

FRANCISCO HOUSTON

# TARRANCE

V LANCE TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

*AA*  
*PI file under*  
*"Hispanic Strategy"*

HISPANIC VOTE BEHAVIOR:  
BROAD AND SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS  
FROM PAST RESEARCH  
CONDUCTED BY TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

APRIL 12, 1983

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HISPANIC VOTE BEHAVIOR:  
BROAD CONCLUSIONS FROM PAST RESEARCH  
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HISPANIC - May, 1978 - Texas SW

\* 1978 Mexican-American oversample = 200

Image of "status" is important - experience

incumbency

"elite" profession - "proper" background

Power is admired

-- Personalizing is an important factor - "staying close to people & state"

Proud and self-sufficient -

Interested in seeing U.S. maintain its strong position militarily -  
however, rather spend \$ on domestic programs rather than foreign  
aid, can and will do for themselves

Image of trust - someone who inspires political and personal confidence -  
more important than party I.D. or ideology

Home & family are important

CONCLUSION - Cue Words

- o experience
- o status
- o conservative/family values
- o conservative/national defense
- o conservative/less government dependence

The Mexican-American vote will most likely be cast for the candidate who  
can -

- 1) closely identify with the people and gain their trust
- 2) view them as American, not Mexican-American
- 3) convince that he has been and will continue to be effective in  
D.C.

Strong positions on national defense, better wage/job opportunities;  
combined with personalistic "close to the people" style

\* SOUTH TEXAS HISPANICS - May, 1982

Mexican-Americans don't vote because not registered, but once registered -  
vote at same rate as whites, while blacks register in greater numbers,  
but have voted at less rates than whites - not so true anymore

30% potential party base

-- → personal style is important with Mexican-Americans  
more style than substance

Sensitivity and administrative ability

\* HISPANIC LEADERSHIP - June, 1980

Most important problems were (1) economic/business related - excellent target for Republican anti-inflationary campaign themes; (2) financial security (Democratic theme); (3) domestic issues (Republican themes of energy programs, education improvement, population growth, welfare abuse, government control)

-- Hispanics are predisposed to supporting Democrats, however, they hold values and attitudes which are compatible with GOP positions

\* 1ST SUPERVISORIAL DISTRICT IN L.A. (included oversample of 100 from Hispanic areas)

"Hispanics are not and should not be considered bloc voters."

More concerned about crime and education

Feel much more strongly that health care benefits should not be cut at the expense of balancing the budget

HOW HISPANICS VOTED

1978 Texas Governor's Race

Clements - 34%  
Hill - 53%

1980 Texas Presidential Race

Reagan - 40%  
Carter - 45%  
Anderson - 3%

1982 Texas Governor's Race

Clements - 28%  
White - 72%

1982 California Governor's Race

Deukmejian (No race Q)  
Bradley

# TARRANCE

V LANCE TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

TEXAS STATEWIDE STUDY

MAY, 1978

## SURVEY OVERVIEW

V. Lance Tarrance and Associates is pleased to present the results of this special survey of Mexican-American voters to the Texans for Tower Committee. This section outlines the research techniques used in gathering the information presented in this special report. Project director for this study was V. Lance Tarrance, Jr.; with design and political support from Jim Loyd; technical and data processing support by Jan van Lohuizen, and bi-lingual technical support by Cecilia Anderson, Virginia Simmons, and Anna Weaver. Donna J. Kingwell acted as internal project director. This report contains the results of a telephone survey of 200 voters throughout the State of Texas and in pre-selected urban-border counties. Survey responses of this state-wide survey were gathered during the period of May 20-29, 1978.

All respondents interviewed in this study were part of a fully representative sample of the State's 1976 voters. The confidence interval associated with a sample of this type is such that:

- . 90% of the time, results will be within  $\pm 7.1\%$  of the "true values";
- . 95% of the time, results will be within  $\pm 7.9\%$  of the "true values";
- . 99% of the time, results will be within  $\pm 8.7\%$  of the "true values";

where "true values" refers to the results obtained if it were possible to interview every 1976 voter in the State who was of Mexican-American descent.

Interviewing was conducted by V. Lance Tarrance and Associates instructed personnel working from the company's own telephone bank in Houston, Texas. The interviews lasted approximately 30-35 minutes. Editing, coding, and computer processing of the data was done at V. Lance Tarrance and Associates' headquarters. The computer tabulations were produced by a private statistical analysis program.

THE TEXAS MEXICAN-AMERICAN ELECTORATE: AN OVERVIEW

"Outside forces predominate in the life of the Mexican-American. He is forced to migrate thousands of miles to other states for farm work; he is forced to move into hostile cities in the quest for a better life; he is forced to cut ties with the familiar way of life in order to relocate where the opportunity is best, he is forced to send his children to schools where an alien language and tradition may abort aspiration; he is forced to accept the lowest paying jobs, menial labor, and often forsake hope for anything better."

U.S. Commission of Civil Rights --  
Open Hearings, San Antonio,  
Texas, 1968

### Overview

In order to adequately assess the perceptions of Texas voters of the Mexican-American social and cultural heritage, the survey was extended beyond the original random sample to include an additional 120 individuals who have Spanish surnames. The primary intent of evaluating this special set of approximately 200 individuals was to attempt to better understand the special interpretations of political events, images, and perceptions held by Mexican-American voters in the State of Texas.

V. Lance Tarrance and Associates brought in telephone interviewers fluent in the Spanish language in order to better be able to communicate with the respondents in this special sample. This was necessary in order to insure that the respondents would feel more at ease during the interview and so that the interviewer and the respondent could establish a better rapport. Afterwards the interviewers commented on the added validity which they thought that having same language interviewers added to the survey. In the Latin-oriented cultural background, personalismo is a necessary characteristic of even the most businesslike of transactions; consequently, it was felt that in an interview such as this one (where questions are often viewed as being very prying in nature) that it was necessary to be able to identify with the respondents in as many ways as possible in order to get them to be more "open" with their responses.

This proved to be true, based on the post interview reports by the bilingual interviewers. By breaking any language barrier which had existed and approaching the conversation in a friendly and relaxed manner, as opposed to the normal businesslike approach engendered by the usage of the English language, the interviewers were highly successful in discovering just what the individuals in the special sample thought about Texas politics and politicians, especially in the open-ended questions. The "openness" of the respondents might best be illustrated by the relatively large number of noncitizen residents which were reached; while they were not interviewed, many freely admitted that they were in the U.S. illegally. While not brazen in announcing their illegal residence, these people were generally of the

conclusion ~~was~~ as long as they obeyed laws and committed no obvious infringement of the social structure that they are not likely to be deported by the Immigration and Naturalization agents.

It was ~~apparent~~ to the interviewers from the responses given that those Mexican-Americans contacted were highly likely to have voted in the last Presidential election if they were registered at the time. These individuals apparently ~~had~~ the opportunity to cast a ballot for their political leaders as much ~~more~~ valuable than does the average person who is technically eligible to vote ~~is~~ at least 18 years old, etc).

Traditionally and currently in many sectors of the Mexican-American community), the Latin-American based ethnic groups have held professional/career people rather than nonprofessional people in higher esteem within the community. Those professions of engineering, law and medicine usually get the highest preference ratings, because for so long these were the only professions that a young man could get into in order to raise his status within the community and become financially well-off; teaching, while an acceptable and honorable profession, has not been viewed as being quite the elite or "preferred" occupation that the others are. Based on tradition and the impression obtained by the telephone interviewers, it is conceivable that the image of Senator Tower's reputation or "status" might be a strong factor in attracting the Mexican-American vote in November. Adhering to the tradition which is described above, the Senator's legislative experience (Law), incumbency (status), and professional education (Business/Economic/Wages) would probably provide a positive comparison to the image engendered by Mr. Krueger (teacher of English literature, administrator, less experienced in Washington, D.C.).

The strongest impression given to the telephone interviewers by the sample population is that the Mexican-American population is overwhelmingly Democratic in terms of party identification, but that many have a tremendous amount of respect and admiration for Senator Tower and intend to vote for him. Much of the pro-Tower sentiment was primary and genuine, however, a portion (and it seemed) was perceived as being more "anti-Krueger" than

"pro-Tower." Mr. Krueger is perceived as being tied less to special interests than is Senator Tower.

The fact that Senator Tower is the incumbent in this race should be of great value in terms of the Mexican-American culture. Power, while not necessarily identified with, is admired to a certain extent, and the fact that Senator Tower is in office at the present time while Mr. Krueger is trying to get into that office allows Senator Tower to be viewed as the "more powerful" of the two (i.e., "El hombre con la pistola más grande va a ganar la batalla.")

As mentioned above, personalismo is an important factor in the political environment of the Mexican-American culture. This more than any other single personal attribute should be worked on in the Senator's future campaigning for the Mexican-American vote. A large proportion of the sample indicated that "staying close to people and the state" is an idea which challenger Krueger can use successfully against Senator Tower.

The subjective opinions of the bilingual interviewers were that the more affluent, intelligent and interested Mexican-Americans (especially the men) are likely to be nominal Democrats, but act like ticket-splitters once in the ballot booth. The general perception of most of the respondents was that the nation as a whole is on "the right track"; however, they feel that they have been abandoned by President Carter. These abandonados are part of a political culture that almost expects there to be some corruption and "behind the scenes" dealings to take place in the political environment and they accept such actions. Their feeling regarding their abandonment by Mr. Carter and his corresponding failure to fulfill the promises he made while campaigning is unacceptable, however; such action goes against the political culture and their family-oriented social lifestyle.

"Proud and self-sufficient" describes the Mexican-American nuclear family surveyed. Their responses indicate that they are intensely proud of being American citizens and are very interested in seeing that the U.S. maintains its strong position (militarily) with respect to the rest of

the world powers. Overall, they rarely mentioned "lack of government provided services" as a problem, indicating that they can and will do for themselves. On the other hand, they indicated that they felt that "illegal aliens" should be returned to their country of origin (job competition) and that government money should be used for domestic purposes rather than spent on foreign aid. Like any other group of individuals, they are proud of what they have and want the system to continue to benefit them. This should be taken with a grain of salt, however, because when "family income" is examined, it would appear that the survey population is relatively affluent. This may or may not be the case and it is difficult to know the truth, because in many instances the reported family income is the combined incomes of several individuals (sometimes four or more) residing at the same address. As one respondent said, "Everybody helps out."

Since October the general impression of Senator Tower's "geographic orientation" has switched from being "Washington oriented" to being "Texas oriented"; however, the Mexican-American sample in this survey still see him as being "Washington oriented." This is not necessarily a bad sign. According to the traditional Latin-oriented interpretation, the Mexican-American might view this as a source of strength and status, an additional means of being able "to get things done."

To the average Mexican-American voter in Texas, trust is one of the most important variables when it comes time to cast ballots. Nominally Democrat, the Mexican-American community is likely to vote for the candidate who inspires the greatest amount of political and personal confidence. However, party identification and even ideological considerations become secondary when there is an obvious discrepancy in the level of trust attributed to the contenders.

Identification, as well as personal trust and integrity, is an integral factor in the candidate selection process. Senator Tower would appear to have a closer identification with the Mexican-American community based on the responses to the questionnaire, even though candidate Krueger is fluent in the language. Based on the information gathered, it is plausible

that the "upper status Democrat" which the Krueger image has taken on will have a tendency to place some distance between Krueger and the Mexican-American constituency. Although not mentioned often by respondents, the concept of "divorce" bears important connotations among certain population groups, most notably Catholics and the Latin-oriented social/cultural groups. Senator Tower would do well to not emphasize this potential problem; however, if the problem is mentioned, the emphasis should be placed on how good his family life is at present, not that there were problems which have now been rectified. The home life situation which Senator Tower might emphasize coupled with his overall political philosophy of "less government and regulation" coincide well with the home/family orientation of the Mexican-American culture, and also with their ideas concerning self-sufficiency. Having the "proper" background (Law/Politics/Economics), Washington experience, and being "one of the people" will be important assets for the Senator in the upcoming election.

When queried about the most urgent problems facing the United States today, inflation and the economy was mentioned more than any other single issue. This is the same issue which most respondents in the general sample also picked. However, the Mexican-Americans appear to see a different ordering of the other problems which confront the country. For instance, unemployment and wages was mentioned by approximately 8% of the respondents. Based on family income it would not appear that the individuals in the sample are out of work, yet it is likely that many of their friends are either unemployed or underemployed. (The bulk of the Mexican-American oversample came from areas in South Texas and closest to the Mexico/U.S. border.) Following this, increased crime (7%) was mentioned most frequently. Although the "Moody Park" incident (Houston) occurred just before this survey was completed, it is also likely that several of the responses also referred to the maltreatment of the Mexican-American citizens by law enforcement officers (e.g., the Joe Torres case in Houston and Sheriff Frank Hays in Castroville). Fair and equitable treatment for the Mexican-American community by public agencies (especially law enforcement agencies) is likely to be a politically "hot" issue, if it is brought to the forefront.

Six times the proportion of the general sample (6% vs. 1%) indicated that the U.S. is "giving away" too much in foreign aid while twice as many (4% vs. 2%) said that national defense and security is an important problem. The respondents appeared to be intensely proud to be Americans (not Mexican-Americans) and are interested in seeing that America maintains some form of strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union. (Note: The disproportionate percentage of persons interested in national defense in the Mexican-American sample might be related to the fact that most of the oversampling took place in countries where military spending is disproportionately large.) Referring again to the notion of self-sufficiency, many respondents were adamant in expressing their dislike for foreign aid.

"Foreign aid...they should spend more on America."

"Scratch your own back first!"

Unlike the general sample of voters, most of the respondents in this sample felt like people in general are the most likely candidates for solving the basic problems which confront us. "People overcoming their own apathy" describes the general feeling which was expressed most often. Following this problem-solving source, the next largest group of respondents chose all government bodies; in the original sample voters indicated that they looked to specific institutions rather than to all of them in general.

Even though many Mexican-Americans indicated that they felt as though President Carter had forsaken them in several respects (7%), a larger proportion is likely to reelect him than that shown in the general sample. In fact, when queried concerning individual issue areas, close to one-half in each case said that they "approved" of the way President Carter has handled the issue area.

Although the overall sample results favored candidate Krueger over candidate Christie in the primary election, the Mexican-American vote was split almost evenly. This result apparently stems from the fact that the Mexican-Americans were as closely identified with Christie than with Krueger. To the Mexican-Americans, Christie was the candidate most likely "to go to bat" for them in times of trouble. Tower should keep that "wedge" active.

A plurality of the respondents are of the opinion that Senator Tower is more closely tied to "special interests" than is Mr. Krueger; however, this does not show up too strongly in the open-ended question which asked, "What one or two differences come to mind that you could use against John Tower?" Of greater importance was the opinion that "it's time for a change." Also, of equal importance to the "special interests" connotation is the importance of "running a clean campaign." "No ha metido su mano en lo que no es de él."

In summary, campaigning among the Mexican-American electorate should tap the following cue-words:

- . experience
- . status
- . conservative/family values
- . conservative/national defense
- . conservative/less government dependence

The Mexican-American vote in November is most likely to be cast for the candidate who can (1) most closely identify with the people and gain their trust, (2) convince the voters that he views them as Americans rather than "hyphenated Americans" and (3) convince them that he has been and will continue to be effective in Washington, both in general and in their behalf. Strong positions on a continued strong national defense, better wage/job opportunities and controlling inflation and the cost of living, combined with a personalistic "close to the people" style, are essential points in the campaign to gather support from Mexican-American voters.

# TARRANCE

V LANCE TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

SOUTH TEXAS HISPANIC STUDY

MAY, 1982

SCOPE AND METHOD

SOUTH TEXAS HISPANIC SURVEY  
SCOPE AND METHOD

The South Texas Hispanic Study consists of 600 interviews conducted by telephone with 600 Mexican-American voters living in a "quadrant" of Texas bordered by Bexar, Nueces, Cameron, and Webb counties.

Data was obtained from the Census Bureau which provided the percentage of the population in each county which was Hispanic, and the Secretary of State listed the number of registered voters by county. The number of respondents to be contacted in each county was then determined by (1) taking the percentage of Hispanics in the general population and taking the same percentage of registered voters, (2) summing up the result for all counties in the quadrant, (3) determining each county's percentage contribution to the total, and (4) multiplying the resulting percentage by 600. The resulting number of interviews was then conducted using Spanish surnames taken at random from registered voter lists for each county.

The field work began on May 10, 1982 in San Antonio, Texas under the supervision of C. James Kruse, Project Coordinator, and Emma Terrazas, Assistant in Hispanic Affairs. The questionnaire which was used was developed by Tarrance & Associates in consultation with Lionel Sosa & Associates. The instrument was printed with English and Spanish translations "side by side" to facilitate the establishment of rapport with the respondent and better control by the supervisors. Open-ended questions recorded in Spanish were translated by the interviewer after completion of the interview.

Verification, coding, and all data processing functions were carried out in the Houston facility using standard techniques. The results were then analyzed by Lionel Sosa (for media strategy) and by V. Lance Tarrance, Jr., and staff members at Tarrance & Associates (for political strategy). A verbal presentation was made the week of June 9, 1982, as a preliminary review.

PREFACE

## Preface

Over a century ago, the inexorable demands of Manifest Destiny drove the United States onto Mexican lands, and the demands of nationalism and self-respect kept Mexico from parting with those areas except by the overwhelming force of the U.S. military.<sup>1</sup> Now we turn to the 1980's, and the tables have been reversed. We find Mexican nationals coming onto American land, primarily to California, New Mexico, and Texas. Looking not for nationalistic self-respect but economic self-respect, illegals are coming to the United States for the job climate. Most of the Hispanic focus in American politics has been on the illegal alien (and therefore the unregistered nonvoter). However, this study is about the legal "Mexican-American" who is indeed registered to vote in South Texas. The U.S. Census Bureau has demonstrated in participation studies that the Mexican-American population does not vote because they are substantially unregistered, but once registered they vote at nearly the same rate as the Anglos. Blacks, on the other hand, register in greater numbers but have historically voted at less than Anglo rates.

As the Americans misunderstood mid-Nineteenth Century Mexico and failed to realize that the Mexicans would not countenance the loss of territory unless it was militarily forced upon them, the Democrats in Texas may have also failed to understand the emerging Mexican-American vote. Assuming that any minority would automatically vote Democratic, it has become apparent that many Mexican-Americans are looking toward alternatives, if not the Republican Party itself, on occasion. It appears that about 5% of the Mexican-American registered voter population are "card-carrying" Republicans, with an additional approximately 15% of the Mexican-American registered voter population who find the Republican label a "positive force". In addition to that approximately 20% of the Mexican-American population, there is another 10% that believe that President Reagan's economic programs are positive, and this 30% seems to be the potential party base for the GOP. (Indeed, Bill Clements obtained 31% of the Mexican-American vote in his "re-elect" question which had to do with his incumbency and no Democratic opponent identified.)

In summary, it appears that there is a solid 20% voter-party base for the Clements campaign with a slightly higher 30% incumbency base for Clements

himself. Using a different approach, if one assumes that Mexican-American voters who are undecided in this election (even though a Democrat label was read to them in the ballot question) are "leaning" non-Democratic, it becomes apparent that approximately 37% of the vote is attainable for Clements in the election for 1982:

Strong Clements vote	13%
Soft Clements vote	8%
Undecided/leans Clements	3%
Undecided/did not pick the Democratic candidate	<u>13%</u>
Total	37%

Now let's look towards the components of a minimum winning coalition. Approximately 9% of the Texas registered voter population is Hispanic today, and approximately 6% of the turnout population will be Mexican-American in 1982. If the Clements campaign can approach between 35% and 40% of the Mexican-American vote, it would mean the following on a 60% turnout:

Clements	2.5
White	<u>3.5</u>
	- 1 point

(Assuming 40% of the Mexican-American vote for Clements)

Clements	1.0
White	<u>5.0</u>
	- 4 points

(Assuming only 20% of the Mexican-American vote for Clements)

With the black vote going approximately 95% Democratic in 1982, it would appear that the Democrats will probably obtain only a 50% turnout, and this would give approximately a minus 3 percentage points for the Clements campaign to have to work against. This assumption is based on 6% of the total registered voter population being black and approximately

3 points (50% turnout) which goes totally to the Democratic Party.

Furthermore, if the Mexican-American goal of 35-40% is not achieved, it is possible that together the turnout for Mexican-Americans (-4 points) and blacks (-3 points) would yield a minus 7 points for the Clements re-election effort and this would have to be made up dramatically among Anglos. For example, if Bill Clements achieved only a 20% vote from Mexican-Americans and 10% of the black population, he would have to win 60% of the Anglo population in order to simply break even (or win two-thirds of the Anglo population to eke out a slight or very narrow victory!) Obviously, winning nearly two-thirds of the Anglo vote is a tall order in any election, much less the 1982 election cycle with Reaganomics looking down the throats of many conservative Democrats.

Once again, assuming a 50% turnout rate among registered Anglos, it appears that Bill Clements, to basically break even in the State of Texas, will have to win at least 55% of the Anglo vote on election day as well as 35-40% of the Mexican-American vote. The Democrat "ethnicity coalition" will be constructed by winning at least 50% of the Anglo vote plus 75% of the Mexican-American vote plus 95% of the black vote. One can also see that if the Democrats realize that they are losing some Mexican-American votes to the Bill Clements re-election effort, they can attempt to "drive upward" the black turnout so as to create perhaps a 65-70% turnout rate (as was seen in Virginia in 1981) and this would yield a plus 4 points for the Democrats (once again assuming 95% Democratic preference).

In conclusion, it must be observed that the Clements re-election effort needs to develop a winning coalition based upon "Texas ethnics". We will have to win between 55% and 57% of the Anglo vote as well as win 35-40% of the Mexican-American vote in order to win. This conclusion is based upon a 50% turnout rate among registered voters in the 1982 election.

<sup>1</sup>"THE MEXICAN WAR 1846-1848" - K. Jack Bauer  
(McMillan, 1974)

CHAPTER I

THE SOUTH TEXAS HISPANIC: HOW DIFFERENT?

OVERVIEW

As we have discovered, approximately 9% of the registered voter universe in Texas today is Mexican-American or Hispanic, and approximately 6% of that will be part of the turnout universe this coming November (assuming a 60% plus turnout). We have also discovered from U.S. census reports that once a Mexican-American is registered, he votes at almost the same rate as an Anglo and sometimes at a higher rate. The focus of this study, of course, is not the statewide Mexican-American population, but just that of the South Texas region.

This particular geopolitical region in Texas has strong cultural ties with Mexico (i.e., San Antonio functions within the Texas culture somewhat like Santa Fe functions within the New Mexico culture). However, the most important part of this cultural region is that more than 50% of the Hispanic population in Texas resides in this region.

STATEWIDE DISTRIBUTION OF REGISTERED HISPANICS  
(February Study)

	<u>Approximate</u>
I. SOUTH TEXAS (McAllen, Laredo, Corpus Christi, San Antonio)	50% (N=47)
II. EL PASO (TRANS PECOS) (El Paso to San Angelo)	20% (N=18)
III. DFW-HOUSTON METROPLEXES (Dallas, Ft. Worth, Houston SMSA's)	20% (N=16)
IV. BALANCE OF TEXAS (Panhandle, Northwest, etc.)	10% (N=11)
	<hr/> 100% (N=92)

When one thinks of the South Texas region in past Texas politics, one thinks of such diverse things as Chick Kazen's Laredo, Texas Rangers in the Valley, Henry Gonzales in San Antonio, Lyndon Johnson in Jim Wells County, George Parr as the "Duke of Duval", and of course, the King Ranch. Even though this region has been dubbed in historically by strong personalities, strong institutions, and strong topography, such as ranches, the government of Mexico, the Rio Grande, the Gulf, and great expanses of land which barely support cattle, the central focus for South Texas is still the "Mexican-American".

It appears that the South Texas Hispanic is slightly less "permanent" than either statewide Hispanics or of course the statewide center of population as well.

DEMOGRAPHIC-POLITICAL PROFILE

	(N=600) South Texas Hispanics <u>(May)</u>	(N=92) Statewide Hispanics <u>(Feb.)</u>	(N=1000) All Registered Voters <u>(Feb.)</u>
<u>Length of Residence</u>			
1982 - 1975	3	1	8
1974 - 1970	3	3	6
1969 - 1960	2	1	7
Before 1960	19	10	18
Native	73	85	60
<u>Job Approval Clements</u>			
Positive (Excellent - good)	41	34	50
Negative (Only fair - poor)	57	63	45
D. K.	2	3	5
<u>Re-elect Clements</u>			
Yes/re-elect	31	36	42
Depends	25	28	28
No/definite	44	36	30
<u>Political Party Primary Preference</u>			
GOP	5	13	33
Democrat	77	74	51
(D.K.)			
<u>Ballot</u>			
Clements	23	31	46
Undecided	13	22	23
White	64	47	31
<u>Age</u>			
Young Adult	33	37	30
Family Adult	37	43	40
Older Adult	30	20	30

	(N=600) South Texas Hispanics (May)	(N=92) Statewide Hispanics (Feb.)	(N=1000) All Registered Voters (Feb.)
<u>Ideology</u>			
Conservative	45		68
Moderate	16 )		9
Liberal	39 )	55	23
Men	50	48	49
Housewives	30	25	22
Working Women	20	27	29
<u>Education</u>			
Less than high school	42	34	13
High school graduate	26	30	29
Some college	18	25	26
College graduate	14	11	32

There are other differences that need to be pointed out in the sense that one has to treat the South Texas Mexican-American as totally different from the far west Texas Mexican-American and certainly far different from the urban Mexican-American of Dallas and Houston. These have to do with ideology, women in the home, and the older age. It appears that there are fewer working women in South Texas than in the statewide average as well as more older Mexican-Americans than the statewide average. On the other hand, the median educational level is also less than the statewide Mexican-American population as more South Texas Hispanics do not have a high school degree. However, there is a slightly more "liberal" political orientation.

In terms of a political profile of the South Texas Hispanics against the statewide Hispanic population registered voter population, it appears that the re-elect question for Clements is not quite as good as it is statewide. Even though this demonstrates why we focus our political efforts in South Texas to "cut our losses" as well as build new support, we must not forget

that there are "Little Mexicos" in among various precincts in Dallas, Houston, as well as El Paso, etc., that need to be also politically emphasized. In fact, these non-South Texas Hispanics may be more difficult to locate in the political organizational sense but exhibit higher tendencies toward Bill Clements. This urban difference probably has more to do with the absence of any legacy to the (old Democratic machines such as the "Duke of Duval", as well as the distinct possibility of "making it" economically with the larger number of jobs available within the cities. Thus, better jobs equals more conservatives which equals more Republican potential.

CHAPTER II

CAMPAIGN STYLE FOR AN AGGRESSIVE  
REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN FOR THE  
HISPANIC VOTE:  
ARE WE SENSING THE MOOD OF THE HISPANICS?

OVERVIEW

Because of the history of the Mexican nation in government organization, "the governor" has tended to be the more powerful political force than sometimes even "El Presidente". The reason for this is that many of the Northern Mexico political entities are governed strongly by "governors" or even military governors appointed by the president in Mexico City with very little oversight. Thus, it can be said without much equivocation that the Mexican culture has always been dominated by a strong type of government structure and, of course, that means the governor. Therefore, it would appear that the personal style of the governor should be a dominant theme for achieving Mexican-American image strengths.

If the personality profile of Bill Clements is not given a higher order than normal for a Republican governor, the Mexican-American voter will see more party identification than he will personality, and that will be disadvantageous to our campaign. Theoretically, if there are two candidates running for the same position and there is no apparent reason to pick one over the other, the voter has the remaining few choices: (1) stay home and not vote; (2) randomly pick which candidate seems to be the best; (3) vote for the party candidate (i.e., the Democrat, in most cases); (4) vote for the one who the voter can identify with for non-political or personality reasons.

We have seen from the research data that the Democratic Party by an overwhelming margin is still seen to be the party better able to protect the Mexican-American voter. This, of course, stems from the depression of the 1930's "inheritance", as well as the "Viva Kennedy" movement in the 1960's, among other things. Conservative Irish voters will always vote for liberal Kennedy if they do not see any large-scale differences between candidates; similarly, conservative Jews will always vote for liberal Abe Ribicoff in Connecticut if they see no difference between the candidates. And Mexican-Americans, normally predisposed for the Democratic candidate, will vote Democrat if they see no "personality difference" between the two candidates. Thus, we are back to the governor's personal image for our re-election "styles".

It goes without saying that the Democrats in years past have used a great deal of "style" in getting the Mexican-American vote, but actually very little substance. The "Viva Kennedy" campaign was more style than substance in the 1960 presidential effort, and political endorsements by prominent Democrat Hispanic leaders is a similar observation. Keep in mind that in the 1978 gubernatorial election, there was a third party Hispanic on the ticket who pulled a few votes away from John Hill, and this is not the case in this election. Secondly, even though we are the incumbent in this election, style will still be important in attracting Mexican-American votes.\*

We can pick up an important cue from what people like about the Democratic Party to see if we can't "borrow" some of this stylistic imagery. The question was asked among Hispanic voters which political party works hardest to defend the interests of the residents of Hispanic descent, the Democratic Party (approx. 80% of the total) or the Republican Party? The most powerful messages in that free-response or unstructured question had to do with the following:

- "Helping Hispanic people -- concern more for the needy and for programs that would help out the poor economically."
- "Job programs and reducing Hispanic unemployment."
- "Finding jobs for Hispanics and helping poor working people."

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\*Keep in mind that when Gerald Ford ate the corn husk on his tamale in the 1976 Presidential primary in Texas, it was presumed that Ford's "style" was not compatible with Texas voters. The emphasis by the Ford campaign to create a "CB" compatibility to the use of Betty Ford's being labeled as "First Mama" also backfired because it was so implausible.

Keep also in mind that among those Hispanics (31% of the South Texas population) who supported Bill Clements for re-election with an unidentified opponent, things that they said they liked about the governor's administration were the following:

- "Doing a good job for all people."
- "He has helped us a lot; has helped in education and improving it in Texas."
- "Has tried his best to get jobs for those who are unemployed; has improved the economy and is against illegal aliens taking our jobs."

Another question was asked in this survey about "what type of leader comes to mind, that is, what experience, personality, or style of leadership will a governor need to be successful?" There were two broad aspects to the findings in this particular question: (1) sensitivity, and (2) administrative ability. First, sensitivity:

- Fair to everyone
- Cares about the working poor
- Will help find jobs

The administrative ability cue messages were also just as important, but it indeed shows that we must present a balanced image to the Hispanic population -- a voting population that has had more style than substance over the last few years and therefore is conditioned to compare Clements against other "viva" types of campaigns in the past. The administrative side of Bill Clements should be shown along the following dimensions:

- Someone who can get things done and sticks to what he believes
- Experience in dealing with people and all kinds of problems
- Someone who is aware of problems in Texas -- its culture, people, and problems
- Stands by his word and "can prove what he promises".

Another key question in this survey had to do with those Hispanics who were "unsure" whether they would vote to re-elect Bill Clements but definitely were not opposed to Bill Clements per se. This group numbered about 25% of the South Texas Hispanic population, and their reasons for what the Governor would have to do to earn their support were intriguingly similar to the style of Governor they want, as well as what they think the Democrats nationally have to offer. The following were some of those feelings expressed among the undecided group:

- "Instead of helping the rich class, help the Hispanic a little more."
- "Help the Hispanics find better-paying jobs."
- "Be concerned about education -- particularly scholarships, food in the schools, and more programs for our young people."
- "Be fair and honest -- keep promises and keep us informed."

In summary, Clements is going to have to beat the Democrats at their own game if he is to strip away some traditional Democratic support to the Clements re-election effort. Style will be important in allowing Hispanic voters to filter some Clements advertising into their political minds this year. That style will have to be a lot more than administrative skill or management braggadocio. It will have to be more on "sensitivity", particularly along the lines of more jobs, better education, and looking out for the working poor among the Hispanic population.

CHAPTER III

WORK PERMITS AND ILLEGAL ALIENS:  
THE CUTTING ISSUE IN 1982?

OVERVIEW

One of the more divisive and possible "culture-splitting" issues within the Mexican-American community in Texas today is the illegal alien problem and what to do about it. This issue has precursors to the Civil War issue matrix in the United States between pro slavery and anti slavery and the bifurcation of the American social, economic and political culture which of course finally erupted into military aggression. Even though the South Texas Hispanic is far from military aggression of "brother against brother", this survey certainly underpins the divisiveness of this issue.

"Would you favor or oppose a plan that would issue work permits to aliens allowing them to enter the country and work for half a year at a time? There would be no limit on the total number of permits issued."

<u>GENERAL VOTER POPULATION</u>	<u>FAVOR</u>	<u>OPPOSE</u>	<u>NET DIFFERENCE</u>
	(approx.) 40%	50%	-10%

<u>"EMOTIONAL" VOTER POPULATION</u>	<u>FAVOR INTENSELY</u>	<u>OPPOSE INTENSELY</u>	<u>NET DIFFERENCE</u>
	20%	35%	-15%

In trying to find "critical issues" that the Clements campaign could attract more Mexican-American crossover support, this issue was looked into in depth and was found to be very "tricky" in its political implementation. For example, the Clements campaign could come out in opposition to any kind of work program and favor the "conservative status quo" on this particular issue. If that were the political approach, here are the following things that could happen among groups with net difference on this issue greater than the Hispanic population as a whole (-10% net difference above):

- Reinforce the Clements Hispanic vote support already in place (-21% net difference; intensely opposed)
- Go after some of Mark White's Hispanic support (-10% net difference; mildly opposed)

- Possibly attract young Hispanics, particularly since they are not as partisan, and also because they tend to be more independent (-17% net difference; strongly opposed)
- Attract working Hispanic women who are relatively young (-14%; in opposition) as well as those relatively older (-14% net difference.) This would also be politically correct for those Hispanics who are housewives, presumably with children, and under 45 years of age (-33%; intensely opposed). Thus, all employed Hispanic women and those young housewives are the most intense in opposition to any kind of work permit program.
- Among conservative South Texas Hispanics, however, there is twice the predisposition in opposition to the work permit program (-17 points; strongly opposed). Among liberals, the opposition is a -7 percentage points (only slightly opposed).

There is always a political trade-off in politics, and it is the "net exchange" or net difference type of bottom line that we are always looking for in political analysis. It appears from the above analysis that reinforcing the basic conservative and work sensitive population is apparently a good one for the Clements campaign. Being opposed to any kind of work permit program would help "spin off" younger Hispanics and particularly working women Hispanics already in the labor force from their Democrat predispositions. In effect, Governor Clements would be protecting their way of life.

The downside to this issue, that is, those people who would favor such a program with a net difference that is positive, are the following:

- Undecided voters who did not pick Mark White in the ballot question (+6%; favored work permits)
- Ticket-splitting Hispanics in South Texas, even though numbering only 15% of the population, are also slightly in favor of the work permit program (+4%; favor)
- Additionally, those Hispanics who have moved into Texas recently are also slightly in favor of more unlimited alien work permits (+4%; favor). Even those who have moved into Texas before 1960 are mostly split on this question, with a possible slight favoring tendency (+2%). Thus, it is the native Hispanic population that is most opposed to the work alien program (-15%; strongly opposed).

- Another trade-off would be that the small group (only about 10% of the total South Texas Hispanic population) who could be classified as high turnout types are also split on this issue with a slight tendency toward favoring the work permit program (+2%; favor).

Thus, one can indeed see that this issue is extremely "tricky" in a political sense. A candidate traditionally looks for the undecided vote and the ticket-splitting vote when he tries to look for more gains or increased productivity in the vote coalition. However, in this case this is not possible if we were to take the opposition approach. The Clements campaign would be cutting into more nativistic and conservative elements within the Hispanic population, and thus not be trying to attract the more "progressive" types.

The above reflects political pragmatism with regard to South Texas Hispanic voters on the work permit issue, and not economic practicalities. The following conclusions can be drawn :

1. The overall South Texas Hispanic population does indeed oppose the work permit program (-10% net difference).
2. Clements needs to be perceived as fighting to keep jobs in this high unemployment era for young Hispanics and working women Hispanics in particular. These two groups need to be separately targeted in our TV media effort so as to motivate them to vote for Governor Clements, not because he is simply "the incumbent" and therefore only on personality, but also, and more importantly, because Governor Clements is protecting their job future. Another factor ought to be added in this equation, and that is that Governor Clements needs to be continually showing his good diplomatic relations with the governors across the border. This alerts Hispanic citizens to the fact that Clements is not some sort of person who is "anti minority" and also alerts people that there is a more global problem here that needs constant attention.

3. Thirdly, more "joint economic" agreements with American and Mexican business to locate industries and factories just across the Rio Grande on the Mexican side would do a lot to show that the jobs on the Mexican side were good enough to keep them on their side of the river, and at the same time would protect the jobs that are already in existence in Texas. Thus, the Clements campaign could have a "military force" on this issue with three divisions: protecting jobs here in Texas, continuing diplomatic relations to solve the large issue, and putting economic pressure on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande River for more industrial growth.