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sample's overwhelming support for President Mondale, any predictions made by those brave enough to venture a guess were taken with the appropriate grains of salt.

On reflection, perhaps these results should have been released much earlier, if only to save the nation a lot of time and money. Respondents selected George Bush and Michael Dukakis as their respective party nominees. While Bush was mentioned most frequently for the Republican nomination (for a 49% plurality), members of the Legislative Studies Section actually sided with Robert Dole over the former vice president by a slim margin. Dukakis, meanwhile, won a plurality of votes (32%) among nine Democrats mentioned, followed not all that closely by Mario Cuomo, apparently despite his protestations to noncandidacy.

When all was said and done, respondents tagged George Bush as the eventual winner, with Dole mentioned next most frequently as the probable 41st president. Dukakis came in a distant third. So much for all that talk about a repeat of the election of 1960.

About the Author

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Note

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Studying Latino Politics: The Development of the Latino National Political Survey

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As the 1980s, the proclaimed "decade of the Hispanic," draw to a close, marking roughly three decades of research on Latino politics, political scientists are making major strides in refining methodologies appropriate to the exploration of Latino political values and behavior. A major step has been the development of the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), the first national opinion survey research project focusing on Latino politics in the continental United States. In addition to providing basic baseline information on the content of Latino political values, attitudes, and behavior, major advances also will have been made through the development of the LNPS in improving the methodology of scientifically surveying this increasingly important but underresearched population group.

Background

In the spring of 1984, a group of four political scientists, the authors of this article, began to explore the possibility of conducting the first truly national political opinion study of Latinos. Initially they envisioned collaborating with one of the major national polling organizations to piggyback a Latino sample onto some of the organization's on-going national surveys. However, as this possibility was examined

more closely, it became apparent that several methodological problems would preclude such a seemingly simple data gathering scheme.

In the process, a number of questions arose that had not been satisfactorily answered or even explored in the literature. What is the best way to secure a truly representative national sample of Hispanics? Is it through a national probability sample or through some form of quota or cluster sampling? Are Latino populations best reached through telephone interviews, or do door-to-door, in-person surveys provide the best results? Should the Latino population be sampled as if it were a homogenous group, or should it be sampled with a design that recognizes the national origin diversity of the population? Should the study be comparative, and if so, should comparisons be made between Latino groups; if so, which groups should be chosen? Should comparisons be made with other major racial ethnic groups, such as the Afro-American or the Anglo-American core culture, and if so, how can this be most effectively and efficiently accomplished? Can one use questionnaire items which are utilized in on-going national surveys, or must new, more culturally appropriate items be devised? How is ethnic identity best measured? Will Spanish language interviews be conducted in "standard Spanish," or is it necessary to develop Spanish language instruments for different national origin groups?

What should the survey emphasize? Should it emphasize conceptual and theoretical issues, or should it focus on substantive matters that would more immediately serve the social and political interests of Latinos?

The major theoretical questions of driving interest to the investigators were (1) Is there a distinct pan-Hispanic or Latino political community in the United States in contrast to more distinctive Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, or Cuban-American communities? If not, are there common bases from which such a political community may emerge? (2) If there are distinctive Hispanic political communities, what are the parameters of those significant differences and similarities with regard to the political values, attitudes,

and behaviors among Latino subgroups and between Latinos and non-Latinos? To focus on such overarching questions would mean that a great deal of care must be employed in the measurement of ethnic identity as well as in the measurement of more specifically political attitudes and behaviors.

As already mentioned, the simple piggy-back survey which the investigators initially considered soon became an overwhelming theoretical and methodological task in addition to a financially challenging one. Fortunately, Dr. William Diaz, a Ford Foundation program officer and political scientist, was also interested in these issues and provided the investigators a one-year planning grant that allowed them to explore thoroughly at least some of the relevant questions. A perusal of the literature pertaining to the subject was difficult since there seemed to be no comprehensive bibliographies extant on the subject. The investigators, while doing the preliminary reading related to the study, both explored the relevant literature and compiled a comprehensive and selective research bibliography on Latino political behavior (Garcia, F. C., et al. 1989).

The planning grant also allowed the investigators to consult experts in survey research at major academic and commercial survey research organizations throughout the country. These individuals, most of whom were experienced in surveying Latinos, provided advice on issues such as the advantages of telephone versus in-person surveys, the use of new versus previously used items from other major surveys, challenges inherent in making comparisons with non-Hispanic cultural groupings, sampling strategies, and Spanish language usage.

Another important project which was funded through this planning grant was the conduct of five multi-session focus groups across the United States. In the relatively open settings of these sessions, the investigators were able to explore Latinos' own unstructured ideas about their identities and how they met and identified their social and political roles. Two sessions each were held in San Antonio, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Miami, the major population centers of the three

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largest Latino groups—Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. These focus groups comprised various mixtures of males and females, monolinguals and bilinguals of diverse socioeconomic characteristics. The results of the focus groups influenced the content of the survey and the phrasing of many items developed specifically for this study.

The investigators issued a "request for proposals" in 1987 to five national survey research firms. The RFP included unique requirements developed through the planning process. Dr. Steve Herringa of the Sampling Division of the Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, assisted the investigators in designing the sample parameters included in the RFP. Temple University's Institute of Survey Research was selected to conduct the survey with Robert Santos as project director. Based on the results of the planning grant activities, the investigators were encouraged to submit proposals for funding the national survey at a total cost of \$1.8 million. The Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) was funded by the Ford, Spencer, Tinker, and Rockefeller foundations. It also has received the continuous sponsorship of the Intra-University Program for Latino Research.¹

The Sample

LNPS is the first sociopolitical survey of Latinos to use a national probability sampling design. For purposes of LNPS, our operationalization of Latinos includes Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican origin populations. This sample will represent at least 80% of Latinos in the continental United States. The remaining 20% includes individuals from Central America, South America, the Caribbean, or Spain. This relatively large "residual" category is difficult to analyze in any coherent way because of its extreme heterogeneity within the cluster of "other Hispanics." Therefore, the LNPS will be limited to the three major Hispanic national origin groups for the purposes of more efficiently drawing large enough subgroup samples to allow for an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of ethnicity, values, and attitudes

which affect different political behaviors.

Respondents from the three national origin groups will be selected based on objective criteria. Individuals with at least one parent or two grandparents of Mexican, Cuban, or Puerto Rican origin, or individuals born in one of these areas are eligible for inclusion in LNPS. In cases in which the respondents are from mixed Mexican, Cuban, or Puerto Rican ancestries, a decision tree has been established to determine eligibility and to ascertain into which national origin group they will be categorized.

In order to secure a representative sample of Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican origin persons, LNPS employs a multi-staged probability sample of households based primarily on the 1980 Census. The sample design first divided the nation into primary sampling units (PSUs) that included at least 90% of the Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Mexican origin populations. From these, 40 PSUs were selected, each of which has a Latino population of at least ten percent.

The second stage in the selection design consists of a disproportionate stratified sample of 500 secondary sampling units (SSUs). The SSUs contain Census block groups or Enumeration Districts with specified measures of size. A unique aspect of the sampling plan entails the establishment of four density strata which range from very low density Latino areas to high density ones. This ensures that respondents who reside in non-Latino areas and those in minority neighborhoods are proportionately represented in the study. Because it is nine years since the 1980 Census, officials in selected PSUs have been consulted regarding major changes in Latino residential patterns to insure that areas of significant Latino in- or out-migration are included in the SSUs.

LNPS uses a national sample within which there are different sampling rates for each of the three Latino populations. This allows Cubans living in California or Mexican-origin persons living in Florida to be included in the survey. In other words, any eligible Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Mexican, regardless of his/her area of residence within the geographical limits described previously, has a chance for inclusion.

LNPS thus contrasts with other Latino surveys that have established three independent sample frames for each group and/or have restricted coverage to areas where each of the groups is highly concentrated.

In addition to surveying these Latino groups, non-Hispanic Whites in the same sampling areas will also be interviewed for comparative purposes. The goal is to obtain valid completed interviews with 800 Mexican, 600 Puerto Rican, 600 Cuban origin, and 600 non-Hispanic (or "Anglo") respondents.

The Survey Instrument

In its first draft, the LNPS questionnaire included more than 500 items which had been created by the investigators as well as borrowed from other surveys. These were progressively refined and eliminated through several iterations to yield an instrument with approximately 300 items. A significant proportion of these are from surveys such as the National Election Survey and the General Social Survey. In this way it will be possible to compare LNPS results with those of other national studies.

In January 1989 the LNPS pilot survey was administered to 124 respondents. The results of this pilot led to further refinement of the instrument. Following the pilot study, the survey instrument was translated into Spanish, and three pretests in English and Spanish followed. The items and translations were refined following each of these to produce the final version of the questionnaire. The Anglo questionnaire contains approximately half of the items of the Latino instrument. The Latino questionnaire requires approximately 65 minutes; the Anglo version takes approximately 30. Both will be administered in person. The interviews were conducted between July 10 and November 30, 1989.

Items in the questionnaire include multiple indicators of ethnicity, various political activities, cultural and political items related to national origin interactions, pan-Hispanic attitudes and behaviors, group consciousness, immigration background, and measurements of orientations

towards politics and government. A range of fundamental values, such as gender roles, morality, religiosity, egalitarianism, and interpersonal trust, are included. Those *political* values which are included embody the concepts of political efficacy, political trust, ideology, tolerance, patriotism, and others. Examples of reported political behavior encompass electoral participation and problem-solving activities, particularized contact with government representatives, and school related activities.

The survey instrument was developed with the assistance of the LNPS Advisory Board which consists of Amado Padilla, Stanford University; Alejandro Portes, Johns Hopkins University; Steve Rosenstone, University of Michigan; Carole Uhlaner, University of California, Irvine; and Linda Williams, Joint Center for Political Studies.

Conclusion

The Latino National Political Survey research project was five years in the making. As the "decade of the Hispanics" comes to a conclusion, it is hoped that it will be one of the milestones of political science research on the Latino population of the United States. It should provide insight into important methodological and conceptual issues. It should also provide information from the Latino perspective regarding many issues, such as language policy, immigration reform, and welfare policy, that are now at the center of the national political agenda. To the extent that these objectives are realized, the Latino National Political Survey will improve our understanding of U.S. political life and, we hope, contribute to Latino political empowerment.

For further information on the Latino National Political Survey, please contact any of the four principal investigators: Rodolfo de la Garza, University of Texas, Austin; Angelo Falcon, Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, New York City; F. Chris Garcia, University of New Mexico; or John A. Garcia, University of Arizona.

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Notes

1. IUP is a research consortium made up of the UCLA Chicano Research Center, the Stanford Center for Chicano Research, El Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos of Hunter College, and the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

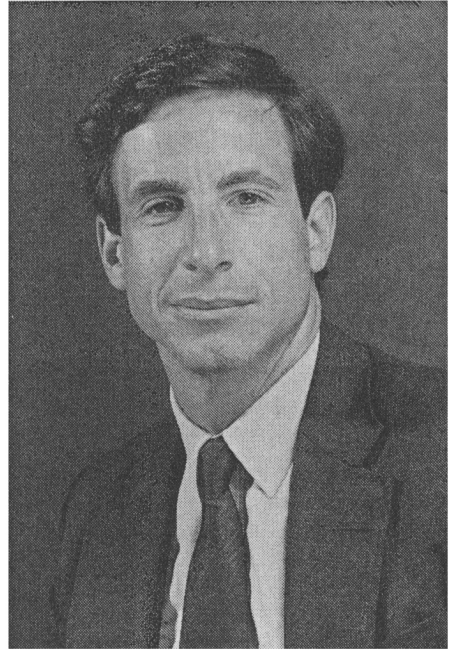
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Motives, Morality and Methodology in Third World Research

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In the summer of 1980, while proceeding along a bumpy dirt road in Northern Nigeria, a resident of the village I was leaving strained to catch up with me and pose a question. Sweating and panting, he earnestly wanted to know how my work there—mainly mapping his village to trace its physical evolution from British colonial days—would help his community. At the time I was working as a research assistant for a prominent anthropologist back in the States, and until that moment had been



WILLIAM F. S. MILES
Photo by Russ Sparkman

brimming with exuberance and excitement at the success of my first research experience in Africa. I had not yet questioned the utility or value of my work, caring only to satisfy my academic mentor back home and to reap whatever *kudos* my data accumulation merited. I really didn't know how to answer the question, and had to wait several months before asking my research director how he would have responded. The professor, who up to that point had been my intellectual idol, mumbled something about 'furthering knowledge for its own sake' and 'the more we learn about the world the better—the more we can improve it.' I knew that such a response would have rung hollow to the villager; it rang somewhat hollow even to me. And although I have subsequently been building a career on similar premises—studying about the Third World 'for its own sake'—from time to time the villager's question surfaces from certain recesses and gnaws at me.

One way to redress this personal dilemma is to consciously inject—as many in the