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## Bush 2004 Gains among Hispanics Strongest with Men, And in South and Northeast, Annenberg Data Show

George W. Bush's gains among Hispanics were strongest among men, Southerners and Northeasterners, the University of Pennsylvania's National Annenberg Election Survey shows.

In the fall of 2000, only 34 percent of Hispanic men supported him over Al Gore, but in 2004, 46 percent did. Among Hispanic women, his support rose only from 35 to 36 percent, a statistically insignificant change.

There has been recent disagreement over how well Bush did among Hispanics. The television network-Associated Press national exit poll taken on Election Day gave him 44 percent of their votes, compared to 35 percent in 2000. Then a study by Ana Maria Arumi of NBC News, aggregating the 51 individual 2004 exit polls conducted in every state for the same sponsors concluded that the Bush share was 40 percent. But Antonio Gonzalez, president of the William C. Velasquez Institute, a research group that deals with political issues, contended an exit poll he conducted showed Bush got only 33 percent.

The Annenberg data, which gave Bush 41 percent, cannot resolve the dispute. But it suggests strongly that Bush made significant gains whose precise magnitude is uncertain. The margin of error for the 2004 Annenberg data was plus or minus three percentage points.

The Annenberg choice data involved examining the Bush versus Gore preference in the eight weeks before the 2000 election and two weeks following (when respondents were asked whom they actually voted for.) Those numbers were compared with the Bush versus Kerry preferences in the comparable period in 2004. There were 703 Hispanic citizens who were registered voters in the 2000 data and 906 in 2004.

Through both ten week periods, the degree of Hispanic support for each of the major party candidates remained quite level. But there is no way of knowing which pre-election respondents voted as they expected, or voted at all. Nor are post-election recollections as reliable as what people tell exit pollsters on Election Day; there is usually a tendency for more respondents to say they voted for the winner than actually did so.

Bush won majorities of support in 2004 only from Hispanics who were Protestant, politically conservative or southerners. His gain among Protestant Hispanics was seven percentage points, up to 57 percent from 50 percent in 2000. Among Catholic Hispanics, his share rose from to 33 from 28 percent.

The 55 percent majority Bush attained among Hispanics in the South was up from 41 percent in 2000. He gained about as much in the Northeast, where he went from 20 to 35 percent. His support stayed about the same in the West, where he went from 33 to 30 percent, and in the Midwest, where his support went from 43 to 46 percent.

The 2004 analysis showed that Bush did worse among Hispanics who asked to be interviewed in Spanish, rather than English, and among those who were not born in the United States. He got 42 percent support among Hispanics interviewed in English and 36 percent from those interviewed in Spanish. He got 42 percent support among Hispanic citizens born in the United States and 37 percent among those born elsewhere.

Age and education showed no clear patterns of Bush support, but only 33 percent of Hispanics with household incomes below \$35,000 per year supported him.

The Annenberg polling also measured the views of 3,592 Hispanic citizens who were registered voters over the entire course of the 2004 survey. The 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey began on October 7, 2003 and concluded on November 16, 2004 and involved interviews with 81,422 adults.

It found Hispanics more supportive than other Americans of private school vouchers, free trade agreements like NAFTA and restrictions on gun purchases. Sixty percent of Hispanics favored vouchers, compared to 47 percent of other Americans. Fifty-two percent favored more free trade agreements, compared to 39 percent of non-Hispanics, and 70 percent said they favored more restrictions on gun purchases, compared to 55 percent of other Americans.

But the Hispanic respondents were more critical of the war in Iraq than were other Americans. Over the course of the survey, just 39 percent said the war had been worth it, while 48 percent of other Americans did. Among other Americans, 57 percent said the United States should keep its troops there until a stable government was established, while 38 percent said troops should come home as soon as possible. Among Hispanics, only 44 percent wanted to keep troops in Iraq while 51 percent wanted them home as soon as possible.

On the economy, while 50 percent of other Americans said their personal economic situation was excellent or good, only 37 percent of Hispanics did.

The size of the survey also permitted comparisons of views among Hispanics of different heritages. For example, 68 percent of those with ties to Puerto Rico favored vouchers, compared to 58 percent of those from Mexico and 66 percent of those from Cuba.

But the Cubans were closer to the Mexicans than to the Puerto Ricans on the issue of a constitutional amendment barring same-sex marriage. Those of Cuban heritage were evenly split on the subject, with 44 percent in favor and 44 percent opposed. The Mexican heritage respondents had 43 percent in favor and 47 percent opposed, and the Puerto Ricans were opposed, 52 to 38 percent.

Fifty percent of Hispanics of Cuban heritage said the war in Iraq had been worth it, compared to 38 percent of those from Mexico or Puerto Rico.

Asked if they favored more restrictions on immigration, 46 percent of all Hispanics did, compared to 63 percent of other Americans. Fifty-six percent of those of Cuban heritage, 54 percent of those from Puerto Rico, but only 43 percent of those of Mexican heritage and 44 percent of those from Central America took that view.

The National Annenberg Election Survey is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania (www.AnnenbergPublicPolicyCenter.org). Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson is the director of the survey. Ken Winneg is the managing director of the survey. Adam Clymer is the political director of the survey.

Another major election project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center is FactCheck.org, a project that tries to hold politicians accountable by exposing false or misleading campaign statements. It is available online at www.FactCheck.Org.

**Tables** 

A. Hispanic Preferences Between Major Candidates: 2004 & 2000

	2004 Bush	2004 Kerry	Bush 2000	Gore 2000
All Hispanics	41%	59%	35%	65%
Men	400/	F 40/	240/	000/
Women	46%	54%	34%	66%
women	36%	64%	35%	65%
Protestant	57%	43%	50%	50%
Catholic	33%	67%	28%	72%
Interviewed in English	42%	58%	35%	65%
Spanish	36%	64%	35%	65%
18-29 years old	39%	61%	30%	70%
30-44	47%	53%	40%	60%
45-64	36%	64%	33%	67%
65 and older	39%	61%	31%	69%
Education: High school or less	39%	61%	31%	69%
Some college	45%	55%	34%	66%
Bachelor's degree or more	40%	60%	46%	54%
Household income under \$35,000	33%	67%	28%	72%
\$35,000 to \$75,000	48%	52%	41%	59%
\$75,000 or more	48%	52%	42%	58%
Married or living as married	47%	53%	38%	62%
Single	31%	69%	29%	71%
g.c	0170	0070	2070	7 1 70
Conservative	53%	47%	50%	50%
Moderate	38%	62%	27%	73%
Liberal	27%	73%	20%	80%
Northeast	35%	65%	20%	80%
Midwest	46%	54%	43%	57%
South	55%	45%	41%	59%
West	30%	70%	35%	65%
Maniago la critana		0407	0001	6707
Mexican heritage	39%	61%	33%	67%
Puerto Rican heritage	35%	65%	29%	71%
Urban	36%	64%	29%	71%
Suburban	45%	55%	37%	63%
Rural	43%	57%	44%	56%

Based on interviews of respondents who asked to be interviewed in Spanish or said they were Hispanic or Latino in final eight weeks before and fist two weeks after Election Day.

B. Hispanic Opinion on Major Issues by National Heritage

B. Hispanic Opinion on Major Issues by National Heritage								
	All Hispanic	All Non- Hispanic	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Spain	Central America	South America
Favor Constitutional	mapanic	riispariic		NICO			AIIIGIICA	AIIICIICA
amendment banning	41%	43%	43%	38%	44%	37%	46%	29%
same-sex marriage	7170	4570	45 /0	30 /0	<del></del>	37 70	40 /0	2370
Oppose	49%	49%	47%	52%	44%	58%	43%	64%
Оррозс	7370	7370	77 70	JZ /0	77 /0	30 70	4570	0470
Favor privata ashaal								
Favor private school vouchers	60%	47%	58%	68%	66%	51%	70%	46%
Oppose	250/	400/	270/	200/	200/	4.40/	260/	F00/
Oppose	35%	49%	37%	28%	29%	44%	26%	50%
Favor more free trade	52%	39%	57%	48%	54%	39%	55%	54%
agreements like NAFTA		400/	0.40/	070/			070/	
Oppose	32%	43%	31%	27%	30%	43%	27%	31%
Favor:								
More restrictions on	46%	63%	43%	54%	56%	64%	44%	30%
immigration								
More restrictions on	70%	55%	68%	79%	64%	63%	79%	69%
gun-buying								
Allowing workers to	E 40/	<b>500</b> /	<b>57</b> 0/	400/	*	*	*	*
invest Social Security	54%	52%	57%	49%				
funds in stock market								
Banning all abortions	35%	31%	36%	32%	35%	27%	34%	13%
abultions								
Cay Iran war was worth								
Say Iraq war was worth	39%	48%	38%	38%	50%	45%	30%	29%
it Not worth it	57%	48%	E00/	E00/	4.40/	53%	67%	71%
	57%	40%	58%	58%	44%	55%	07%	7 1 70
Say war has increased risk of terrorist attacks	64%	57%	66%	66%	46%	62%	65%	74%
Reduced risk	270/	240/	250/	250/	400/	28%	200/	100/
	27%	31%	25%	25%	40%	۷٥%	28%	18%
US should keep troops	44%	57%	43%	38%	52%	54%	36%	39%
in Iraq until it is stable								
Should bring troops home as soon as	51%	38%	52%	58%	44%	40%	61%	58%
[possible	J1/0	JU /0	JZ /0	JO /0	<del>++</del> /0	<del>4</del> 0 /0	01/0	JO /0
[μοσοιρίο								
National economy								
excellent or good	23%	27%	21%	23%	31%	29 %	22%	21%
Fair or poor	77%	72%	79%	77%	69%	71%	78%	77%
Personal economic		1 4 /0	13/0	11/0	03/0	1 1 /0		
state excellent or good	37%	50%	34%	35%	50%	51%	36%	36%
Fair or poor	62%	50%	65%	65%	49%	48%	64%	64%
i dii di podi	UZ /0	JU /0	00 /0	03 /0	<b>4</b> ∂/0	40 /0	U <del>4</del> /0	U <del>+</del> /0
Delitically same	0501	0007	0.407	0701	4001	0001	0001	4001
Politically conservative	35%	39%	34%	37%	40%	33%	39%	18%
Moderate	38%	37%	39%	33%	33%	41%	35%	39%
Liberal	26%	21%	25%	27%	25%	25%	26%	43%

	All Hispanic	All Non- Hispanic	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Spain	Central America	South America
Republican	23%	32%	22%	17%	46%	27%	19%	20%
Democrat	44%	34%	47%	47%	30%	38%	48%	33%
Independent	23%	25%	22%	23%	20%	26%	26%	40%
Opinion of Bush: favorable	47%	51%	48%	41%	61%	50%	41%	38%
Unfavorable	37%	38%	35%	42%	33%	35%	39%	57%
Opinion of Kerry: favorable	43%	38%	45%	44%	38%	32%	49%	44%
Unfavorable	22%	33%	19%	16%	33%	36%	17%	28%

Based on interviews of respondents who asked to be interviewed in Spanish or said they were Hispanic or Latino between October, 2003 and November, 2004.

<sup>\*</sup> There were too few respondents for analysis.

## Survey Methodology

The National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) is a survey conducted each presidential election by the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

The 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey is based on 81, 422 telephone interviews which began October 7, 2003 and concluded on November 16, 2004.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was randomly selected by a computer from a complete list of thousands of active residential exchanges across the country. Within each exchange, random digits were added to form a complete telephone number, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. The interviewing is conducted by Schulman, Ronca, Bucuvalas, Inc.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variation in the sample relating to geographic region, sex, race, age and education.

This report deals with three sets of interviews. In each of them Hispanics are identified as those who asked to be interviewed in Spanish or said they were Hispanic or Latino.

The first two sets focus on the fall presidential campaigns and their immediate aftermaths. The first deals with interviews with 703 Hispanic citizens who said they were registered voters, conducted between September 12, 2000 and November 21, 2000. The second concerns interviews with 906 Hispanic citizens who said they were registered voters, conducted between September 7, 2000 and November 16, 2004.

In theory, in 19 out of 20 cases, results for the 2000 group would differ by four percentage points, up or down, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Hispanic citizens who were registered voters. For 2004, the margin of sampling error would be plus or minus three percentage points. For smaller subgroups the margin of sampling error would be higher. For example, in the 2004 data set, the margin of sampling error for men would be plus or minus five percentage points and for women, plus or minus four percentage points.

The third data set involves all 81,422 interviews in the 2004 survey. In that survey 3,592 Hispanics said they were citizens and registered to vote. For questions asked of all of those Hispanic respondents who were registered voters, such as their opinions of George W. Bush and John W. Kerry and their political party identification, the margin of sampling error would be plus or minus two percentage points. For questions asked of all non-Hispanic citizens who were registered voters, the margin of sampling error would be plus or minus one half of one percentage point

The margins of sampling error for Hispanics of different heritages would be:

Mexican: 2 percentage points Puerto Rican: 4 percentage points Central American: 6 percentage points Cuban and Spanish; 7 percentage points South American: 9 percentage points

But some questions were not asked of all respondents, and for those items the margins of sampling error would be higher.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Variations in the wording and order of questions, for example, may lead to somewhat different results.

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