Unsure (DO NOT READ).....6	12%	8%	11%	17%

Thinking about illegal aliens and illegal immigration -- that is, people who come into this country without papers or visas...

5. Some people think our laws need to be changed to be tougher and more restrictive on illegal immigration and illegal aliens.

Some people think our laws need to be changed to be easier and less restrictive on illegal immigration and illegal aliens.

While others think that our laws on illegal immigration are about right the way they are now.

Which of these statements comes closest to your own viewpoint?

	H	B	C	N
Tougher laws (TO 6-1).....1	47%	70%	55%	23%
Easier laws (TO 6-2).....2	15%	8%	11%	27%
Laws about right (TO 6-3).....3	22%	16%	21%	24%
Unsure (DO NOT READ)(TO 7).....4	16%	6%	13%	26%

IF "TOUGHER LAWS" IN QUESTION 5, ASK:

6-1 And in your own words, why do you think we need tougher laws?
(PROBE: PLEASE TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT)

- | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 01. <u>TAKE OUR JOBS</u> - they are taking jobs away from tax paying citizens/they are taking the jobs away from people who need them/illegal aliens are coming in taking jobs from U.S. citizens/taking our jobs away, we are starving because of them/ illegal aliens knock people out of job opportunities/ | 16% | 16% | 17% | 7% |
| 02. <u>BAD ECONOMY/UNEMPLOYMENT</u> - American people now have hard times/we just can't support any more - people who have been here all their lives can't make it/ times are so critical right now...can't find no work, no how, no way/effect on the economy/a lot of Americans can't even find a job/ | 9% | 12% | 8% | 14% |
| 03. <u>AMERICANS SHOULD COME FIRST</u> - we have foreigners come and then we have to cut back on the things Americans need/our own people need help/we need to take care of ourselves before we take care of every other country/we have our own people to worry about/ | 3% | 9% | 3% | 2% |
| 04. <u>CHEAP LABOR TAKES JOBS</u> - Americans laid off and then replaced by illegal aliens who will work for less/ they'll work for less pay so the people hire them because it saves money/people that do come in tend to be abused in the job market, paid poor wages/they are killing the job market locally by working for much lower wages/ I worked where there were 80% Vietnamese - they'll work for nothing and my employer refused higher pay/ | 6% | 4% | 6% | 2% |

Question 6-1 continued

	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
05. <u>OVERPOPULATED/ENOUGH PEOPLE NOW</u> - we are overcrowded and have too many people suffering now/too many people here already trying to survive/it's already overpopulated here/too many people here already and we can't support them/we have enough people here as it is/	8%	7%	8%	7%
06. <u>TOO MANY IMMIGRANTS</u> - too many people coming here taking things away from the people already here/too many aliens are coming into the country legally or illegally/too many other people coming into our country/if they have unlimited numbers things will get out of control/if they keep slipping in there won't be any room for us/	10%	8%	11%	7%
07. <u>SCREEN FOR UNDESIRABLES/KNOW WHO ENTERS</u> - keep the bad element out of U.S., allow only people who will be good citizens/we should go into their backgrounds to see if they would make good citizens/everyone coming here should be checked from top to bottom/to know who you're letting in this country/no way to keep out unwanted criminals/find out everything about them and why they want to come/	3%	6%	1%	12%
08. <u>DISCOURAGE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION/MAKE IT HARDER</u> - discourage the people from coming here/it's no deterrent now/make it harder for them/worsen the penalty so they don't want to come/it's just too easy to sneak in here/	5%	4%	4%	14%
09. <u>RESPECT FOR LAW/IT'S ILLEGAL</u> - they are breaking the law and getting away with it/laws are not being upheld the way they are supposed to be/I'm against anything that's illegal/make sure everything will be right and not illegal/	4%	3%	4%	5%
10. <u>STRICTER CONTROLS/BETTER ENFORCEMENT</u> - need more border patrol/do more than deport person/stricter rules and there should be government bodies to enforce them/there needs to be some kind of monitoring and control/to control immigration/	14%	6%	14%	12%
11. <u>DISEASE CONTROL</u> - government should screen these people closely for different disease/there's no way of checking these people for germs/disease could be brought into this country that Americans aren't used to/AIDS/	1%	3%	1%	--
12. <u>CONTROL CRIME RATE</u> - they break into your house and all you can do is start shooting/crime rate/keeps us having to turn to crime to provide/they rob me while I'm out working/do nothing when they kill or rape someone/	3%	4%	3%	2%
13. <u>STOP IMMIGRATION/ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION</u> - it would stop illegal aliens from coming to the U.S./to keep them out/to prevent illegal aliens from getting here/no one should be allowed to come in illegally/we need laws that will keep them out/they should stay where God put them/	3%	3%	3%	2%

Question 6-1 continued

	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
14. <u>GOVERNMENT BENEFITS/DRAIN ON SOCIETY</u> - Uncle Sam winds up supporting them/we have to pay higher taxes to educate these people/taking from the community and society/draining the county of money and welfare/food stamps and medical support/too many wetbacks on welfare/	6%	2%	6%	2%
15. <u>THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY</u> - they could sabotage us or anything/they may be spies trying to get information about our government/coming in here to overthrow the government/these people are just taking over, they are overruling our laws/	1%	1%	1%	-%
16. <u>RECIPROCAL TREATMENT</u> - we can't go over there and just live/Americans traveling to other countries are met with heavy restrictions and I feel we should return the favor/we don't get treated equally in their countries, so why should we let them come over here and take advantage of us/	1%	2%	1%	-
17. <u>SHOULD BE DEPORTED</u> - except for refugees, illegal immigrants should be immediately deported/send them all back/they should be deported as soon as they are found/	*%	1%	--	2%
18. <u>DISCRIMINATION INVOLVED</u> - the Cubans are getting more consideration than the other groups and the people already here/I have to show my birth certificate when I go downtown/the blacks are truly mistreated in this case/people are doing things and getting off scott-free while others are doing something minor and get put away for life/they get priority on jobs and on welfare/I'm black and the illegal aliens are treated as whites/there are many Hispanics here legally, but they lose out to the illegals/	1%	2%	1%	--
19. <u>VAGUE GENERAL STATEMENTS</u> - so people can really adjust/for the improvement of the entire nation/it's just hurting the country/I just think they should/they are taking too much advantage of the U.S. kindness/	*%	1%	*%	--
20. <u>BRING TROUBLE</u> - they owe no allegiance to this country and take advantage of it every chance they get/their styles and customs are different/the differences between their country and ours are too great/they don't have any money, they don't speak the language/they would bring all their problems/they come over here without money or food or anything/	2%	1%	2%	5%
21. <u>SYMPATHETIC TO ILLEGAL ALIENS</u> - if the U.S. would help the other countries get on their feet, they wouldn't have so many/it would give the illegal aliens an opportunity to get their legal papers/deal with allowing them to come in legally/the laws should be tougher to better protect all of the illegal immigrants/I think they will have a tough time over here/	1%	1%	*%	2%

Question 6-1 continued

	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
22. <u>PUNISH EMPLOYERS OF ILLEGAL ALIENS</u> - nothing will happen until people start fining for the hire of illegal aliens/I think the employers should be penalized, not the illegal aliens/I'm against employers who hire them/	*%	1%	*%	--
23. <u>MAKES IT HARDER FOR LEGAL IMMIGRANTS</u> - makes it tougher for legal immigrants to come into this country/the illegals make it harder for other people to get visas/	1%	*%	*%	2%
24. <u>OTHER</u>	2%	1%	2%	--
25. <u>DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER</u>	1%	2%	1%	--

IF "EASIER LAWS" IN QUESTION 5, ASK:

6-2 And in your own words, why do you think we need easier laws?
(PROBE: PLEASE TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT)

01. <u>IMPROVE WAY OF LIFE</u> - there are people who are seeking for a better life/to give everyone a chance to live a better life/so the people who are illegal have a better opportunity for a better way of living/they want to escape to a better way of life/	16%	10%	16%	16%
02. <u>ILLEGALS WANT WORK</u> - a lot of them need to come here and work/because the people in Mexico are looking for decent jobs and a good life/people want to come over and work/they need work/	14%	6%	13%	16%
03. <u>U.S. OFFERS FREEDOM</u> - should be easier to become citizens because we do have freedom/if they want to come over here, let them come - America is the land of the free/people come to this country so that they may be free/	2%	11%	1%	4%
04. <u>TO LEGALIZE ILLEGALS</u> - so the illegal people can become legal aliens/if the laws were easier, maybe there wouldn't be so many illegal immigrants coming in/because if they're already here, they should be made legal/	5%	5%	1%	10%
05. <u>LAWS INAPPROPRIATE</u> - because the laws that they have right now are too complicated/some laws are not fair/not so much easier but new law/need changed, but not stricter/...society should have less laws/because there should be no law at all/	7%	16%	10%	4%
06. <u>CHEAP LABOR</u> - because they are penalizing the immigrants (who) want to come here and are willing to do cheap labor jobs even the unemployed Americans will not take/there are certain jobs they do that others will not do/so they can let more aliens in to do the dirty work Americans don't want to do, like ditch digging/	2%	2%	4%	--

Question 6-2 continued

	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
07. <u>DESERVE OPPORTUNITY</u> - I think they should give an opportunity to whoever wants one to come into this country/people should have a chance to come here and make it/	7%	10%	11%	2%
08. <u>SIMPLIFY PAPERWORK</u> - it's too hard to get legal papers to come to this country/so the person who comes in won't have to deal with so much paperwork coming into the U.S./	7%	--	6%	10%
09. <u>ILLEGALS MISTREATED</u> - I have talked with some illegal immigrants who were brutally beaten.../they are too rough on the newcomers/border patrol picks up illegal aliens and they are treated like criminals/	6%	2%	7%	4%
10. <u>ACCEPT ILLEGALS</u> - once they're here, don't put them through so much hassle/easier laws so we can live in peace/I think the government should let them stay or they will just live like stowaways/	2%	3%	1%	4%
11. <u>FEWER PROBLEMS</u> - there will be less problems for everybody/because it makes it easier for everybody/	3%	3%	3%	4%
12. <u>DISCRIMINATION</u> - there is a lot of discrimination with the illegal aliens and that's not fair/I feel a lot of people are discriminated against/	1%	3%	--	2%
13. <u>TO HELP PEOPLE</u> - easier laws so our country can help other people/easier laws so we can help the illegal/	5%	--	4%	6%
14. <u>ENTERING ANYWAY</u> - because they are getting in anyway/people are going to come in anyway/	2%	--	4%	--
15. <u>ACCEPT IMMIGRANTS</u> - America is made up of immigrants and we shouldn't restrict them in any way/this country was built by immigrants/we're all immigrants/	2%	3%	3%	--
16. <u>MORE PEOPLE CAN ENTER</u> - let more people enter/so people can come and study/so more people from Mexico can come/	5%	--	4%	6%
17. <u>WANT EASIER LAWS</u>	1%	2%	--	2%
18. <u>OPPOSITE RESPONSE</u>	2%	5%	--	4%
19. <u>OTHER</u>	5%	2%	6%	4%
20. <u>DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER</u>	4%	18%	4%	4%

IF "LAWS ABOUT RIGHT" IN QUESTION 5, ASK:

6-3	And in your own words, why do you think our laws are about right? (PROBE: PLEASE TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT)	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
01.	<u>GOOD/FAIR</u> - they are okay/as close to right as they are going to be/the law is a good law/they seem good/think things are going all right/they're not too tough - which is good/	33%	32%	32%	37%
02.	<u>HAVE TO SHARE</u> - good to have people come in because there is plenty of work here/have to share what we have/it's a very big country/if they want to come here they should be able to/	10%	10%	7%	17%
03.	<u>ENOUGH HERE/NO MORE</u> - a few people should come in, but we don't want to get overcrowded/I think there should be a limit/not too many coming but we surely don't want any more/	13%	13%	16%	4%
04.	<u>OPPORTUNITIES</u> - people come here because things are really bad at home/people desperately leave their countries to look for opportunities here/people come here because they're needy/	6%	6%	7%	4%
05.	<u>LAW OKAY/STRICTER ENFORCEMENT</u> - laws we have are okay, only need to use them more/laws are sufficient, they only need to be enforced/no need to make easier or tougher - just apply rules/	7%	8%	8%	4%
06.	<u>UNWANTED JOBS</u> - the type of work these people do no one else wants to do/only doing jobs Americans won't do/immigrant work program...work here at the jobs Americans will not do/	5%	--	3%	9%
07.	<u>STRICTER</u> - they should be punished so they won't come back/it makes me so mad they use our money and get welfare and money from the government/should be deported if they're here illegally/I don't want to support them with my tax dollars/	5%	2%	5%	4%
08.	<u>TOUGH OR EASY WILL BE BROKEN</u> - if you want in you will find a way/no matter how tough the laws are, illegal immigrants are still going to come in/laws tough or easy will be broken/	5%	4%	5%	7%
09.	<u>EASIER</u> - America should be democratic concerning the aliens/laws need to be liberated more/all people are created equal and have the right to be treated fairly/officers - abuse the laws - push people around/	2%	1%	2%	2%
10.	<u>LET STAY/MAKE LEGAL</u> - they should be allowed to stay if they are currently relocated here/if they're going to come, make it legal/	2%	2%	2%	--
11.	<u>OTHER</u>	4%	6%	6%	--
12.	<u>DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER</u>	9%	16%	8%	11%

7.	Thinking about the nation as a whole, would you say that illegal immigrants and undocumented workers hurt the job situation for American workers by taking away jobs that Americans might take?		<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
		Yes/hurts - major problem.....1	46%	69%	51%	28%
	<u>IF "YES", ASK:</u> Would you say this is a major problem nationally, or only a minor problem?	Yes/hurts - minor problem.....2	12%	13%	14%	7%
		No/does not hurt jobs.....3	36%	13%	29%	59%
		Unsure (DO NOT READ).....4	5%	4%	5%	5%

8.	And, in your opinion, do illegal immigrants and undocumented workers cause general pay rates and wages in America to be lower than they would be otherwise?					
		Yes/major problem.....1	39%	61%	43%	26%
	<u>IF "YES", ASK:</u> And would you say this is a major problem nationally, or only a minor problem?	Yes/minor problem.....2	13%	10%	12%	16%
		No.....3	40%	20%	36%	52%
		Unsure (DO NOT READ).....4	9%	9%	10%	6%

Would you say you agree or disagree with the following statement?

9.	"Restricting <u>illegal</u> immigration into this country would be bad for the economy because low wage jobs now being done by illegal immigrants would not get done, or employers would have to pay higher wages for these jobs."					
		Agree/strongly.....1	33%	35%	32%	35%
	<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u> And do you feel strongly about that?	Agree.....2	18%	13%	18%	19%
		Unsure (DO NOT READ).....3	9%	8%	9%	9%
		Disagree.....4	11%	12%	14%	3%
		Disagree/strongly.....5	29%	32%	27%	34%

10.	I'd like to get your opinion about some different proposals that have been suggested for dealing with the issue of illegal immigrants. First, do you favor or oppose the idea of having penalties and fines for employers who hire illegal immigrants?					
		Favor/strongly.....1	48%	56%	53%	32%
	<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u> And do you feel strongly about that?	Favor.....2	12%	10%	13%	6%
		Unsure (DO NOT READ).....3	8%	8%	8%	7%
		Oppose.....4	7%	10%	7%	10%
		Oppose/strongly.....5	26%	17%	20%	45%

11. How do you feel about the idea of establishing some sort of amnesty or legalization program that would allow illegal immigrants or undocumented workers who have been in the U.S. for a certain period of time to remain here legally? Do you favor this idea, or oppose it?

		<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
	Favor/strongly.....1	57%	38%	50%	81%
<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u>	Favor.....2	17%	19%	20%	7%
And do you feel strongly about that?	Unsure (DO NOT READ).....3	7%	8%	8%	5%
	Oppose.....4	4%	5%	4%	1%
	Oppose/strongly.....5	15%	29%	18%	7%

12. If there is an amnesty program that allows illegal immigrants to remain in the U.S., it can apply only to illegal immigrants who have been here for a long time, or it can also apply to those who came to the U.S. more recently. How many years do you think an illegal immigrant should have lived in the U.S. in order to qualify for amnesty and be allowed to stay here legally? (DO NOT READ ANSWERS, RECORD RESPONSE ONLY) (IF RESPONDENT UNSURE, PROBE FOR ESTIMATE)

	Doesn't matter, respondent				
	against program regardless..01	5%	10%	6%	3%
	0-2 years.....02	14%	13%	13%	17%
	3-4 years.....03	14%	8%	12%	21%
	5 years.....04	32%	27%	31%	32%
	6-9 years.....05	11%	8%	11%	10%
	10 years.....06	11%	14%	12%	5%
	11-15 years.....07	3%	6%	4%	--
	16-20 years.....08	2%	3%	2%	1%
	21-25 years.....09	1%	1%	1%	--
	Over 25 years.....10	1%	2%	1%	1%
	Unsure (DO NOT READ).....11	8%	9%	7%	11%

13. Do you favor or oppose the idea of making major increases in the amount of money the U.S. government spends on patrolling the U.S. borders in order to stop illegal immigrants from entering the country?

	Favor/strongly.....1	47%	55%	49%	39%
<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u>	Favor.....2	14%	14%	14%	13%
And do you feel strongly about that?	Unsure (DO NOT READ).....3	9%	8%	8%	15%
	Oppose.....4	8%	6%	9%	5%
	Oppose/strongly.....5	22%	18%	20%	27%

Another issue concerning illegal immigrants is whether they should receive certain tax-funded government services and benefits. Let me ask you for your opinion about some specific questions in this area.

14.	Do you favor or oppose the idea of having the government provide free public education to the children of illegal immigrants?		<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>	
		Favor/strongly.....	1	60%	42%	53%	80%
		Favor.....	2	11%	13%	12%	6%
	<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u> And do you feel strongly about that?	Unsure (DO NOT READ).....	3	5%	4%	5%	3%
		Oppose.....	4	4%	5%	4%	1%
		Oppose/strongly.....	5	21%	35%	25%	9%

15.	Do you favor or oppose the idea of allowing illegal immigrants to receive welfare, such as A-F-D-C and food stamps? (NOTE: IF ASKED, A-F-D-C IS "AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN")						
		Favor/strongly.....	1	26%	22%	20%	44%
	<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u> And do you feel strongly about that?	Favor.....	2	10%	14%	10%	9%
		Unsure (DO NOT READ).....	3	8%	5%	7%	11%
		Oppose.....	4	9%	7%	10%	6%
		Oppose/strongly.....	5	48%	53%	53%	30%

16.	And do you favor or oppose the idea of allowing illegal immigrants to receive Medicaid?						
		Favor/strongly.....	1	37%	33%	30%	59%
	<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u> And do you feel strongly about that?	Favor.....	2	15%	17%	16%	12%
		Unsure (DO NOT READ).....	3	8%	6%	7%	8%
		Oppose.....	4	8%	7%	10%	3%
		Oppose/strongly.....	5	33%	37%	37%	18%

17. Now, let me read you statements that people on different sides of the illegal immigration issue might make. I'd like you to tell me which of these statements comes closer to your own point of view. (READ SLOWLY - ROTATE - START WITH CHECKED () QUESTION)

(Other)

Some people say tough restrictions on illegal immigration are the right approach because illegal immigrants take jobs away from American workers and give employers a way to avoid paying decent wages. The U.S. already is having enough problems in meeting the needs of its own people, including disadvantaged and minority citizens, and we cannot afford to have the extra burden of all the people who might want to come to our country.

(Some)

Other people say tough restrictions on illegal immigration are the wrong approach because it goes against our tradition of being a nation that was built by immigrants coming here to seek a better life. Most programs to deal with illegal immigrants are difficult to enforce, and there is a danger that these programs will involve discrimination against minority group citizens.

	H	B	C	N
Tough restrictions <u>right</u> approach.....1	57%	71%	64%	34%
Unsure (DO NOT READ).....2	4%	4%	3%	8%
Some of both (DO NOT READ).....3	7%	5%	5%	12%
Neither (DO NOT READ).....4	1%	1%	1%	1%
Tough restrictions <u>wrong</u> approach.....5	32%	19%	27%	46%

Thinking again about legal immigration -- that is, people coming here with legal papers and visas --

18. The number of legal immigrants who came into this country from Mexico with the permission of the U.S. government in 1980 was 56 thousand. In your opinion, should the government allow more immigrants from Mexico to come in legally, fewer immigrants, or is the number of legal immigrants from Mexico currently coming into this country just about right?

Allow more.....1	14%	5%	12%	19%
Fewer.....2	37%	56%	40%	27%
About right.....3	40%	31%	39%	44%
Unsure (DO NOT READ).....4	9%	8%	9%	10%

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only --

19. What is the last grade of school you completed? (READ LIST)	<u>H</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>N</u>
Less than high school.....1	35%	21%	29%	54%
High school graduate.....2	33%	37%	34%	27%
Some college.....3	20%	24%	23%	11%
College graduate.....4	13%	18%	14%	8%

20. What type of work does the head of your household do? (PROBE FOR VERY SPECIFIC JOB TITLE - I.E., WHAT THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DOES - "PLUMBER", "LAWYER", "CONSTRUCTION WORKER". WRITE "UNEMPLOYED" IF APPROPRIATE.)				
01. <u>PROFESSIONAL/TECHNICAL</u>	12%	14%	14%	5%
02. <u>MANAGERS/ADMINISTRATORS</u>	6%	6%	6%	6%
03. <u>SALES WORKERS</u>	5%	2%	5%	2%
04. <u>CLERICAL</u>	8%	9%	10%	4%
05. <u>CRAFTSMEN</u>	17%	13%	17%	18%
06. <u>OPERATIVES</u>	16%	17%	13%	24%
07. <u>LABORERS</u>	7%	5%	6%	11%
08. <u>FARMERS</u>	3%	1%	2%	4%
09. <u>SERVICE WORKERS</u>	9%	8%	8%	12%
10. <u>HOUSEHOLD WORKERS</u>	*%	1%	*%	--
11. <u>RETIRED</u>	7%	11%	7%	5%
12. <u>STUDENT</u>	2%	2%	1%	3%
13. <u>UNEMPLOYED</u>	5%	6%	5%	5%
14. <u>HOUSEWIFE</u>	1%	1%	1%	--
15. <u>SELF-EMPLOYED</u>	1%	1%	1%	--
16. <u>DISABLED</u>	1%	2%	2%	1%
17. <u>DON'T KNOW/REFUSED</u>	1%	2%	1%	2%

21. Which of the following income categories includes your total family income for 1982? Just stop me when I read the correct category. (READ LIST)

	H	B	C	N	
Under \$7,000.....	1	16%	18%	13%	25%
\$7,000-\$10,000 (\$9,999).....	2	13%	13%	12%	16%
\$10,000-\$15,000 (\$14,999).....	3	18%	16%	18%	20%
\$15,000-\$20,000 (\$19,999).....	4	13%	15%	13%	14%
\$20,000-\$25,000 (\$24,999).....	5	10%	12%	11%	6%
\$25,000-\$35,000 (\$34,999).....	6	10%	9%	12%	4%
\$35,000-\$50,000 (\$49,999).....	7	6%	7%	7%	2%
Over \$50,000.....	8	3%	3%	3%	1%
Refused (DO NOT READ).....	9	11%	10%	10%	13%

22. Sex (BY OBSERVATION)

ASK: And are you employed outside the home?

Male/stays at home.....	1	10%	15%	10%	9%
Male/works outside the home....	2	39%	35%	37%	45%
Female/stays at home.....	3	26%	24%	26%	24%
Female/works outside the home.....	4	26%	26%	27%	22%

23. And were you born in the United States?

Yes (TO 26).....	1	59%	96%	77%	--
No (TO 24 & 25).....	2	41%	4%	23%	99%
Don't know.....	3	*%	--	--	*%

IF "NO" IN QUESTION 23, ASK:

24. And when did you first come to this country?

Within the last year (since 1982).....	1	4%	3%	1%	6%
2-3 years ago (1980-1982).....	2	7%	12%	--	13%
4-5 years ago (1978-1979).....	3	6%	21%	1%	10%
6-10 years ago (1973-1977).....	4	18%	12%	11%	23%
11-15 years ago (1968-1972)....	5	22%	15%	19%	25%
16-20 years ago (1963-1967)....	6	13%	15%	19%	9%
21-25 years ago (1958-1962)....	7	11%	9%	19%	5%
Over 25 years ago (1957 and before).....	8	18%	12%	29%	9%
Don't know/no answer.....	9	1%	3%	1%	1%

IF "NO" IN QUESTION 23, ASK:

25. And are you now a U.S. citizen?

Yes.....	1	42%	47%	100%	--
No.....	2	57%	53%	--	100%

APPENDIX: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

This appendix describes the methodological and sampling procedures used in this study. The complete project consists of 1,600 telephone interviews: 800 complete with a national probability sample of Hispanics, and 800 complete with a national probability sample of blacks. The study design yields a sample of Hispanics and a sample of blacks, which are generally representative of all Hispanics and all blacks nationwide.

"Hispanic" was operationally defined in this study as an individual who 1) self-identified him or herself as Hispanic in response to a race or national identity question, or 2) an individual who indicated that his or her ancestors were from a Spanish-speaking country. In instances in which a respondent reported that ancestors were from two or more countries, the respondent was asked to which country he or she felt closest. (See questionnaire for exact wording).

"Black" was operationally defined in this study as an individual who self-identified him or herself as black in response to a race or national identity question.

The Hispanic and black sampling and interviewing in this project were conducted separately. The basic sample design for each project was multi-stage: 1) a full national probability sample, and 2) a cluster sample generated from completed interviews obtained from the probability sample.

The initial national sample was a full Random Digit Dialing (RDD) probability sample of the 48 contiguous states. The black sample consisted of 12,000 phone numbers, while the Hispanic sample consisted of 24,000 phone numbers. RDD samples involve the random generation of phone numbers from phone exchanges, and ensure the inclusion of unlisted numbers in the sample.

Interviews were completed with individuals who met the ethnic (and 18 year old) screen in each sample. This procedure yielded approximately half of the required interviews for both samples. At that point, each completed interview was used as a cluster sampling point, and phone numbers were randomly generated from the completed phone number until the full 800 interviews had been completed for each ethnic group. The phone number generation procedure consisted of dropping the last two digits of the completed phone number and generating sequential digits on that phone number from a random starting point until an interview was completed. Approximately one-half of the completed interviews were generated from a full national probability sample, while the other half were generated from the cluster sampling points determined from the first stage of the sampling procedure. United States census figures (1980 census) on the distribution of Hispanics and blacks nationwide were used in the second cluster sampling stage of this project to adjust the number of interviews completed by census region. Thus, the final sample of 800 black and 800

Hispanic interviews generally reflects United States Census Bureau figures on the distribution of these two ethnic groups across the 48 contiguous United States. (The distribution of interviews by state is included in this document.)

Spanish-speaking interviewers were employed for the Hispanic sample. In all instances when a Spanish-speaking interviewer was not available when a Spanish-speaking household was contacted for the Hispanic sample, the household number was tagged, and a Spanish-speaking interviewer called back shortly in order to complete the interview. A total of 266 of the 800 Hispanic interviews were conducted in Spanish. A copy of the Spanish translation of the interview schedule used is attached to this document.

A 50:50 sex quota was employed for both the black and the Hispanic samples. Both the Hispanic and the black samples are generally representative of the total Hispanic and total black population in the United States. In general, Hispanic and black households are somewhat less likely to have telephones than are other households in the United States. This sample is reflective only of black and Hispanic households with telephones. There is some (unknown) bias introduced by the fact that households without telephones are excluded from this sample.

In general, in 95 cases out of 100, the responses obtained from a simple probability sample of 800 individuals will be within ± 3.5 percentage points of the responses that would have been obtained had every member of the target population been interviewed. The cluster sampling procedures utilized for part of the interviews obtained in this project mean that the real statistical margin of error is slightly higher than these figures.

All interviews were conducted by telephone from Tarrance & Associates' national headquarters in Houston, Texas. Interviewing was conducted between June 24 and July 12, 1983.

BLACK RESPONDENTS
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Alabama	31	4
Arizona	5	1
Arkansas	12	2
California	56	7
Colorado	3	*
Connecticut	7	1
Delaware	2	*
Florida	42	5
Georgia	47	6
Illinois	61	8
Indiana	14	2
Iowa	1	*
Kansas	3	*
Kentucky	10	1
Louisiana	31	4
Maryland	29	4
Massachusetts	8	1
Michigan	37	5
Minnesota	1	*
Mississippi	28	4
Missouri	16	2
Nebraska	3	*
Nevada	2	*
New Jersey	26	3
New Mexico	1	*
New York	73	9
North Carolina	40	5
Ohio	31	4
Oklahoma	8	1
Pennsylvania	30	4
South Carolina	30	4
South Dakota	1	*
Tennessee	21	3
Texas	52	7
Utah	1	*
Virginia	31	4
Washington	1	*
West Virginia	2	*
Wisconsin	3	*

800

Note: * indicates less than 1%.

HISPANIC RESPONDENTS
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Arizona	25	3
Arkansas	2	*
California	259	32
Colorado	19	2
Connecticut	7	1
Florida	51	6
Georgia	1	*
Illinois	42	5
Indiana	5	1
Iowa	1	*
Kansas	4	1
Kentucky	1	*
Louisiana	4	1
Massachusetts	8	1
Michigan	9	1
Missouri	1	*
Nebraska	1	*
Nevada	3	*
New Jersey	27	3
New Mexico	27	3
New York	94	12
North Carolina	6	1
North Dakota	1	*
Oklahoma	3	*
Oregon	1	*
Pennsylvania	8	1
South Carolina	1	*
Tennessee	2	*
Texas	170	21
Utah	4	1
Virginia	6	1
Washington	3	*
West Virginia	1	*
Wisconsin	3	*
	<u>800</u>	

Note: * indicates less than 1%.

IMMIGRATION

Nov. 10 / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1981

minimum charge in which the recipient, unless they're totally needy, pays some share has been found to be very successful in reducing over-use of some programs. Now, again, you're citing something that has not yet come to me, if it is going to come, as an option. So, we'll wait and see.

On the first part of your question, which I think is the main question, yes. Let me give an example. In California, we have some programs in which the choice could be between home care for the individual or institutionalizing them. I'm speaking of such things—mental retardation and so forth. And we have a program where a family that elects to go the one way—and there's certain means tests connected with this—gets a grant, which is far more economical, just as this hospital bill is, than in institutionalizing the person. And I think that when we see a case of this kind it reveals that hide-bound regulations can be a tremendous expense to the taxpayers and doing no good to the patient.

Ms. Thomas. Thank you, Mr. President.
The President. Thank you, Helen.

Note: The President's fifth news conference began at 2 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

Fort Drum, New York

Announcement of the Decision To Use Federal Facilities at the Fort as a Temporary Holding Facility for Illegal Aliens. November 10, 1981

The Federal facilities at Fort Drum near Watertown, N.Y., will be utilized as a temporary holding facility for aliens arriving illegally in this country, pending construction of a permanent facility. A thorough search was conducted by the Departments of Justice, Health and Human Services, and Defense. All these Departments agreed Fort Drum was the one site that met the key criteria, including capacity, availability, and minimal impact on defense operations.

Use of this site will allow the Immigration and Naturalization Service to continue the

administration's policy of detaining aliens arriving illegally in the United States, pending resolution of their status.

In connection with this decision, the President today met with Representative David Martin of New York who has been particularly concerned with the preservation of Fort Drum's role in national defense plans. The President reassured him of the administration's commitment to the long term development and use of the base as a key defense installation. The President also indicated that the temporary use of Fort Drum as a detention facility will in no way compromise current activities at the base. No decision has been made for the location of a permanent facility.

ABC News Building

Remarks at the Dedication of the New Building for the Washington Bureau. November 12, 1981

The President. Thank you all very much. It is a pleasure for me to be here, and am I impressed now when I stop to think that I used to go walking on the beach with Elton Rule in California. [Laughter]

I knew that I wanted to bring something to you today, so I have a news flash. Chase Manhattan has lowered the prime rate to 16½—[laughter]—the 3-month bill is down to 10-5-0, having opened at 11, and the long bond has improved two points on par in the first hour of the market. [Laughter] Oh, yes, and I think you should know that the space shuttle got off. [Laughter] That's the only thing my administration favors in going up. [Laughter]

Seriously, to see this, the largest building, as I understand, devoted totally to electronic news, is really something—and to know that in the late fifties, your entire staff here in Washington consisted of four TV commentators and one for radio. But I'd just like to take you back a little further, being the only one here, I think, that's old enough to do it. But, yes, in those WHO days in Des Moines, Iowa, 50,000 watts, another network in the middle thirties, even the four

and the one sounds pretty

Now, I can we look far e to do radio n soul that own The Fair Tra could not do was unfair to boss came to were going t that would se a newspaper. H. R. Gross, States Congre gressman her did the spor source we h Western Uni ate season w there were. was it.

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The Presi when I leave have a meet all I can tell

Mr. Dona Republican S

Refugees May Not Come To Drum

By Alan Emory

Times Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — A key Reagan Administration official says there is a possibility no Haitian or Cuban refugees will be sent to Fort Drum.

Instead, says David Hiller, a special assistant to Atty. Gen. William French Smith, the Northern New York Army installation "conceivably could only be held in reserve" for use as a detention center for illegal aliens.

The comment, from a Justice Department official who is closely monitoring administration refugee policy, reflected the extreme volatility of the situation and the possibility that decisions could change or be modified quickly.

Mr. Hiller said if a survey of present and near-future conditions showed money could be saved by continuing the detention of refugees at 16 or 17 sites around the country, rather than putting millions into construction and operation at Fort Drum, the administration might well favor the status quo.

He attributed the uncertainty over Drum to a sharp drop in the number of illegal aliens entering the United States in recent months and doubts those numbers would increase even after the weather gets warmer and storms at sea subside.

Mr. Hiller's observations, in an interview with The Times, appeared to conflict with those of other administration officials who think the chances are good there will be a new flood of Haitian arrivals in the spring.

There have been other differences of opinion within the administration involving the selection of Fort Drum.

Mr. Hiller disclosed that the Justice Department had wanted to send the refugees to Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., but had been unable to overcome objections of the Defense Department, which argued it would be disruptive to the military mission at the active Army post.

Similar Pentagon objections to Fort Drum were overridden.

Mr. Hiller said Leonard Wood had better weather and was preferable from the geographic point of view to Fort Drum.

He also conceded that political considerations had been taken into account before the final decision to settle on Drum.

The influx of more than 20,000 Cubans had "polluted the well," he

said, and it was difficult for the public to view the refugee issue "rationally."

He cited the 1980 Arkansas gubernatorial election, where the experiences with Cubans at Fort Chaffee led to the defeat of Democratic Gov. Bill Clinton by Republican Frank White, who vowed to

Watertown (NY) Times
12-10-81

empty Chaffee of Cubans "within a year."

Mr. Hiller conceded that the planned closing of Chaffee was "a matter of political equity, but it was political equity in its broadest sense. Everything about this illegal alien issue is political. The politics of this can be brutal."

To speculation that California and Texas sites for refugee centers were ruled out because the states were home to President Reagan and Vice President Bush, respectively, Mr. Hiller replied there were other reasons.

The Miami Herald quoted an unidentified administration memorandum as saying choosing any site in Florida "could cause a major problem for Sen. (Paula) Hawkins," a freshman Republican from that state.

Mr. Hiller said the choice of Fort Drum was "entirely defensible on the merits" because of drawbacks at other sites that had been considered.

Westover Air Force Base, Mass., was ruled out because it was near suburban housing and, Mr. Hiller said, lacked space and had mostly single-family housing units that were inappropriate for a re-

See REFUGEES — Pg. 20

Refugees...

► From Last Page

refugee center. Other sources cite the base's falling in the congressional district of Rep. Edward Boland, D-Mass., an influential House member and close friend of Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr.

Glasgow, Mont., was rejected as being too small, despite a favorable local reaction to having the refugee center there.

Although Rep. David O'B. Martin, R-Canton, in whose district Fort Drum lies, is a freshman, he is being listened to carefully in high administration circles.

He has conferred regularly with White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker 3rd, on the refugee question, and Immigration Commissioner-designate Alan C. Nelson is clear-

ing all plans with the Congressman before moving ahead with details.

It is highly unlikely any significant administration move will be made without the Congressman's approval, and the first issue to be settled is illegal alien security at Fort Drum.

There have been rumors of a \$35 million administration request to Congress for refugee detention work, to build a permanent center at McAlester, Okla., or to put much of that money into Fort Drum rehabilitation and operation.

Informed sources say they have not heard that figure mentioned. Other speculation mentions \$51 million, both for Fort Drum and to retain 775 Haitians at Fort Allen, Puerto Rico. However, if the Fort Drum center is opened it is likely the Fort Allen Haitians will be shipped there.



Immigration

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of the Attorney General

Counselor to the Attorney General

2/23/82

~~2/23/82~~

Jim,

Attached is a
brief memo that sets
forth the salient
points likely to be
raised by the Court.
The principal disagreement
is likely to be on the
ID card issue. See
point 3 of the memo.

[Signature]

JAB

This is copy of DOT guide
once I requested re
immigration meeting
w/ Clements. I've
given Meese a copy. to
Jim

MEMORANDUM

You are scheduled to meet with Governor Clements, Ed Meese, and Jim Baker, on Tuesday, February 23, 1982, in the Roosevelt Room of the White House.

Governor Clements, who requested the meeting, wants to discuss immigration and his recent trips to Mexico to see President Lopez-Portillo and his successor, Sr. de la Madride. He is likely to make the following points, which he stated before the Task Force on Immigration and Refugee Policy of the National Governors' Conference.

1. There is a pressing need for admitting guest workers to the U.S. from Mexico. They contribute to the economy and do not take jobs away from Americans.

2. Employer sanctions are essential. Governor Clements has proposed a "relocation fee" of \$1,000 for each illegal knowingly hired. He prefers such a fee to civil penalties, although they amount practically to the same thing.

3. The U.S. needs a reliable and non-counterfeitible identifier. He prefers an upgraded Social Security card. [Note: some such card will be required by Simpson's and Mazzoli's bills, was recommended by the Select Commission, is favored by other pro-enforcement groups, and by some business groups seeking ease of administrating the law.]

4. Some kind of resident status for illegals now here. Governor Clements approves the Administration's legalization in principle, but dislikes "amnesty." He calls for a fast track to citizenship for those here a long time, say 5 years, who are working and have a clean record. For those here less long, he would give a temporary status.

5. We must consult and cooperate closely with the Mexicans. Clements discussed with Portillo whether Mexico would give exit visas to Mexicans coming to the U.S.

From the above, it continues to appear that the Administration and Clements position are quite close. Accommodations will be possible. We will work closely with him, but should not make any commitments at the Tuesday meeting.