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Latinos and the 2013 Mayoral Election: Exploring the Issues

By Angelo Falcón (September 25, 2013)

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Introduction

The role of the Latino vote in this year's Mayoral election in New York City has been widely discussed with assessments ranging that it would be important to that it would not be important at all. Given this broad range of views on the role of the city's 23 percent of eligible voters who are Latino, I thought it might be helpful to dispassionately examine the existing evidence at this early point to at least outline the issues involved more precisely. In the analysis that follows, we review information from the most recent Quinnipiac Poll and data from the NYC Campaign Finance Board. Along the way, it is hoped that this will point to areas where further consideration and research are required to provide a more accurate reading of the Latino role in New York City politics.

It is necessary at the outset to qualify our use of polling data. The Quinnipiac, Marist and Siena polls of the city's voters have all done a poor job of including Latinos and reporting on their Latino findings when they did include them. The result has been a distortion of Latino voices through undersampling, poor sampling, the inconsistent use of Spanish language interviewing, and the omission of Latino opinions from the narratives that accompany their surveys.

While the Quinnipiac Poll used here addresses some of these issues, the interpretation of their findings need to be approached with caution. For example, they report that in their sample, Latinos comprised 16 percent of likely voters, although in the last Mayoral election Latinos comprised an estimated 20 percent of those voting. In this poll there is also the inconsistent inclusion of the only Latino in the race, Adolfo Carrion, Jr., where he is excluded from most of the questions asked about the candidates, limiting the choice to de

Blasio and Lohta. Why Carrion is included in part of the survey and not in most of it is not explained, as is the case with the size of the unweighted Latino sample used that is also not reported.

Latinos and the Mayoral Horse Race

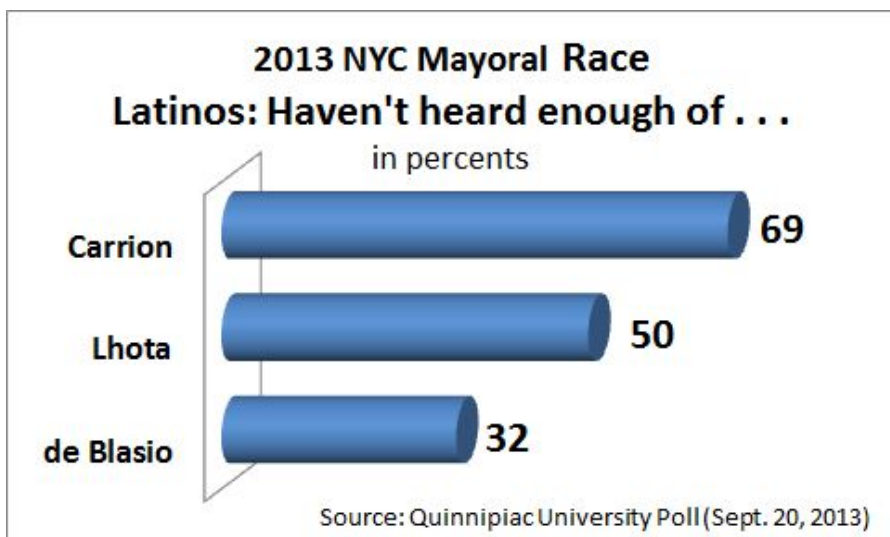
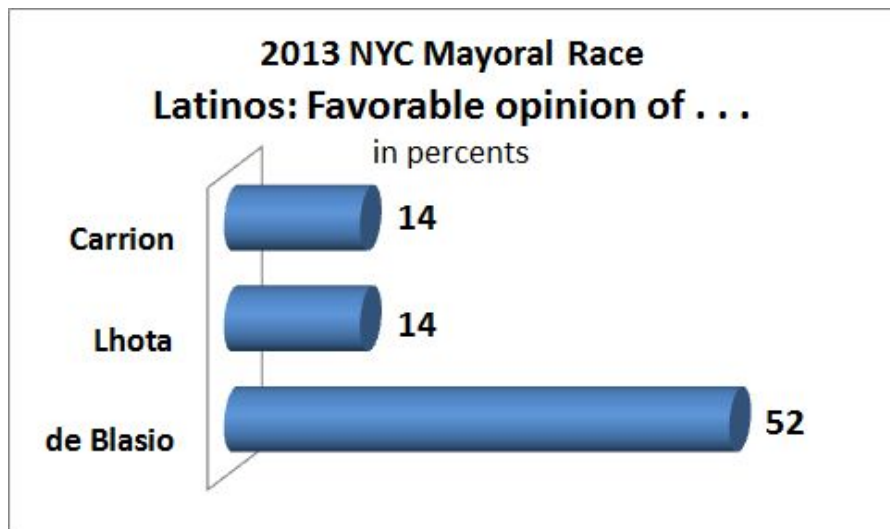
According to the [Quinnipiac University Poll](#) of likely voters on the New York City Mayoral Election released on September 19, 2013, Bill de Blasio the Democrat had majority support from all the major racial-ethnic groups. Of total likely voters (including leaners), 66 percent indicated their intention to vote for de Blasio. Over two-thirds (68 percent) of Latinos planned to vote for him, along with 90 percent of Blacks and 52 percent of Whites.

If the election for Mayor were being held today, and the candidates were Bill de Blasio the Democrat, Joe Lhota the Republican, and Adolfo Carrion, the Independence Party candidate, for whom would you vote? (If undecided) As of today, do you lean more toward de Blasio, Lhota, or Carrion? (Table includes leaners)

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
deBlasio	68%	90%	52%	66%
Lhota	18	3	40	25
Carrion	7	1	1	2
Someone Else (vol.)		1	1	1
DK/NA	6	6	6	6

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

This survey also found that Latinos gave a much higher favorability rating to de Blasio (52 percent) than to either Lohta (14 percent) and Carrion (14 percent). This was affected by the large number of Latinos who felt they needed to know more about the candidates: 69 percent about Carrion, 50 percent about Lohta, and 32 percent about de Blasio. De Blasio begins the general election campaign with greater recognition and favorability among Latinos than Lohta and Carrion.



The failure of Bill Thompson, the only African-American running for Mayor in the Democratic primary and weak showing with the Latino electorate raises interesting questions about the role of Latinos in the city's politics. The failure of a once significant nexus of Latino power brokers to effectively mobilize Latino voters citywide was evident. Thompson was endorsed by what is left of the Puerto Rican political machine in The Bronx, had the services of one of the MirRam Group (the once premier Puerto Rican political consulting firm), the endorsement of the publisher of the major Spanish-language newspaper, El Diario-La Prensa, and the support of Dominican elected officials in upper Manhattan. The inability of such a formerly influential network of Latino influencers to effectively mobilize the Latino vote for a candidate represents a major challenge and important turning point for Latino politics in the city.

Joe Lohta, the Republican, would, according to this survey, attract only 25 percent of the total vote. He had much greater support among Whites (40 percent) than among Latinos (18 percent) or Blacks (3 percent).

Adolfo Carrion, the Independent Party candidate and the only Latino/Puerto

Rican in the race, would, according to this poll, run a poor third place, with only 2 percent of the total vote. As the only racial-ethnic minority candidates, he received poor support from both Latinos (7 percent) and lacks 1 percent) as well as with White voters (1 percent). An [exit poll conducted on Primary day by the Independence Party](#), on whose line he is running, found that only 34 percent knew he was running for office (only 42 percent in The Bronx, where he has served as Borough President).

The level of undecideds or don't knows from all three groups was low (6 percent or each).

This projected vote for Mayor reveals a significant racial disparity, with Latinos and Blacks that is much more supportive of de Blasio, and Whites much more supportive of Lohta. With 90 percent support in the Black community, de Blasio, who is White but is part of a bi-racial family, has begun to be referred to as potentially the "second Black Mayor of New York."

Carrion's low support among Latinos and Blacks are the result of a number of factors. First is his leaving the Democratic Party, to which he Latino voter is very loyal, in a failed attempt to run in the Republican primary. Second is his move to the right in his bid for the Republican nomination and to appeal to a broader electorate beyond Latinos. Third was his near absence during the summer months when the Democratic and Republican primary fights were in full play, costing him significant name recognition loss.

The weight of the Carrion candidacy is, therefore, now dependent on the competitiveness of the de Blasio-Lota race. If Lohta is able to mount a competitive campaign, and if Carrion is able to pivot politically to appeal more directly to the Latino vote, Carrion could become a significant player despite having no chance of winning. If, however, de Blasio has the type of landslide victory the current poll indicates, then Carrion's part and that of the Latino vote will be insignificant.

Some have observed that Carrion is in a unique position to build on failed Democratic Mayoral candidate Erick Salgado's campaign in reaching out to a large and growing Latino Pentecostal and Protestant religious community, which is the base of Bronx State Senator Ruben Diaz, Sr. Carrion is a graduate of The King's College, a Christian liberal arts college in Westchester County; where he majored in world religions. He followed in the footsteps of his father, a Protestant minister and leader in the Assemblies of God Church, the world's largest Pentecostal denomination, and became an associate pastor at a Bronx church.

A sense of the Protestant network that Carrion could build on can be gotten by a listing of the affiliations of contributors to the Salgado campaign, These include the Assembly of Christian Churches; Believers Bible Temple; Broadway Spanish Baptist Church; Calvary Christian Fellowship; Chaplain Unidos de America; Evangelical Movement; Iglesia Cristiana Mahanaim 2; Iglesia Asamblea Pentecostal; Iglesia de Cristo Misionera; Iglesia De Dios En Cristo La S; Iglesia De Dios Pentecostal; Iglesia Evangelica Metodista; Iglesia Jovenes Cristianos; Iglesia Palabra de Vida; Iglesia Pentecostal Lirio De Los Val; Iglesia Pentecostal El Camino; Iglesia Pentecostal Latino Am; Iglesia Rios de Agua Viva; Iglesias De EM Iouenes Cristia; International Christian Center; Love, Power & Grace Church; Mennonite Church; Ministerio el Movimiento de la; New Jerusalem City Church;

Pentecostal church Peniel; Primera Iglesia Bautista; Radio Cantico Nuevo; Second Christian Mission Church; and the Segunda Casa de Oracion.

The de Blasio-Lohta contest pits the most ideologically distinctive of those running. Carrion is presenting himself somewhere in between them ideologically. Lohta and Carrion have begun to try to paint de Blasio as too far to the left, most recently pointing to his honeymoon trip to Cuba and his volunteer work in Nicaragua 23 years ago as proof that he is a socialist, this being the basis of his tax the rich goal, his promotion of class divisions by his "two cities" position, and his role in the Dinkins Administration. De Blasio has focused on Lohta as a throwback to the regressive and divisive policies of the Giuliani Administration that he was a significant player in, citing his support of the Bloomberg appeal of the stop and frisk court decision and City Council legislation, while mostly ignoring Carrion. Carrion, for his part, is attempting to stake out a middle position in attacking both candidates as throwbacks to earlier Administrations, calling Lohta, for example, a "warmed over Giuliani," and criticizing both the Democratic and Republican Parties for being out of touch with the city's residents, many of which are registered as independents or other parties.

In terms of the Latino vote, it is not clear whether Lohta or Carrion's approach will resonate. The Republican Party's failure to effectively reach out to Latinos both locally and at the national level is a major obstacle for Lohta. In New York City, the Republican Party, for example, has only one elected official who is Latino, an Assemblywoman from Staten Island who is part Cuban and part Greek. They also sponsor an annual [Unidad Latino Conference](#) by the Republican State Senate members, which is three years old and has been somewhat controversial because of its co-sponsorship of Latino organizations like the Hispanic Federation and others who, some argue, are supporting an anti-Latino Republican agenda by doing so. Furthermore, attempts to red-bait de Blasio will probably not achieve traction with a Latino electorate that is mainly Puerto Rican and Dominican (with very few Cubans and Nicaraguans) that has in the past even welcome Fidel Castro when he visited the Bronx. The charge that de Blasio is promoting class divisions with his "two cities" message will probably not be effective with Latinos, given that this was Fernando Ferrer's message when he ran against Bloomberg in 2005 and attracted 75 percent of the Latino vote.

As the only Latino in the race, Carrion's role is uncertain. If the race between de Blasio and Lohta becomes competitive and Carrion is able to split the Latino vote with de Blasio, especially if he energizes his Pentecostal/Protestant and Bronx Puerto Rican bases, this would benefit Lohta. On the other hand, Carrion's more center-right positions could also cut into Lohta's support among conservatives, which is possible given the current lack of enthusiastic Republican Party support for Lohta ("his potential "Staten Island problem"). However, his invisibility during the Democratic and Republican primary campaign and his limited campaign funds are significant challenges for Carrion to overcome. There is also the question of whether Carrion will be included in the two official debates sponsored by the two NYC Campaign Finance Board and the third to be held on ABC-TV, Univision, the Daily News and League of Women Voters, all to be held in Manhattan. As the only person of color running for Mayor, this will put the openness of the debates into question and will put pressure on the Spanish-language media organizations who are participating as debate co-sponsors, to make the case for Carrion's inclusion.

De Blasio's stronger support among Black voters than that of the Black candidate, Thompson, has been cited as evidence of the end of identity politics in New York. But, [as one veteran journalist put it](#) (perhaps a bit too harshly), this may have been a case of "identity theft" by de Blasio. However, the uniqueness of the de Blasio candidacy and a view of the election results beyond the post of Mayor raise serious questions about such "post-racial" politics pronouncements. If anything, this election result points to the significant role that race and ethnicity continue to exert, but alongside other factors. The notion that Blacks, Latinos and Asians mechanically vote only on the basis of their race and ethnicity is a caricature used ideologically by those most fearful of the empowerment of communities of color.

Toward a Latino Agenda

During the Mayoral primary campaigns, it was often observed that the Latino community did not appear unified either in its political leaderships support of candidates nor in the promotion of a unified Latino policy agenda. This led some to conclude that the Latino vote would be s low and dispersed that it would not have a significant impact on the outcome. However, following the primary elections, the nonpartisan Hispanic Federation, the trade association of 60 NYC-based Latino nonprofits, issued an agenda at a major news conference on September 19th on the steps of City Hall that included close to a hundred Latino nonprofit heads and staff members.



The 48-page Hispanic Federation report, [La Gran Manzanana: The Road Ahead for NYC's Latino Community](#), covers a wide range of policy issues, covering over 150 reforms and investments. These are in the following areas:

- * Supporting Latino Nonprofits
- * Improving Education
- * Supporting Healthy Lifestyles
- * Integrating Immigrants
- * Economic Empowerment and Financial Security
- * Environmental Justice
- * Civil Rights
- * Women's Rights
- * Arts & Culture

This document is a very useful starting point in outlining areas of major concern to the Latino community. However, it also illustrates the need for a more comprehensive approach to addressing the needs of the more than 2.3 million Latinos in New York City. Its major limitation comes from it being the product of what is essentially a lobbying organization for Latino nonprofits, giving the document its focus on promoting the growth of this sector to the neglect of others. In the process, it underlines the problem of the overdependence of Latino nonprofits on government funding and the deleterious effect this has had on the much-needed independent advocacy capacity missing in far too many areas in the Latino community.

By focusing on the important role that Latino nonprofits play in providing social and other services, the document does not pay sufficient attention to the effectiveness of government and the budgeting challenges that it faces. One key issue in this regard that the report does not address is the underrepresentation of Latinos in the city government work force. Despite making up 25 percent of the city's civilian labor force, [Latinos only comprise 18 percent of municipal employees](#). If we do not count Latinos in the Police Department, Latinos make up only less than 16 percent of employees in the other city agencies. It would seem that promoting the full inclusion of Latinos and greater diversity in city government should be a high priority item in any Latino agenda for this city. For example, although Latino children make up the largest segment of the public school population at over 40 percent, Latino educational advocacy has been weak over the years and there has been silence on the need for greater Latino representation in the leadership and teaching staff of the Department of Education.

The report also appears to display a reluctance to be critical of Bloomberg Administration policies. The most obvious has been the failure of his anti-poverty project, the Center for Economic Opportunity, which remained at a pilot stage despite the high 25 percent poverty rate in the Latino community. It does not address the issue of public school governance and the negative impact Mayoral control has had on Latino representation among school staff and the participation of Latino parents.

The Hispanic Federation report also did not provide guidance to the Latino community on ballot proposals that will be placed before the voters in the November general election. These consisted of the following six proposals:

- Proposal 1. Authorizing Casino Gaming
- Proposal 2. Additional Civil Service Credit for Veterans with Disabilities Certified Post-Appointment
- Proposal 3. Exclusion of Indebtedness Contracted for Sewage Facilities
- Proposal 4. Settling Disputed Title in the Forest Preserve
- Proposal 5. In Relation to a Land Exchange in the State Forest Preserve with NYCO Minerals, Inc.
- Proposal 6. Increasing Age until which Certain State Judges Can Serve

Given that the Latino community has a statewide presence and that some of these proposals would impact on Latinos in New York City, it would have been helpful to include them in a Latino agenda.

This analysis of the Hispanic Federation agenda is not meant as a criticism of this effort, but rather to point to much additional work that needs to be done to adequately address the challenges facing such a large and diverse Latino community.

The Role of Money and Latino Contributors

As we enter the general election campaign, there are real disparities in the resources that the Mayoral candidates are starting off with. As of September 20th, de Blasio starts off with more than twice the funds of Lohta and nearly 4 times those of Carrion.

While money is not necessarily the determining factor in elections, as the

Catsimatidis and Spitzer campaigns clearly illustrated, it is nonetheless important. It certainly puts the third party candidacy of Carrion at a disadvantage, especially it is unclear where his contributor base will be drawn from given the greater attention the Democratic and Republican candidates have gotten to date. If Carrion plans to focus on the Latino vote, another problem he will face is the historically low level of Latino political campaign contributing given the high poverty rate in this community.

NYC Campaign Finance Board Campaign Finance Summary 2013 Mayoral Election					
Last Statement Filed #12 as of September 20, 2013					
Candidate	Private Funds	Public Funds	Spending	Balance	Loans/ Liabilities
Adolfo Carrion Jr.	\$ 1,157,055	None	\$ 829,677	\$ 327,379	\$ 343
Bill de Blasio	\$ 5,135,153	\$ 2,903,840	\$ 6,815,369	\$ 1,223,624	\$ 7,728
Joseph J. Lohta	\$ 2,391,756	\$1,943,076	\$ 3,837,547	\$ 497,296	\$ -

As the Latino community grows in numbers and diversity, its role in campaign financing has not received much attention. However, over the years some attention has been given from time to time to the occasional large campaign contributions made by wealthy Latinos.

The analysis that follows on Latino contributors is only very preliminary. A cursory review of contributors from the NYC Campaign Finance Board's database is based on the identification of Spanish-surnames and should therefore be treated as no more than estimates.

As of September 20th, Carrion received \$125,380 in contribution, of which an estimated \$34,862 came from 46 Latinos, making up 29 percent of his total. Most all (96 percent) of Carrion's Latino contributions came from outside of New York City. The small number of Latino contributors from New York City, totaling only 11 individuals, means that Carrion starts off with a minuscule baseline of financial support from the city's Latino community.

Carrion's largest Latino contributors were:

Carrion, Elisa, \$4,950 (resident of Suffern, NY)
 Ginger Lippmeier-Suarez, \$4,950, employed by the CSA Group (resident of Cincinnati, OH)
 Radame Jose Perez, \$4,950, of New Era Foods One (resident of Alpine, NJ)
 Evelyn Gonzalez, \$3,000 (resident of New Rochelle, NY)
 George Herrera, \$2,000, of Herrera- Cristina Group Ltd (resident of Montclair, VA)
 Ismael Ruiz, \$2,000 of GB (resident of Guaynabo, PR)
 Rudy Beserra, \$1,000 of Coca-Cola (resident of Atlanta, GA)
 Mickey Ibarra, \$1,000 of the Ibarra Strategy Group (resident of Washington, DC)
 Carlos Lopez, \$1,000 of Wolf Popper PSC (resident of San Juan, PR)
 Ruben A Medina, \$1,000 of RC Solutions Inc (Elmsford, NY)
 Angel Nunez, \$1,000 of R & E Corp (resident of Nyack, NY)
 Arabella Rodriguez, \$1,000 of Mastermind (resident of Effort, PA)
 Robert Sancho, \$1,000 of Bronx Lebanon Hospital (resident of Scarsdale, NY)

In comparison to Carrion, Lohta, the Republican has an estimated total of 90 Latino contributors, contributing \$31,735 or 14 percent of his total. In contrast to Carrion, the majority (52 percent) of Lohta's Latino contributions came from

New York City residents.

Lohta's largest Latino contributors were:

Amelia Junquera, \$4,950 (resident of New York, NY)
 Oscar Junquera, \$4,950, Self-Employed (resident of New York, NY)
 Lawrence Roman, \$4,950, employed by W.D.F., Inc. (resident of Larchmont, NY)
 Joe San Miguel, \$3,000 Self-Employed (resident of San Antonio, TX)
 Peter S Pantaleo, \$2,500 of Dla Piper (resident of New York, NY)
 Alan Rivera, \$2,500 of Millbrook Capital Mgmt., Inc. (resident of Greenwich, CT)
 Alvares & Marsal PAC, \$1,500 (resident of Washington, DC)
 Philip Junquera, \$1,175 of Panmar Capital (resident of New York, NY)
 Gonzalo Palenzuela, \$1,075 of Caribbean Export, Inc. (resident of Coral Gables, FL)
 Olga San Miguel, \$1,000 (resident of San Antonio, TX)

De Blasio, has a much larger number of Latino contributors than Carrion and Lohta combined. 309 compared to 60 between Carrion and Lohta. Latino contributions to de Blasio totaled about \$82,540 or less than 2 percent of his total. Latino contributions from New York City made up about 80 percent of de Blasio's total much greater than that of his rivals in the general election.

De Blasio's largest Latino contributors were:

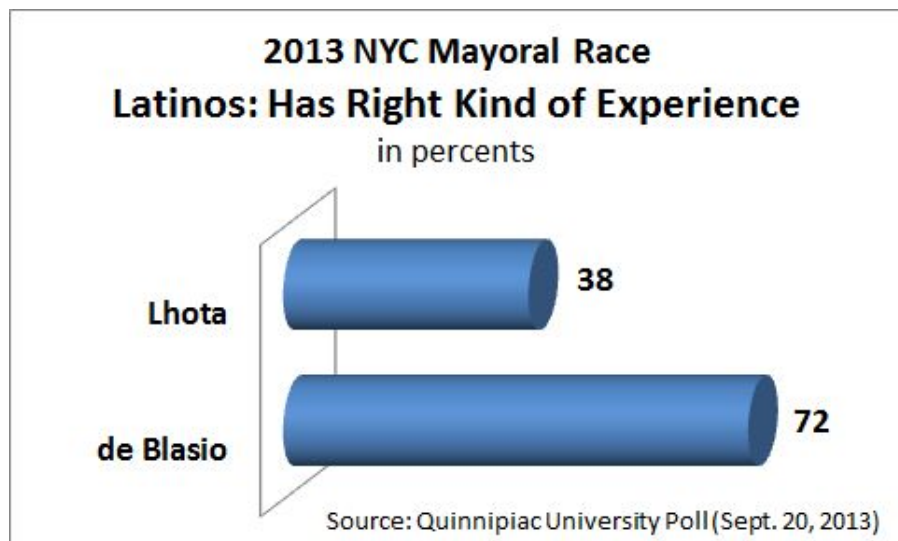
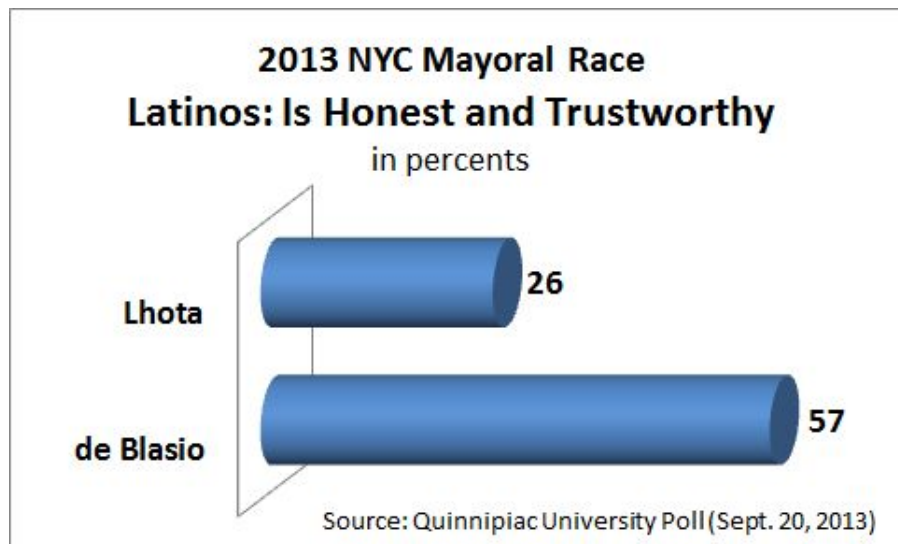
Jo Andres, \$4,950 Self Employed (resident of Brooklyn, NY)
 Daniel Blanco, \$4,950 Self Employed (resident of New York, NY)
 Fidel F Del Valle, \$3,550 Self-Employed (resident of Brooklyn NY)
 Louis Jimenez, H, \$3,000 employed by the Montauk Credit Union (resident of Cold Springs Harbor, NY)
 Robert Lobo, \$3,000 of Singh Group (resident of Flushing, NY)
 Emil Sanchez, \$2,675 Self Employed (resident of Brooklyn, NY)
 Elizabeth Velez, \$2,500 of Velez Organization (resident of Orange, CT)
 Orlando Diaz, \$2,000 of East Coast Expediting (resident of South Richmond Hill, NY)
 Victoria Moran, \$2,000 Homemaker (resident of New York, NY)
 Gregory Castaldo, \$1,750 of Kessler Topaz (resident of Garnet Valley, PA)
 Ioana Torres, \$1,500 of Tully Construction (resident of Wayne, NJ)
 Antonio Farina, \$1,450 Retired (resident of Brooklyn, NY)
 Carmen Farina, \$1,200 (resident of Brooklyn, NY)
 Myriam Castillo, \$1,000 of TPH Project Services LLC (resident of New York, NY)
 Cliff Fernandes, \$1,000 of NYCTA (resident of Brooklyn, NY)
 Sylveta Gonzales, \$1,000 (resident of Brooklyn, NY)
 Alex S Navarro, \$1,000 of BerlinRosen (resident of New York, NY)
 Hector Roman, \$1,000 of the Law Office of Hector Roman PC (resident of Forest Hills, NY)
 Joe Velasquez, \$1,000 of Velasquez & Associates, Inc (resident of Reston, VA)
 Andrew Velez, \$1,000 of Velez Organization (resident of Dix Hills, NY)

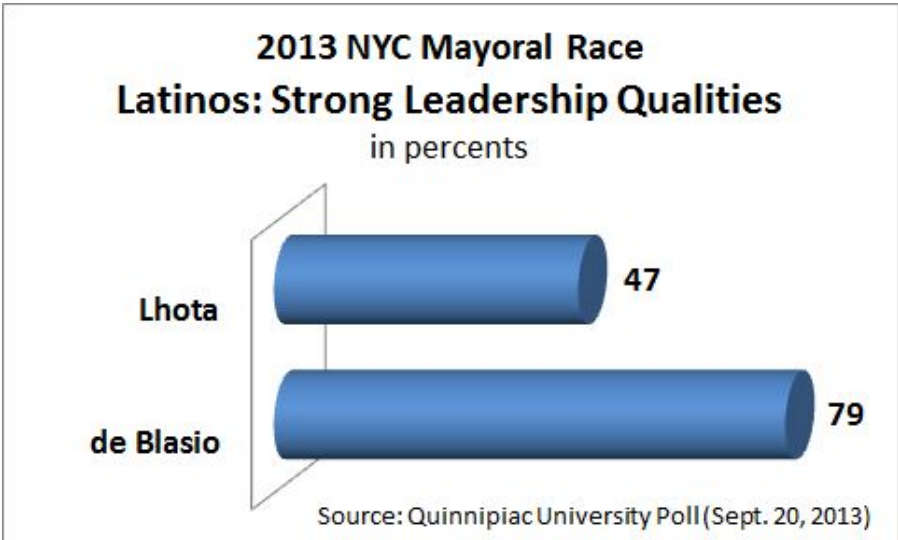
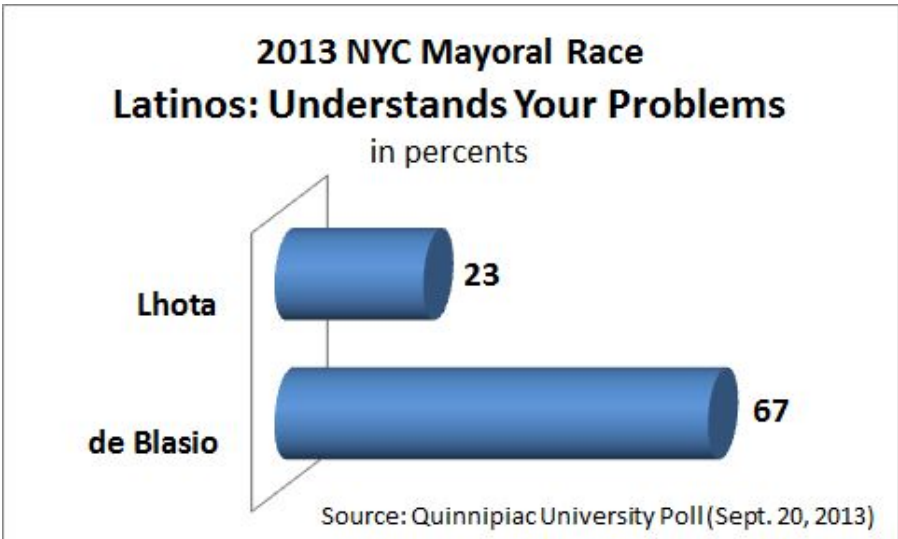
While the top Latino contributors giving \$1,000 or more were listed above for each of the Mayoral candidates, there is a significant difference in the average sizes of these contributions. For Carrion, the average Latino contribution was \$758, for Lohta it was \$353, and for de Blasio it was the lowest at \$267. By having more individual Latino contributors mostly from New York City, de Blasio has developed a large Latino voter base through his fundraising at this point. Carrion, on the other hand, has a much smaller number of Latino contributors giving larger grants on average, with very few residing in New York City. How these patterns will change during the general campaign is unknown, but these candidates all start if off with very different Latino donor penetrations.

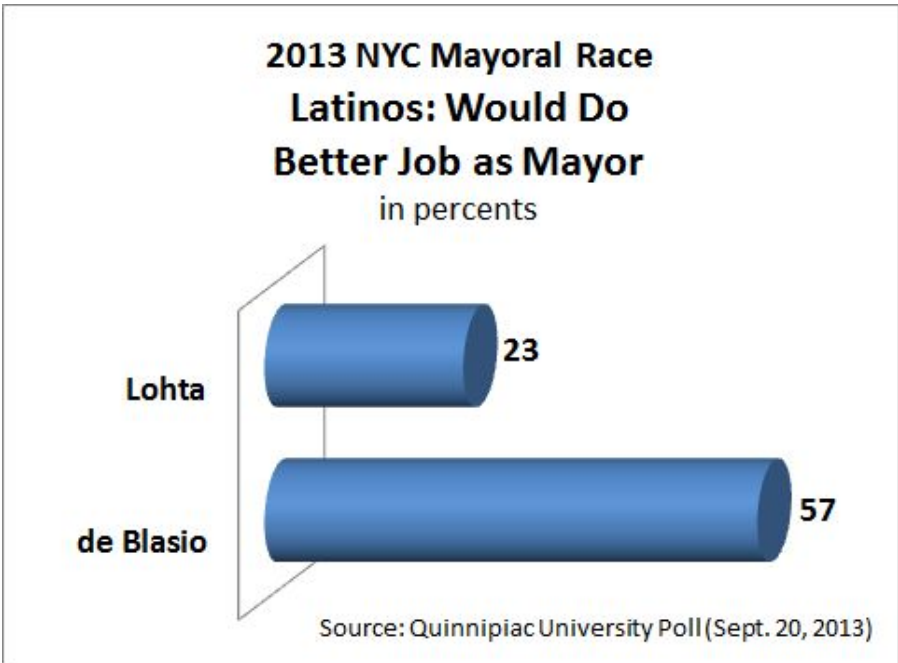
Latino Assessments of the Candidates' Qualities

The September 20th Quinnipiac Poll asked likely voters to assess different qualities of the candidates. To the detriment of the Carrion candidacy, he was excluded from these comparisons, which focused only on de Blasio and Lohta.

For Latino likely voters in this poll, de Blasio emerges as the clear winner over Lohta in terms of their opinion of him. Whether it was about his honesty and trustworthiness, his experience, his understanding of their problems his leadership qualities and who would do a better job as Mayor, de Blasio was consistently and by large margins favored by the Latinos in this survey. These results indicate that Lohta has significant hurdles to overcome in reaching the Latino voter in this election.







Latino Policy Assessments

The Quinnipiac Poll asked likely voters what they thought about various policy issues. These included which candidate would do a better job with the public schools and the future of Mayoral control of the schools, their impact on taxes, and their positions on police policies on stop and frisk and the surveillance of Muslims.

Asked about the public schools, Latinos felt that de Blasio would be better job improving the public schools, along with Blacks and Whites. Latinos also supported changing Mayoral control of the schools to a system that would have the Mayor share power.

Regardless of who you support in the election for mayor, do you think - Bill de Blasio or Joe Lhota would do a better job improving the public

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
deBlasio	64%	74%	53%	61%
Lhota	15	6	28	17
DK/NA	21	20	20	21

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

When Michael Bloomberg leaves office, do you think that the next mayor should retain complete control of the public schools or share control of the public schools with other elected leaders?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
Retain Control	21%	17%	30%	24%
Share Control	71	78	61	69
DK/NA	8	5	9	7

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

In terms of whether they felt their taxes would go up under a Lohta or de Blasio Administration, more Latinos felt they would go up under Lohta than de Blasio. There was a significant racial divide on this question, with Whites feeling that their taxes would go up with de Blasio rather than Lohta. If these perceptions hold, it would appear that Lohta's criticism of de Blasio's plan to tax the wealthy is not resonating with the city's Latino and Black communities. Even among White, 46 percent felt that their taxes would go down or stay the same under de Blasio.

If Bill de Blasio is elected Mayor, do you think your taxes will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
Go Up	23%	26%	47%	36%
Go Down	4	14	4	6
Stay About the Same	58	48	42	46
DK/NA	12	8	12	16

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

If Joe Lhota is elected Mayor, do you think your taxes will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
Go Up	41%	57%	24%	36%
Go Down	4	1	6	5
Stay About the Same	32	25	59	44
DK/NA	23	16	11	15

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

On the two issues about the police, there were significant differences along racial-ethnic lines. Asked about stop and frisk, majorities of Latinos and Black felt the city's policy was excessive, compared to a majority of Whites who felt it was appropriate. But, on the policy surveillance of Muslims, while the largest group of Blacks felt the policy was unfair, majorities of Latinos and Whites

thought it was appropriate.

As you may know, there is a police practice known as stop and frisk, where police stop and question a person they suspect of wrongdoing and, if necessary, search that person. Do you think stop and frisk is excessive and innocent people are being harassed, or do you think stop and frisk is an acceptable way to make New York City safer?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
Excessive	54%	74%	43%	55%
Acceptable	42	17	52	39
DK/NA	4	9	5	6

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

Do you think the New York City Police Department has unfairly targeted Muslims to combat terrorism or has acted appropriately?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
Unfair	29%	42%	25%	33%
Appropriate	57	33	62	50
DK/NA	15	24	14	17

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

Latinos on Bloomberg

An important theme in this race is the voters' judgment of the Bloomberg Administration, with de Blasio emerging as the "anti-Bloomberg" candidate, and Lohta and Carrion as more in line with the Bloomberg track record. This survey found a strong racial divide in opinions about Bloomberg. When asked whether they approved of Bloomberg's performance as Mayor, majorities of Latinos and Blacks disapproved, while a majority of Whites approved. Asked which direction they would like to see city government go, large majorities of Latinos and Blacks indicated they wanted a new direction, while Whites were divided with half calling for a new direction and another sizeable number wanting to see a continuation of the Bloomberg policies.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Michael Bloomberg is handling his job as Mayor?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
Approve	43%	25%	60%	46%
Disapprove	50	63	34	45
DK/NA	7	12	6	8

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

Which comes closer to your point of view, would you say the city needs to take a new direction from Mike Bloomberg's, or the city should continue in the direction in which Mike Bloomberg has been leading?

	Hsp	Blk	Wht	Tot
New Direction	68%	77%	50%	61%
Bloomberg Direction	25	10	43	30
Both (vol.)	5	6	5	5
DK/NA	2	7	3	4

Source: Quinnipiac Poll - NYC Mayoral Election (Sept. 19, 2013)

Conclusion

While the evidence at the start of the Mayoral general election seems to favor de Blasio overwhelmingly in general, this is more so the case with Latino voters. The unknown variables at this early point in the campaign include whether Lohta will generate a competitive race with de Blasio, and whether Carrion will have the ability to attract a significant share of the Latino vote, as well as that of independents.

As the evidence provided here also indicates. De Blasio's "two cities" theme is clearly reflected in the racially distinctive opinions on the candidates and key policy issues. This is certainly the case in the assessments given on the Bloomberg Administration that over a number of polls over time has revealed a racially divided city. This would point to the fact that the majority of the city's population has been politically unhappy with New York's leadership, a fact that the city's top leaders, news media and major polls have consistently ignored or downplayed.

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