Transformation and Taking Stock: A Summary of Selected Findings from the McCormack Graduate School Diversity Survey

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A Collaborative Project of the
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Institute for Asian American Studies
Mauricio Gaston Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy and the William Monroe Trotter Institute for the Study of Black Culture

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Introduction

This report summarizes some of the major findings of a survey of 749 Massachusetts adults which focuses on matters related to race, public policy, confidence in public institutions, and political behavior. Since a principal objective of the poll is to elicit views from diverse perspectives, the respondents include significant numbers from all major racial groups: Whites (N=433), Latinos (N=113), Asian Americans (N=103), and Blacks or African Americans (N=100). The data was collected in October and November 2006. On some items, there are comparisons with data derived from a similar poll conducted in 1998.

The poll was undertaken during a time of great change in Massachusetts. A demographic transformation has been underway over the last several years in which the complexion of the state has literally been and continues to be transformed. At the heart of this change is the increasing number of people of color in the Commonwealth, led most dramatically by the pace of growth in the Latino and Asian populations. In the last five years alone, the Asian population has grown by 22.9%, the Latino population by 14.5% and the Black population by 9.7%. More recently, of course, Massachusetts is in the midst of a transformation of another kind – the election of the state’s first and the nation’s second African American as governor, Deval Patrick.

All of those who care about the future of the state could benefit from some stock taking with respect to the attitudes, experiences, and aspirations of residents from all sectors of the Commonwealth. As with any poll, this is a snapshot taken in a dynamic environment. It is critical in the weeks ahead for these results to help inform what should be a vigorous period of discussion, analysis, and activism in many arenas regarding the near and long term future of Massachusetts.

Race Relations

The majority of Massachusetts residents – regardless of race – rate the quality of race relations in Massachusetts as no better than “fair” or “poor” (Table 1).

- Blacks, 24%, and Latinos, 15.9% are especially likely to rate the quality of race relations today as “poor.”

| Table 1. Quality of Race Relations |
|-----------------|------|-----|------|------|
|                 | White | Black | Latino | Asian |
| Very good       | 4.8   | 0.0   | 2.6    | 2.9   |
| Good            | 35.6  | 22.0  | 27.4   | 43.7  |
| Fair            | 47.3  | 51.0  | 51.3   | 46.6  |
| Poor            | 8.5   | 24.0  | 15.9   | 5.8   |
| DK/Refused      | 3.7   | 3.0   | 1.7    | 1.1   |

1 The poll was conducted using a statewide random-digit-dialed (RDD) sample of Massachusetts households with telephones and oversampling from areas known to have larger proportions of Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans. The Asian American sample was supplemented by using a list assisted approach identifying households more likely to have an Asian resident. All samples were drawn using the GENESYS sampling system. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Vietnamese. Dates of interviewing were October 4 to November 19, 2006. A minimum of 100 interviews with each major demographic group was targeted to insure estimated 95% confidence limits around survey estimates of at most 9.8%. Note: some percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

2 Paul Watanabe and Carol Hardy-Fanta, Conflict and Convergence: Race, Public Opinion & Political Behavior in Massachusetts, Boston, Mass.: John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs, University of Massachusetts Boston, June 1998.
On the other hand, Whites, 40.4%, and Asians, 46.6%, are much more likely than Blacks, 22%, and Latinos, 30% to say the quality of race relations today was “very good” or “good.”

Some clear racial differences emerged when respondents were asked to rate the way members of their own racial/ethnic group are treated in Massachusetts (Table 2). Whereas 82% of Whites feel that their group is treated “very good” or “good,” only 23% of Blacks rate their treatment as “very good” or “good.”

The figures for Latinos and Asians are 33.6% and 53.4% respectively. Another way of demonstrating the different perceptions of their treatment is to look at the percentages that rate their group’s treatment as “fair” or “poor.” Seventy-two percent of Blacks, 66.3% of Latinos, 44.6% of Asians, and 17.1% of Whites describe their group’s treatment as “fair” or “poor.”

When asked whether conditions for minority groups in Massachusetts had improved over the last five years, some sharp differences emerge: In 2006, 45% of Whites and 43% of Asians state that conditions had “gotten better,” only 16% of Blacks and 29.3% of Latinos agree (Table 3). It is clear from this table that there has been a dramatic decline on this question among Blacks and Latinos since 1998.

Sixty percent of Blacks, 63.1% of Asians, and nearly half, 49.1% of Latinos agree with the statement, “African Americans in this country are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have” (Figure 1). Thirty-nine percent of Whites also agree. These numbers have not changed substantially from the 1998 poll.

When asked to assess a similar statement with respect to Latinos, 55.2% of Latinos, 59.2% of Asians, 52% of Blacks, and 40.1% of Whites say “Latinos are still a long way from having the same chance in life as Whites” (Figure 2).
Generally speaking the chances of Asian Americans relative to those of Whites are viewed more positively than those of Blacks and Latinos. Nearly half of Asians, however, agree that “Asian Americans have a long way to go to have the same chance in life that white people have” (Figure 3).

Expectations for the Next Generation

There are stark differences by race in responses to the questions, “In general, do you expect that life in Massachusetts for the next generation will be better than for your generation, worse, or about the same as your generation?” and “What about for people of your racial or ethnic group?” (Figure 4).

Whites are the most pessimistic with less than a quarter, 22.6%, of them indicating that life will be better for the next generation and only 15.7% thinking it will be better for their racial/ethnic group.

Asians are, by far the most optimistic of all the groups. 61.2% of Asians say they expect life to be better for the next generation. Furthermore, when asked about expectations for their own racial/ethnic group, 67% of Asians say, they are “better.” About a third of Blacks say “better” to both questions.

Latinos are the next most likely to respond positively to this question. About half indicate “better” when asked this question about groups in general and about their racial/ethnic group.

The responses by Asians and Latinos may reflect the fact that a significant portion of them, 76.7% of Asians and 70.8% of Latinos in the sample, are immigrants.
Personal Experiences of Discrimination

Although, as the data above suggest that Blacks and Latinos are somewhat optimistic about life in the future, large percentages indicate that they have personally experienced discrimination in employment, housing, and with the police due to their race or ethnicity (Figure 5).

• More than a quarter, 25.7%, of Latinos and 18% of Blacks report personally experiencing discrimination on the job or in looking for a job during the previous 12 months.
• Somewhat smaller but still sizeable percentages, over 10%, of both groups have experienced discrimination in housing.
• Large percentages of Latinos, 19.5%, and Blacks, 17%, say they have experienced discrimination in dealing with the police because of their race/ethnicity.

Significantly smaller but still notable percentages of Asians report personal experiences of discrimination by race in these three categories: 6.8% on the job/looking for a job; 4.9% in housing; and 7.8% with the police.

The percentages for Whites who say they had experienced discrimination on the basis of their race/ethnicity are unappreciable.

When asked how often they had personally experienced discrimination because of their race or ethnicity in the last 12 months, 11% of Blacks and 10.6% of Latinos indicate “very often” or “often” (Table 4). On the other hand, only 1% of Asians report experiencing discrimination “very often” or “often.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. How Often Experienced Discrimination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very often/Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely/Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/Refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most Important Issue

Similarities and differences by race are apparent when respondents were asked to consider the “most important issue” facing Massachusetts today. Table 5 shows the percentages by racial/ethnic group that mentioned these leading issue areas as their “most important issue.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. Most Important Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordable Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Living/Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Dig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While Asians, 27.2%, Whites, 24.9%, and Latinos, 18.6%, all identify education most often as one of their most important issues, Blacks, 37%, most often mention crime as the top issue. Education, 34%, is the second choice of Blacks followed by jobs, 31%, and affordable housing, 17%. For Latinos, jobs, 14.2%, crime, 14.2%, and immigration, 12.4%, are mentioned most often after education. Asians mention jobs, 20.4%, healthcare, 15.5%, and affordable housing, 14.6%, after education. After education, Whites identify taxes, 23.3%, healthcare, 18.2%, and jobs, 14.3%, most often.

Crime stands out as an issue that Blacks find particularly important. Immigration is much more salient for Latinos than for other groups.

Public Opinion on Key Policy Issues

MCAS

Asians, 69.9%, and Latinos, 61.1%, are the strongest supporters of requiring passage of the MCAS to graduate from high school. Nearly half, 49.7% of Whites also favor the use of the MCAS test for that purpose (see Table 6). More Blacks, 45% oppose passage of the MCAS test for high school graduation than favor it, 40%.

Affirmative Action

There is strong sentiment across the board in support of either increasing or maintaining affirmative action (Table 7).

Eighty percent of Blacks, 69.9% of Latinos, 67.9% of Asians, and 60.8% of Whites favor increasing or sustaining affirmative action.

The greatest support for increasing affirmative action is among Latinos, 51.3%, and Blacks, 49%

Whites, 24.9%, lead all groups by a substantial margin in calling for a decrease in affirmative action.

Immigrants

Impact on the Economy

Most Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians indicate that immigrants help rather than hurt the economy (Table 8).

The percentages of Latinos, 82.3%, and Asians, 80.6%, who say that immigrants help the economy, are substantially higher than the percentages of those groups, Latinos 4.4% and Asians 7.8%, who say that immigrants hurt the economy.

Whites, 45.5%, and Blacks, 60%, are less inclined than Latinos and Asians to indicate that immigrants help the economy.
**Impact on Jobs**

When asked, “Do immigrants mainly take away jobs that people living here want or do they mainly perform jobs that wouldn’t be filled by other people already living here?” respondents of all races indicate that immigrants mainly perform jobs that wouldn’t be filled by others rather than take away jobs (Table 9).

- An overwhelming percentage of Latinos, 82.3%, and Asians, 80.6%, felt this way.
- Sixty-five percent of Blacks and 63.5% of Whites also shared the same view as Latinos and Asians.

**Undocumented Immigrants**

Much of the national debate on undocumented immigrants has centered around proposals on the one hand to return them to their countries of origin or on the other hand to seek ways for them to legalize their status. When asked which of these two options they most prefer, there is general agreement among all racial groups that legalization is preferable to deportation (Table 10).

- Latinos, 84.1%, are the strongest supporters of legalization - and are the least supportive of deportation.
- Blacks, 10.6%, favor legalization over “return to country of origin” by 61% to 26%.
- For Asians the figures are 49.5% for legalization and 31.1% for return to countries of origin.
- Whites represent the narrowest margin between the two approaches with 48.3% favoring legalizing undocumented immigrants and 43.6% preferring the alternative of returning them to where they came from.

**In-State Tuition for Undocumented Immigrant Residents**

The discussion of the volatile issue of allowing in-state tuition for undocumented immigrants has often been confusing. This survey gave some brief contextual information on the matter before eliciting opinions: “There are several hundred undocumented immigrant students in Massachusetts who have lived here for at least three years and have graduated from a high school in Massachusetts. Would you favor or oppose charging them the same in-state tuition at public colleges and universities in Massachusetts that other Massachusetts high school graduates pay?”

- Table 11 shows that the overwhelming response from all groups is in favor of charging these students in-state tuition rates.
- Eighty-two percent of Blacks, 80.5% of Latinos, 70.9% of Asians, and 69.7% of Whites favored in-state tuition for these students.

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**Table 9. Impact of Immigrants on Jobs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Take jobs away</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perform jobs</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others won’t</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10. Status of Undocumented Immigrants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return to country of origin</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find ways to legalize them</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/Refused</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11. In-State Tuition for Undocumented Immigrant Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favor</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>70.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/Refused</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Educating Non-English Speaking Students**

When asked, “In what kind of classroom do you think public schools should place children who do not speak English?” the majority of respondents from all of the groups—except for Whites—choose “in a classroom where instruction is both in English and their own language and then transferring them to a regular classroom when they are ready” (Table 12).

- Blacks, 58%, Latinos, 56.6%, Asians, 51.5% and Whites, 43.6% support this choice.
- Blacks, 11%, and Latinos, 14.2%, are the least supportive of “in a regular classroom where all instruction is in English.”

**Confidence in Institutions**

In 1998 and again in 2006, respondents were asked to state their level of confidence in government at the state and local levels, the public schools, the police, the news media, and the courts.

**State Government**

- Respondents in all groups in 2006 do not express a “great deal” of confidence in state government (Table 13). Only 4% or Whites and 8% of Blacks said they have a great deal of confidence.
- Latinos, 18%, and Asians, 19%, are more inclined to have this degree of confidence.
- The percentage of those expressing a great deal of confidence in state government has declined significantly compared to 1998 in all racial groups with the exception of Asians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Local Government**

- Those indicating a great deal of confidence in local government—like state government—has declined among Whites, Blacks, and Latinos since 1998, but across the board the percentages holding this view are higher than of state government (Table 14).
- Whites, 27%, are the most likely to express a great deal of confidence in local government as opposed to being the least likely to hold this confidence in state government.
- As in the case of state government, Asians, 25%, are the only group whose confidence increased in local government since eight years before.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Police

- There are some sharp differences among the racial groups in their expressions of confidence in the police (Table 15). For example, the percentage of Whites, 66%, who have a great deal of confidence in the police, is three times greater than that of Blacks, 21%.

  The Asian, 42%, and Latino, 41%, percentages are about twice those of Blacks.

- The trend in 2006 compared to 1998 is for confidence to have declined for Blacks and Latinos and to have increased for Whites and Asians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15. Percent who have “a great deal” of confidence in the police, 1998–2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public Schools

- With regard to public schools the general pattern continues of declining portions of Whites, Blacks, and Latinos expressing a “great deal” of confidence (Table 16).

  The percentage of Blacks, 11%, with a great deal of confidence in the public schools in 2006 is less than half of what it was in 1998.

- Unique among the four groups, Asian confidence rose from 31% in 1998 to 46% in 2006.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16. Percent who have “a great deal” of confidence in public schools, 1998–2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

News Media

- Once again the general trend of declining confidence is evident with respect to the news media although not as acute for Whites and Latinos (Table 17).

  For Blacks the decline is dramatic: In 1998, 17% of Blacks said they had a great deal of confidence in the media. Eight years later less than one in ten Blacks assert that level of confidence.

  Confidence in the media among Asians increased from 18% to 20% over the past 8 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17. Percent who have “a great deal” of confidence in the news media, 1998–2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Court System

- There are clear differences in attitudes based on race toward the court system and these have remained, for the most part, remarkably constant overtime (Table 18).

  In 2006, 27% of Latinos, 25% of Whites, and 23% of Asians answer that they have “a great deal” of confidence in the courts, and these percentages, except for Asians, are similar to those from 1998.

  Blacks, on the other hand, continue to be less likely to express a great deal of confidence in the court system: 11% say they had a great deal of confidence compared to the 25% who said they have “hardly any.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18. Percent who have “a great deal” of confidence in the court system, 1998–2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Economic Well-being

The survey asked respondents a number of questions about their economic well-being including: “In the past year, how difficult has it been to pay your bills?” (Table 19).

- Substantial segments of Latino, 38.9% and Black, 27% respondents answer “very difficult.”
- Fifteen percent of Whites and 5.8% of Asians also give this response.
- When those saying “somewhat difficult” are combined with those saying “very difficult,” 73% of Blacks, 69.9% of Latinos, almost half (49.4%) of Whites, and a third (34.9%) of Asians find it difficult to pay their bills.

Table 19. Percent who have found it “somewhat/very difficult” to pay bills and percent who rate job opportunities as just “fair/poor”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Somewhat/very difficult to pay bills</th>
<th>Job opportunities are just fair/poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19 also shows the percentage that answered “How would you rate the job opportunities in Massachusetts for someone of your skills and interests?” as just “fair” or “poor.”

- On the positive side, the percentages of those who indicate that their job opportunities are “very good” or “good” are 66.7% for Whites, 64% for Asians, 52% for Blacks, and 44.3% for Latinos.
- On the other side, the combined “fair” and “poor” assessments account for 54% of Latinos, 46% of Blacks, 40% of Whites, and 35% of Asians.

Political Characteristics and Behavior

The survey asked respondents about their political characteristics and behaviors including their voter registration status, their party affiliation and political ideology, and participation in a range of political behaviors. Major findings include the following:

Voter Registration

- Very high percentages of those eligible to vote in the sample (i.e., citizens by birth or naturalization) say they are registered to vote in Massachusetts (Figure 6). Of those eligible to vote, 94.8% of Whites, 91.2% of Blacks, 79.1% of Latinos, and 80.9% of Asians say they are registered to vote in Massachusetts.

Party Affiliation

- Party affiliation is complex for those in the sample who are registered to vote: 66.3% of Blacks and 54.3% of Latinos are Democrats whereas 33.9% of Whites and 23.6% of Asians claim a Democratic Party affiliation (Table 20, next page).
- That is not to say that the others are Republicans; among our sample, affiliation with this party ranged from about 9% for Asians and Blacks to 11.4% for Latinos and 13.9% for Whites.
- Half of Whites and 61.8% of Asians are "unenrolled/independent"; almost 1 in 5 of Blacks and over a quarter of Latinos are also in this category.

### Political Ideology

Table 21 shows political ideology by race. About half or more of respondents from all groups see themselves as "somewhere in between" when asked: "Do you think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or somewhere in between?"

- Sixty-six percent of Blacks, 55.2% of Whites, 54.4% of Asians, and 46.0% of Latinos positioned themselves as "somewhere in between/independent."
- Latinos are the only group with a larger percentage of conservatives (24.8%) compared to liberals (18.6%) although, as Table 21 shows, Whites are evenly split between conservative and liberal.

### Civic Engagement and Political Participation

There is a great deal of variation with respect to participation by all of the groups in various types of civic engagement and political activities and some variation among racial groups as to their level of participation (Figure 7) over the previous year.

- Significant percentages of all groups reply "yes" when asked, "In the past year have you been involved in any group or organized activity which aims at benefiting your community?" Asians, 51.5% are the most active in this area followed by Whites, 49.2%, Blacks, 46%, and Latinos, 31%.
- Whites, 20.8%, are considerably more likely to give money to a candidate or political party than Asians, 16.5%, Blacks, 11%, and Latinos, 7.1%. Similarly, Whites,

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### Table 20. Party affiliation, of those registered to vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Unenrolled/Independent</th>
<th>DK/Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 21. Political ideology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>&quot;In between&quot;/independent</th>
<th>DK/Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 7. Civic/Political Participation, by Race and Type of Activity
33% are the most likely to contact an elected official about a problem or an issue followed by Blacks 24%, Latinos, 16.8%, and Asians, 13.6%.

- About one in ten Whites, 9.5%, Blacks, 9%, and Latinos, 8%, indicate that they have volunteered in the election of a political candidate in the past year. A very small percentage of Asians, 1.9%, report engaging in this activity.

- One-third of Whites and a quarter of Blacks say they contacted an elected official about a problem or an issue; lower percentages of Latinos (16.8%) and Asians (13.6%) give this response.

- Finally, voting in a city, town, or state election in the past year is the activity that generated the highest participation in all groups: Whites, 82%, Blacks, 71%, Asians, 43.7%, and Latinos, 38.9%. The lower voting rates for Latinos and Asians are influenced by larger percentages of those groups being non-citizens.
APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you consider yourself to be Hispanic or Latino?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

2. I’m going to read a list of different racial groups. Please answer “Yes” or “no” for each one. Do you consider yourself to be...
   
   a. White? [ ] [ ]
   b. Black or African American? [ ] [ ]
   c. Asian? [ ] [ ]
   d. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander? [ ] [ ]
   e. American Indian or Alaska Native? [ ] [ ]
   f. Some other race? [ ] [ ]

   CHECK 1: DID THE RESPONDENT SAY “YES” TO Q1g (OTHER RACE)?
   [ ] YES ---> SKIP TO QUESTION 3
   [ ] NO

   CHECK 2: IS THE RESPONDENT MULTI-RACIAL?
   (Q1 “YES” and ANYTHING in Q2a-f) OR (MORE THAN 1 YES IN Q2a-f)?
   [ ] YES ---> ASK QUESTION 3
   [ ] NO -----> SKIP TO QUESTION 4

3. Which of the following best describes your ethnic or racial background - African American or Black, Asian American, Hispanic or Latino, White, not of Hispanic origin, or something else?
   [ ] AFRICAN AMERICAN OR BLACK
   [ ] ASIAN AMERICAN
   [ ] HISPANIC OR LATINO
   [ ] WHITE, NOT OF HISPANIC ORIGIN
   [ ] SOMETHING ELSE -----> What do you consider yourself? _____________
   [ ] REFUSED

4. What in your opinion is the most important issue facing Massachusetts today? (PROMPT: Anything else? RECORD UP TO 3 RESPONSES.
   1. ____________________________________________________________________
   2. ____________________________________________________________________
   3. ____________________________________________________________________
5. Now I'm going to read you a list of things and ask you to tell me how much confidence you have in each one. First is the news media, would you say you have a great deal of confidence in the news media, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence.

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED

6. How much confidence do you have in police in your community - a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence?

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED

7. How much confidence do you have in business in your community?

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED

8. How much confidence do you have in public schools in your community?

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED

9. How much confidence do you have in the court system?

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED

10. How much confidence do you have in Massachusetts state government?

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED
11. How much confidence do you have in the local government in your city or town?

[ ] A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] ONLY SOME OF CONFIDENCE
[ ] HARDLY ANY CONFIDENCE
[ ] (IF OFFERED: NO CONFIDENCE)
[ ] REFUSED

12. Now I'd like to ask you about community activities: in the past year have you been involved in any group or organized activity which aims at benefitting your community?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO
[ ] REFUSED

13. In the past year, did you...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>REFUSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. give money to a candidate's election campaign or political party?</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. volunteer in the election campaign of a political candidate</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. contact an elected official about a problem or an issue</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. vote in a city, town, or state election</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Massachusetts has many school children who do not speak English. In what kind of classroom do you think public schools should place these students?

[ ] In a regular classroom where all instruction is in English
[ ] In a classroom where instruction is both in English and their own language and then transferring them to a regular classroom when they are ready, or
[ ] In a classroom where they can learn a little English before being transferred to a regular classroom.
[ ] DON’T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

15. The MCAS test is the test that every student in Massachusetts has to pass in order to graduate from high school. Do you favor or oppose the MCAS test as a requirement for high school graduation?

[ ] FAVOR
[ ] OPPOSE
[ ] (IF OFFERED) IT DEPENDS
[ ] DON’T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
16. What do you think government should do about affirmative action, should it increase affirmative action programs, leave affirmative action programs as they are, or decrease affirmative action programs?

[ ] INCREASE
[ ] LEAVE AS IS
[ ] DECREASE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

17. Next, I would like to ask you a few questions about your views on immigrants. Regarding the economy in Massachusetts, would you say that immigrants help the Massachusetts economy, hurt the Massachusetts economy or have no real impact on the Massachusetts economy at all?

[ ] HELP THE ECONOMY
[ ] HURT THE ECONOMY
[ ] HAVE NO IMPACT
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

18. When immigrants come to work in Massachusetts, do they mainly take away jobs that people already living here want or do they mainly perform jobs that wouldn’t be filled by other people already living here?

[ ] TAKE JOBS AWAY
[ ] PERFORM JOBS OTHERS WOULDN’T FILL
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

19. When dealing with undocumented immigrants, do you believe our country should try to return undocumented immigrants to their country of origin or should it try to find ways to legalize their status so they could live and work here and become citizens?

[ ] RETURN IMMIGRANTS TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
[ ] LEGALIZE IMMIGRANTS
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

20. There are several hundred undocumented immigrant students in Massachusetts who have lived here for at least three years and have graduated from a high school in Massachusetts. Would you favor or oppose charging them the same in-state tuition at public colleges and universities in Massachusetts that other Massachusetts high school graduates pay?

[ ] FAVOR
[ ] OPPOSE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

22. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Asian Americans in this country are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have.

[ ] AGREE
[ ] DISAGREE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
23. (Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?) African Americans in this country are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have.

[ ] AGREE
[ ] DISAGREE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

24. (Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?) Latinos in this country are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have.

[ ] AGREE
[ ] DISAGREE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

25. In the past 5 years, would you say that here in Massachusetts conditions for minority groups in general have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed the same?

[ ] GOTTEN BETTER
[ ] GOTTEN WORSE
[ ] STAYED SAME
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

26. In general do you expect that life in Massachusetts for the next generation will be better than for your generation, worse, or about the same as for your generation?

[ ] BETTER
[ ] WORSE
[ ] SAME
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

27. What about for people of your racial or ethnic group? Do you expect that life in Massachusetts for the next generation of people from your ethnic or racial group will be better than for your generation, worse, or about the same as for your generation?

[ ] BETTER
[ ] WORSE
[ ] SAME
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

28a. Now I would like you to rate different features of living in Massachusetts. How would you rate the job opportunities in Massachusetts for someone of your skills and interests? Would you say very good, good, fair, or poor?

[ ] VERY GOOD
[ ] GOOD
[ ] FAIR
[ ] POOR
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
28b.  How would you rate the affordability of housing in Massachusetts? Would you say very good, good, fair, or poor?

[ ] VERY GOOD
[ ] GOOD
[ ] FAIR
[ ] POOR
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

28c.  How would you rate the quality of race relations in Massachusetts?

[ ] VERY GOOD
[ ] GOOD
[ ] FAIR
[ ] POOR
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

28d.  How would you rate the way members of your racial or ethnic group are treated in Massachusetts?

[ ] VERY GOOD
[ ] GOOD
[ ] FAIR
[ ] POOR
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

29.  How much can people from your racial or ethnic group influence what Massachusetts government does? A lot, some, a little or not at all?

[ ] A LOT
[ ] SOME
[ ] A LITTLE
[ ] NOT AT ALL
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

30a.  Thinking about the people you see most often—the people you work with, talk with in your neighborhood, any groups you belong to, or people you socialize with—about how many of them are Black or African American—many, some, only a few, or none?

[ ] MANY
[ ] SOME
[ ] ONLY A FEW
[ ] NONE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
30b. Thinking about the people you see most often - about how many of them are white - many, some, only a few, or none?

[ ] MANY
[ ] SOME
[ ] ONLY A FEW
[ ] NONE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

30c. Thinking about the people you see most often - about how many of them are Latino?

[ ] MANY
[ ] SOME
[ ] ONLY A FEW
[ ] NONE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

30d. Thinking about the people you see most often - about how many of them are Asian?

[ ] MANY
[ ] SOME
[ ] ONLY A FEW
[ ] NONE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

31. Now I'd like to ask about your personal experiences with discrimination on the basis of your race or ethnicity. In the last 12 months, did you personally experience discrimination in employment, either on the job or in looking for a job because of your race or ethnicity?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

32. In the last 12 months, did you personally experience discrimination in housing because of your race or ethnicity?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

33. In the last 12 months, did you personally experience discrimination in dealing with the police because of your race or ethnicity?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
34. In the last 12 months, did you personally experience discrimination being able to vote or register to vote because of your race or ethnicity?

[ ] YES  
[ ] NO  
[ ] DON’T KNOW  
[ ] REFUSED

35. Thinking about all the kinds of discrimination that may have occurred because of your race or ethnicity, including any that I didn’t mention, about how often did you personally experience any kind of discrimination in the last 12 months? Would you say very often, often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

[ ] VERY OFTEN  
[ ] OFTEN  
[ ] SOMETIMES  
[ ] RARELY  
[ ] NEVER  
[ ] DON’T KNOW  
[ ] REFUSED

36. Now I’d like to move on to a different topic. The election for Governor is going to be held in November of this year. If the election for Governor were held today and the candidates were Republican Party candidate Kerry Healey, Democratic Party candidate Deval Patrick, Independent Party candidate Chris Mihos, or Green-Rainbow Party candidate Grace Ross, for whom would you vote?

[ ] HEALEY  
[ ] PATRICK  
[ ] MIHOS  
[ ] ROSS  
[ ] (IF OFFERED) UNDECIDED/ DON’T KNOW  
[ ] (IF OFFERED) WOULD NOT VOTE/NONE OF THEM  
[ ] REFUSED

IF R SAYS “CAN’T VOTE” - ASK “IF YOU COULD VOTE, WHO WOULD YOU VOTE FOR?”
37. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

| [ ] REPUBLICAN ---------> | a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?  
[ ] STRONG  
[ ] NOT VERY STRONG  
[ ] REFUSED |
| [ ] DEMOCRAT ---------> | b. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?  
[ ] STRONG  
[ ] NOT VERY STRONG  
[ ] REFUSED |
| [ ] INDEPENDENT ------>  
[ ] CONSERVATIVE PARTY ------>  
[ ] GREEN PARTY ------>  
[ ] NATURAL LAW PARTY ------>  
[ ] NO PREFERENCE ------> | c. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?  
[ ] REPUBLICAN  
[ ] DEMOCRATIC  
[ ] REFUSED |
| [ ] OTHER ------> | d. What do you think of yourself as? (SPECIFY)  
________________________________________ |
|  | e. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?  
[ ] REPUBLICAN  
[ ] DEMOCRATIC  
[ ] REFUSED |

41. Regardless of what political party you favor, in politics today do you think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or somewhere in between?

| [ ] LIBERAL  
[ ] CONSERVATIVE  
[ ] IN BETWEEN / INDEPENDENT”  
[ ] DON’T KNOW  
[ ] REFUSED |

42. Are you registered to vote in Massachusetts?

| [ ] YES  
[ ] NO ----> IF NO, GO TO Q44  
[ ] DON’T KNOW----> IF DON’T KNOW, GO TO Q44  
[ ] REFUSED ----> IF REFUSED, GO TO Q44 |

43. Are you registered to vote as a Democrat, Republican, or are you listed as unenrolled or independent?

| [ ] DEMOCRAT  
[ ] REPUBLICAN  
[ ] UNENROLLED/INDEPENDENT  
[ ] DON’T KNOW  
[ ] REFUSED |
44. Now, just a few more questions about you. (ASK IF NEEDED) Are you male or female?

[ ] MALE
[ ] FEMALE

45. In what year were you born?

_________________ (WRITE IN YEAR)

[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

46. What is the last grade of school or year of college that you have completed? (DO NOT READ CATEGORIES)

[ ] LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL
[ ] HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE/GED
[ ] A TWO YEAR ASSOCIATES DEGREE
[ ] SOME COLLEGE
[ ] COLLEGE GRADUATE
[ ] POST GRADUATE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

47. Which of the following best describes your religious preference: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, another religion, or do you have no religious preference?

[ ] CATHOLIC
[ ] PROTESTANT
[ ] JEWISH
[ ] MUSLIM
[ ] ANOTHER RELIGION
[ ] NO RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

48. Were you born in the United States?

[ ] YES ----- > IF YES, SKIP TO Q 52
[ ] NO ----- > IF NO, ASK Q 49
[ ] DON'T KNOW----- > IF DON'T KNOW, SKIP TO 51

49. In what country were you born?

____________________________ (WRITE IN NAME OF COUNTRY)

[ ] REFUSED

50. In what year did you come to live in the United States?

_________________ (WRITE IN YEAR)

[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
51. Are you a citizen of the United States?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO
[ ] DON’T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

52. For how many years have you lived in Massachusetts?

_________ (WRITE IN NUMBER OF YEARS)

[ ] LESS THAN 1 YEAR
[ ] (IF OFFERED) ALL MY LIFE
[ ] DON’T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

53. Are you currently working at a job for pay?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO
[ ] REFUSED

54. Do you currently have any kind of health insurance coverage at all?

[ ] YES ----- > IF YES, SKIP TO Q 57
[ ] NO
[ ] REFUSED

55. Do you currently have any health insurance coverage through government programs such as Medicare, Medicaid or MassHealth?

[ ] YES ----- > IF YES, SKIP TO Q 57
[ ] NO
[ ] REFUSED

56. So you currently do NOT have ANY health insurance coverage at all. Is that correct?

[ ] YES, R HAS NO INSURANCE
[ ] NO, R HAS SOME INSURANCE ----- > EXPLAIN: ________________________________
[ ] REFUSED

57. What is your zip code?

_________ (WRITE IN ZIP CODE)

[ ] DON’T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED
58. In studies like this, households are sometimes grouped according to income. I am going to read you some categories. Please stop me when I get to the one that best describes your total household income last year. That means income before taxes from all sources, such as salaries, interest, retirement or any other source for all household members.

**READ EACH OPTION SLOWLY AND STOP WHEN R ANSWERS "YES"**

[ ] 10,000 or less
[ ] 10,001 to 20,000
[ ] 20,001 to 30,000
[ ] 30,001 to 50,000
[ ] 50,001 to 75,000
[ ] 75,001 to 100,000
[ ] over 100,000
[ ] DON'T KNOW
[ ] REFUSED

59. In the past year, how difficult has it been to pay your bills—very difficult, somewhat difficult, not very difficult, or not at all difficult?

[ ] VERY
[ ] SOMewhat
[ ] NOTVERY
[ ] NOTATALL
[ ] DON'T KNOW

THANK YOU.