

## **Nevada and Florida Baseline Surveys – Civic Engagement Narrative Change**

### **Executive Summary**

**March 2019**

In October and November 2018, the Civic Engagement Narrative Change project worked with Latino Decisions to design and field two statewide surveys in Nevada and Florida. Civic Engagement Narrative Change is a national project coordinated and anchored by the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at UC Berkeley. It is a multi-sectoral collaboration comprised of partners from community organizing, labor, research, arts and culture, faith institutions, philanthropy, and strategic communications. It aims to address pressing obstacles to inclusive democratic participation, including both *disaffection* of voters from under-represented groups and *division and othering* across lines of difference.

The Nevada and Florida surveys investigated attitudes about identity, inter-group relations, the role of government, the efficacy of voting, the 2020 U.S. Census, and much more. In Nevada, 1,845 adults answered the survey via internet and telephone, yielding a total margin of error of +/- 2.3%. In Florida, 1,729 adults answered the survey via internet only, yielding a total margin of error of +/- 2.3%. African American, Latino/Hispanic, and Asian and Pacific Islander American (Nevada only) respondents were oversampled to allow for precise subgroup analyses in each state. All results were weighted to be representative of each state's adult population.

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On the whole, the results of the two surveys show far more similarities between Floridians and Nevadans than differences. For almost all questions in all categories, attitudes vary only slightly across states.

#### *Economic Inequality*

Broadly speaking, Nevadans and Floridians are fairly progressive on issues of economic inequality and think that the government should do more to reign in the power of big businesses and corporations. Floridians are slightly more likely to think that inequality is a problem than those in Nevada, and are more likely to support government intervention. Nevadans, on the other hand, are slightly more supportive of unions.

#### *Race and Immigration*

Residents of both states have similar mixed views on racial and ethnic outgroups. Most do not view themselves as in competition with outgroups for housing or jobs, do not view themselves as culturally threatened by outgroups, and say that they value diversity—at least in the abstract. At the same time, a significant majority of residents in both states score relatively high in racial

resentment toward immigrants and especially toward African Americans. Similarly, while majorities hold progressive views on immigration legislation, majorities also support increasing deportations. Nevadans are especially likely to be aware that immigrants face high levels of discrimination; Floridians express slightly higher levels of racial resentment toward African Americans.

### *Global Climate Change*

Large majorities in both states think that climate change is a major problem, that governments need to do more to reign in pollution and protect communities, and that protecting the environment encourages innovation more than it slows economic growth. Floridians and Nevadans have been directly exposed to different types of climate events, but there are few differences across the states in attitudes toward these questions. The only difference that emerges is higher support in Florida for “climate refugees” than in Nevada.

### *U.S. Census*

In both states, residents are skeptical about the U.S. Census Bureau and its policies regarding confidentiality of information. Furthermore, two in five believe that only U.S. citizens are expected to fill out the U.S. census form, more than a third think that the U.S. census is used to determine legal residency in the country, and only about half are aware that they are required by law to fill out the form. As a result, only about three quarters of residents in both states say that they plan on filling out the U.S. census. African Americans in both states are particularly wary of participating in the census process.

### *Voting*

Finally, with respect to voting, a relatively high percentage in both states state that voting is important to them. Nearly half of residents in both states, however, think that elections don't matter that much—a result driven more by high levels of disillusionment among non-whites in both states. Majorities reject the idea that there are too many barriers to voting, though only bare majorities of African Americans say this. At the same time, majorities think that registration and voting should be easier and that democracy is stronger when the voting population reflects the diversity of the state.

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In the sections that follow, we outline broad trends and notable similarities and difference across ethno-racial groups in Nevada, and then do the same for Florida.

## **Nevada**

### **Inequality, Attitudes towards Corporations and Big Businesses, and the Role of the Government**

On the whole, Nevadans tend to dislike corporations, think that big businesses and the rich have too much influence in politics, and that they do not pay their fair shares of taxes. They also agree that economic inequality is a major problem in the state, and think that the government needs to do more to alleviate poverty, provide housing, guarantee jobs, and raise the minimum wage. Further, Nevadans have a generally positive view of labor unions, though there is broad agreement that unions have a significant amount of political power in the state currently.

#### *Corporations*

- 56% of Nevadans dislike corporations, rating them below 50 (on a 1-100 scale).
- 63% say that corporations have too much influence in Nevadan politics.
- 66% think big businesses and corporations are not paying their fair share of state taxes.
- 50% think that increasing taxes on corporations will help the state economy.

#### *Inequality*

- 67% agree that economic inequality is a major problem in Nevada.
- 68% think that government should play a “major role” in reducing income inequality (84% of African Americans; 80% of APIAs; 79% of Latinos).
- 53% think that upper income people are not paying their fair share of taxes and 42% think lower income people are paying too much.
- 76% of Nevadans strongly or somewhat agree that government should be responsible for ensuring that working people have access to affordable housing (87% of Latinos; 85% of African Americans; 83% of APIAs; the “Strongly Agree” option received 51%, 52%, and 46%, respectively)
- 74% agree that government should be responsible for ensuring that all American adults who want a job are able to have one.
- 73% “strongly” or “somewhat favor” increasing the minimum wage to \$15 per hour (87% of African Americans; 82% of Latinos).

#### *Labor Unions*

- 67% of Nevadans think that labor unions improve the lives of working people.
- 51% think labor unions have about the right amount of influence in state politics; 35% say they have too much influence.

Though the differences are not often large, whites in Nevada are more opposed to economic redistribution, feel warmer towards corporations and big businesses, and are less likely to favor government expansion of services than racial and ethnic minority groups.

### **Intergroup Relations and Solidarity**

Nevadans express some progressive views on race issues, but are still quite racially resentful toward both immigrants and African Americans. Most support refugee resettlement, hold positive general attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups, perceive little competition with

other groups for jobs, housing, or culture, and generally favor progressive immigration legislation.

Across issues of race, immigration, and racialized policy, there is a considerable amount of agreement among Latinos, African Americans, and to a somewhat lesser extent, Asian and Pacific Islander Americans. Whites are generally, across the board, cooler toward racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants, and policy proposals to reduce racial inequality. They are also more likely to support restrictive immigration policy. APIAs are slightly more conservative on these issues than Latinos or African Americans, but not nearly as conservative as whites.

A large number of Nevadans of color view whites as “enemies” on the ally-enemy scale.

### *Muslims and Refugees*

- 67% think it is important to take in immigrants and refugees from countries where people are trying to escape war and violent. The figure drops to 61% when the question is about people from Muslim countries.
- 66% support taking in refugees displaced by climate events or natural disasters.

### *General Racial Outgroup Attitudes*

- Nevadans were asked how warmly they felt toward each racial “outgroup”—people of racial or ethnic identities other than their own. For each group—APIAs, Latinos, African Americans, and whites—about 70% said they hold positive views of the group.

### *Intergroup Competition and Solidarity*

- White Nevadans tend to reject the idea that they are competing with other groups for neighborhoods (Latino 27%, African American 26%, Asian American 19%) or jobs (Latino 30%, Black 21%, Asian Americans 23%). Likewise, few appear to be threatened culturally by these groups.
- African American Nevadans tend to believe they are competing for jobs with white Nevadans (65%), but less so with other groups (Latinos 40%; Asian Americans 38%).
- The perception of resource competition is generally low across communities of color in Nevada; furthermore, members of different communities of color recognize one another’s under-representation in state politics:
  - Almost half (44%) of Latinos said that African Americans have “too little” (as opposed to “too much” or “about the right amount of”) influence in Nevada politics.
  - Reciprocally, 43% of African Americans said Latinos have too little influence in state politics; only 16% said that Latinos have too much influence.
  - 46% of Latinos also think APIAs have too little influence in Nevada politics—more than the 40% who think their own group has too little influence.

### *Immigrant Resentment<sup>1</sup>*

- Paradoxically, 72% of Nevadans say immigrants today should work their way up like the Irish, Italian, and Jews did, without any special favors, while the same share (72%) acknowledge that discrimination has made it hard for immigrants to work their way out of the lower class.

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<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix at the end of this document for items in the Immigrant Resentment block of survey questions.

- 47% of Nevadans say immigrants have gotten less than they deserve.
- 54% agree that if immigrants just tried a little harder they'd be as well off as white Americans.
- These responses can be combined into an “immigrant resentment” scale, where we can see differences across race/ethnicity groups:

	<i>Percent of Nevadans who score on the <b>upper 1/3</b> of the immigrant resentment scale.</i>
African Americans	14.0%
Latinos	18.7%
APIAs	22.2%
Whites (non-Hispanic)	48.2%

*Racial Resentment toward African Americans<sup>2</sup>*

- 66% of Nevadans say that African Americans should work their way up like the Irish, Italian, and Jews did, without any special favors.
- Only 51% think that slavery and discrimination make it hard for African Americans to work their way out of the lower class.
- 47% think that African Americans have gotten less than they deserve.
- 51% think that if African Americans just tried a little harder they'd be as well off as whites.

	<i>Percent of Nevadans who score on the <b>upper 1/3</b> of the racial resentment scale.</i>
African Americans	8.6%
Latinos	29.2%
APIAs	31.6%
Whites (non-Hispanic)	46.0%

*Allies or Enemies*

- 45% of African Americans score Latinos as strong allies (6 or 7 on 7-point scale); this is the largest expression of ally-ship for any two-group pairing.
- 42% of Latinos score APIAs as strong allies (score of 6 or 7), and 38% also score African Americans as strong allies.
- APIAs are just as likely to score Latinos as strong allies as they are to score whites as strong allies.

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<sup>2</sup> This standardized block of survey questions has been used in voter surveys for more than thirty years. Its items, together with a longer discussion of the block, can be found in the Appendix at the end of this document.

- 37% of African Americans, 26% of Latinos, and 16% of Asian Americans view whites as enemies.

### *Immigration Policy*

- 66% of Nevadans support establishing a pathway to citizenship.
- 73% support a pathway to citizenship for DREAMers.
- Paradoxically, however, 54% find it important to increase deportations of immigrants in the country without documentation.
- 55% oppose the U.S.-Mexico border wall.

## **Global Climate Change**

Majorities of Nevadans believe global climate change is a serious problem and that government is doing too little about it. But there is also a noticeable gap between this stated belief and the weight given to climate change at the ballot box.

	<i>Climate change is a very/extremely serious issue (score of 6 or 7 on 7-point scale)</i>	<i>Climate change is very/extremely important in deciding on a candidate for whom I will vote</i>
<b>NEVADA total</b>	<b>50.9%</b>	<b>41.1%</b>
- African Americans	51.3%	42.9%
- Latinos	59.1%	49.6%
- APIAs	51.2%	43.6%
- Whites (non-Hispanic)	45.8%	35.4%

Latinos, APIAs, and Black residents tend to be more supportive of government intervention to mitigate the effects of climate change, and less likely to think that interventions hurt the economy. Around 3 in 4 people of color feel government is doing too little to protect and prepare their communities for climate change/environmental disasters:

- 78% of Latinos; 75% of African Americans; 72% of APIAs.
- 58% of whites say the same.

## **Census**

The survey suggests that the 2020 U.S. Census is not yet on the radar of most Nevadans, and that substantial shares are misinformed about the census’s purpose and functions.

- 20% of Nevadans say they are undecided as to whether they will fill out a census form in 2020; another 8% say they will not fill out the form (which is required by law).
- African Americans are least given to participate in the census; 30% say they are undecided and 13% say they will not fill out a form.
- Only half of Nevadans know that the law requires filling out a census form.
- 57% of Latinos and 52% of APIAs believe it is false that the law requires filling out the form.

- 39% of Nevadans incorrectly believe that only U.S. citizens should fill out the census form; this figure is consistent across ethno-racial groups.
- 37% incorrectly believe that the census is used to determine whether someone is in the country legally, including 47% of African Americans and 41% of Latinos.
- Black and Latino Nevadans are slightly more likely to have heard information both encouraging them and discouraging them from participating in the census; but overall, few in the state have heard either way.

### Voting and Barriers

Nevada survey respondents reported relatively high levels of intent to vote in 2018, given that it was a non-presidential year. Even more reported that they generally think of themselves as a voter:

	<i>I definitely will vote in Nov. 2018</i>	<i>Yes, generally speaking, I think of myself as a voter</i>
<b>NEVADA total</b>	<b>62.5%</b>	<b>73.6%</b>
- African Americans	59.5%	66.8%
- Latinos	48.1%	62%
- APIAs	52.6%	65.7%
- Whites (non-Hispanic)	73.8%	84.1%

There was however also a relatively strong sense that, “Most elections don’t really matter that much. Things stay the same for people like me no matter who is voted into office.”:

- 54% of Nevadans agreed—18% strongly and 36% “somewhat agreed.”
- 63% of African Americans in Nevada agreed—27% strongly and 36% somewhat agreed.
- African Americans were much more likely to say that there are too many barriers that discourage voting: 48% of African Americans said so, compared to 35% of Latinos, 31% of APIAs, and 21% of whites.
- 82% of Nevadans say democracy is stronger when the voting population reflects the state population.

## **Florida**

### **Inequality, Attitudes towards Corporations and Big Businesses, and the Role of the Government**

On the whole, Floridians tend to dislike corporations, think that big businesses and the rich have too much influence in politics, that they do not pay their fair shares of taxes, and agree that economic inequality is a major problem in the state (about 10 percentage points more than Nevada). They also think that the government needs to do more to alleviate poverty, provide housing, provide jobs, and raise the minimum wage.

#### *Corporations*

- 54% of Floridians dislike corporations, rating them below 50 (on a 1-100 scale).
- 62% say that corporations have too much influence in Florida politics.
- 67% think big businesses and corporations are not paying their fair share of state taxes.
- 54% think that increasing taxes on corporations will help the state economy.

#### *Inequality*

- 77% agree that economic inequality is a major problem in Florida.
- 68% think that government should play a major role in reducing income inequality.
- 54% think that upper income people are not paying their fair share of taxes and 46% think lower income people are paying too much.
- 80% agree that the government should be responsible for ensuring that working people have access to affordable housing.
- 78% agree that government should be responsible for ensuring that all American adults who want a job are able to have one.
- 82% agree that they need to demand a living wage for all working Floridians; 75% support an increase in minimum wage to \$15 per hour.

#### *Labor Unions*

- 50% have positive views of labor unions.
- 50% think labor unions have about the right amount of influence in state politics.

White, Latino, and Black Floridians are surprisingly similar in their views of the power that corporations and big business have in the state. Divergence emerges, however, when looking at whether government should do more to regulate big business and whether inequality is an issue. Whites are slightly less supportive of government regulation, and less likely to think that the inequality is a big deal or that government should do more to reduce it.

### **Intergroup Relations and Solidarity**

Floridians are also somewhat progressive on racial issues, though generally high on racial resentment. Most Floridians hold positive views toward other racial and ethnic groups, perceive little competition with other groups for jobs, housing, or culture, and generally support progressive immigration legislation. Black and Latino Floridians are however quite likely to view whites as enemies, not allies.



*Muslims and Refugees*

- 49% of Floridians have positive views of Muslims.
- 67% think it is important to take in immigrants and refugees from countries where people are trying to escape war and violent. 57% agree with regards to Muslim countries.
- 74% support taking in refugees displaced by climate events or natural disasters.

*General Racial Outgroup Attitudes and Attitudes Toward Diversity*

- 71% of Floridians hold positive views toward Asian Americans.
- 72% hold positive views toward Latinos.
- 76% hold positive views toward African Americans.
- 74% hold positive views toward whites.

*Immigrant Resentment*

- 73% of Floridians think that immigrants should work their way up like the Irish, Italian, and Jews did, without any special favors.
- 56% think that discrimination have made it hard for immigrants to work their way out of the lower class.
- 47% think that immigrants have gotten less than they deserve.
- 57% think that if immigrants just tried a little harder they'd be as well off as whites.

	<i>Percent of Floridians who score on the <b>upper 1/3</b> of the immigrant resentment scale.</i>
African Americans	12.1%
Latinos	22.0%
Whites (non-Hispanic)	48.1%

*Racial Resentment*

- 69% of Floridians think that blacks should work their way up like the Irish, Italian, and Jews did, without any special favors.
- Only 48% think that slavery and discrimination make it hard for African Americans to work their way out of the lower class.
- 49% think that Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
- 57% think that if Blacks just tried a little harder they'd be as well off as whites.

	<i>Percent of Floridians who score on the <b>upper 1/3</b> of the racial resentment scale.</i>
African Americans	8.9%
Latinos	33.4%
Whites (non-Hispanic)	47.6%

### *Allies or Enemies*

- 42% of African Americans score Latinos as strong allies (6 or 7 on 7-point scale); 39% of Latinos score African Americans as strong allies, and just 10% see them as enemies (score of 1, 2, or 3 on a 7-point enemy-ally scale).
- 39% of Latinos also see Asian Americans as strong allies.
- 42% of whites score Asian Americans as strong allies.
- 39% of African Americans and 20% of Latinos view whites as enemies.
- 12% of whites and 15% of African Americans view Latinos as enemies.

### *Group Competition: Housing, Politics, and Culture*

- White Floridians tend to reject the idea that they are competing for neighborhoods (Latino 30%, African American 28%, Asian American 22%) or jobs (Latino 30%, Black 21%, Asian Americans 23%) with other groups.
- Black Floridians are more likely to see whites as their competition for jobs (58%) than they are for other groups (Latinos 40%; Asian Americans 35%). Perceived neighborhood competition is lower (with whites 47%, Latinos 36%, and Asian Americans 29%).
  - Latinos in Florida are likewise more likely to see whites as job and housing competition, but at notably lower rates than African Americans.
- 54% of Floridians say that having an increasing number of people of different races, ethnic groups, and nationalities makes America a better, not worse, place to live.

### *Immigration Policy*

- 62% of Floridians support establishing a pathway to citizenship.
- 74% support a pathway to citizenship for DREAMers.
- 50% oppose the U.S.-Mexico border wall.
- 65% think immigrants are doing enough to adapt to the American way of life.
- Paradoxically however, 59% find it important to increase deportations of those here without documentation.

## **Global Climate Change**

A majority of Floridians believe global warming is a serious problem, that governments are doing too little, and that environmental regulation improves, not hurts, the economy. A substantial number also have personal experience with climate events and disruptive catastrophes. We see similar gaps in Florida between perceptions of climate change as a serious problem and the likelihood that climate issues will factor into voting decisions for all groups.

	<i>Climate change is a <u>very/extremely serious issue</u> (score of 6 or 7 on 7-point scale)</i>	<i>Climate change is <u>very/extremely important in deciding on a candidate for whom I will vote</u></i>
<b>FLORIDA total</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>44%</b>
- African Americans	55%	45%
- Latinos	59%	50%
- Whites (non-Hispanic)	47%	41%

- 35% of respondents have been temporarily evacuated due to an environmental event.
- 10% have lost their home to an environmental event, and 18% know someone else who has lost their home.
  - Large racial disparities emerge here with 16% of African Americans and 15% of Latinos losing homes compared to just 7% of whites.
- 69% think that the government is doing too little to regulate industries that pollute.
  - Non-whites are about 10 percentage points more likely to agree with this than white respondents.
- 65% think the government is doing too little to prepare their communities against the effects of climate change.
- 68% think that protecting the environment encourages innovation rather than slows growth.

## Census

There is a considerable amount of confusion about the U.S. census among Floridians, as there was among Nevadans. Only about half of adults in Florida think that the Census Bureau will keep information confidential, many think it is used to determine legal residency, over a quarter don't plan on filling out the form, and over half of Floridians don't know that they are required by law to do so.

- 55% trust that the Census Bureau will keep information confidential. Distrust of the census bureau is much higher among Black Floridians than other groups.
- 74% say they plan to fill out the U.S. Census form.
- 41% incorrectly believe that only U.S. citizens fill out the Census form.
- 40% incorrectly believe that the U.S. Census is used to determine if someone is in the country legally.
- 53% don't know that they are required by law to fill out the census form, under penalty of a fine.

## Voting and Barriers

With respect to voting, a majority of Floridians don't think that their votes matter that much, and have mixed views on voter access issues. Floridians were also more likely to think of themselves as voters than to signal an intent to vote in the then-upcoming 2018 midterm election.

	<i>I definitely will vote in Nov. 2018 election</i>	<i>Yes, generally speaking, I think of myself as a voter</i>
<b>FLORIDA total</b>	<b>75.8%</b>	<b>85%</b>
- African Americans	66.3%	75.9%
- Latinos	69.7%	80.4%
- Whites (non-Hispanic)	82%	90.4%

- 53% think that elections don't matter that much.
- 68% don't think there are too many barriers to voting.
  - Black and Latino adults in FL are somewhat more likely than white adults to acknowledge barriers to participation.
- 51% oppose automatic voter registration, even as 62% said they supported Amendment 4.

## **Crime and Law Enforcement**

Floridians overall are fairly liberal on criminal justice issues. Most support releasing low-risk offenders awaiting trial, most support prevention and rehabilitation programs over increased punitive punishment, and support reaching across racial lines to create fair and equitable policy. However, bare majorities also believe that police treat those of different races equally and think that police killings of African Americans are isolated incidents (not part of a broader pattern). In general, there is not broad solidarity from Latinos on perceptions of police brutality and police killings of African Americans.

- 67% support releasing low-risk offenders who are awaiting trial, to reduce the number of those jailed simply because they cannot afford to post bail.
- 37% think prevention programs should be the top priority for dealing with crime; 25% prioritize more enforcement, 24% more rehabilitation, and 14% harsher punishment.
- 50% think that police treat people of different races equally—a level of agreement that doesn't differ significantly across racial groups (41% of African Americans agree).
- 52% think that police killings of African Americans are isolated incidents and not part of a broader pattern. Black Floridians are significantly more likely to say that these are part of a larger pattern. Latinos, on the other hand, tend to look more like whites on this issue.
- 70%, however, say that police brutality is a problem in the U.S.
- 96% think that it is important for Floridians to work together across racial lines to create fair and equitable public policy; 87% think government should do more to ensure the same.

## Appendix

The racial resentment battery and scale used in these two surveys are those most commonly employed in social science research today to assess contemporary manifestations of racial animus, and anti-black animus in particular.<sup>3</sup> There are numerous other types of survey items that ask respondents more directly whether they hold prejudiced views or desires for social distance among “races.” But the racial resentment battery tends to be preferred by researchers who recognize that racist sentiments need not be this explicit to impact social and political life.

The four-item racial resentment battery reproduced below was designed to play on mainstream or hegemonic U.S. ideals of self-reliance, individualism, and meritocracy, with each question asking respondents whether they agree that “blacks” transgress different formulations of those ideals.<sup>4</sup> At one end of the resulting scale are those respondents who are highly conscious of the enduring historical and structural causes of racial inequality. At the other are those who would blame inequality wholly on African Americans’ supposed personal, social, and/or cultural shortcomings.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Racial Resentment Battery (Anti-Black Resentment)***

Irish, Italians, Jews and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

Strongly agree ..... 1  
Somewhat Agree..... 2  
Somewhat Disagree..... 3  
Strongly Disagree..... 4

Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

Strongly agree ..... 1  
Somewhat Agree..... 2  
Somewhat Disagree..... 3  
Strongly Disagree..... 4

Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

Strongly agree ..... 1  
Somewhat Agree..... 2  
Somewhat Disagree..... 3  
Strongly Disagree..... 4

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<sup>3</sup> To say that the battery is the one most commonly employed is not to claim there is—or has ever been—consensus about how best to measure racism. A succinct summary of some of the historical debates and trends in the survey measurement of racial prejudice can be found in Michael Tesler, *Post-Racial or Most-Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era*, The University of Chicago Press, 2016, pp. 19-24.

<sup>4</sup> Donald R. Kinder and David O. Sears, “Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism Versus Racial Threats to the Good Life,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 40(3): 414-431 (1981).

<sup>5</sup> Donald R. Kinder and Lynn M. Sanders, *Divided By Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*, The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

- Strongly agree..... 1
- Somewhat Agree..... 2
- Somewhat Disagree..... 3
- Strongly Disagree..... 4

***Immigrant Resentment Battery***

Irish, Italians, Jews and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Immigrants today should do the same without any special favors.

- Strongly agree..... 1
- Agree..... 2
- Disagree..... 3
- Strongly Disagree..... 4

Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for immigrants today to work their way out of the lower class.

- Strongly agree..... 1
- Agree..... 2
- Disagree..... 3
- Strongly Disagree..... 4

Over the past few years, immigrants have gotten less than they deserve.

- Strongly agree..... 1
- Agree..... 2
- Disagree..... 3
- Strongly Disagree..... 4

It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if immigrants today would only try harder they could be just as well off as white Americans.

- Strongly agree..... 1
- Agree..... 2
- Disagree..... 3
- Strongly Disagree..... 4