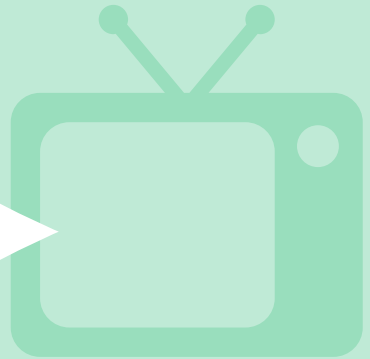


ASIAN AMERICANS ON THE SUNDAY SHOWS

What They
Talk About
When They
Talk About Us



CHANGELAB

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INTRODUCTION

From January 1 through June 30 of 2013 (26 weeks) ChangeLab conducted a study of weekly talk-format Sunday political news programs in order to discern what they talk about when they talk about Asian Americans.

Our study focused on what are known as the Big Five Sunday shows: *Face the Nation* (CBS), *Fox News Sunday* (Fox), *Meet the Press* (NBC), *State of the Union* (CNN), and *This Week With George Stephanopoulos* (ABC).

We downloaded transcripts of all episodes of the five programs that aired during the first half of 2013 from their websites. We scoured them both manually and electronically for references to terms used to describe Asian Americans (including Arab and Middle Eastern Americans). We then coded and analyzed the textual content.

Our goal in undertaking this study was not to divine intent among network executives and those involved in producing, writing, and hosting these programs. We posit no theories as to why race-related content is included or excluded. Instead, we simply expose certain features of the quality of discourse on Asian Americans on these programs for the sake of examination and dialogue.

How these programs characterize Asian Americans raises important questions. Do our findings reflect how the audience for these programs understands Asian Americans in U.S. political culture? If they do, and if the audience is one that significantly influences political outcomes, then we believe some intervention is in order.

Some Facts About Asian Americans:

- The Asian American Center for Advancing Justice reported that Asians comprised just over 6 percent of the total U.S. population in 2011, having grown by 46 percent between 2000 and 2010. This rate of growth makes Asian Americans the fastest growing group by race in the United States. The largest percentage increases in Asian American populations occurred outside of coastal metropolitan areas like the San Francisco Bay Area, New York City, and Los Angeles. Instead the largest population gains were in Nevada, Arizona, North Carolina, and North Dakota.
- Since 2011, the United States Census Bureau reports that the Asian American population grew by approximately 2.9 percent (530,000) exceeding 18.9 million in 2012.
- The U.S. Census Bureau also reports that approximately 68% of Asian Americans old enough to vote are U.S. citizens. Of this group, 55 percent have voted in at least one election.
- More than 60 percent of this growth in the Asian American population was due to immigration. The Department of Homeland Security estimates for January 2011 indicate that approximately 10 percent of undocumented immigrants (almost 1.2 million people) in the United States were born in five Asian countries: China, the Philippines, India, Korea, and Vietnam.
- The issue of immigration matters to Asian Americans. In January 2013, the National Asian American Survey reported that Asia has been the largest regional source of immigration to the United States. More than half of the Asian Americans they surveyed support a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, and immigration is an important motivating factor in Asian American electoral turnout.

THE BIG FIVE

Over 130 episodes of the Big Five Sunday shows, Asian Americans, by a wide array of known identifiers, including colors and ethnic references, were mentioned just 13 times.

Of those 13 instances, 11 mentioned Asian Americans as part of a list of two or more groups. This statement is typical of what we mean by a list¹:

Look at the electorate today. I mean, you have Indian-Americans, Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, African-Americans saying we're voting for our candidate, this is our country.

—Former U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Carter, Joseph Califano, Jr.
during a January 20, 2013 appearance on *Face the Nation*

These lists say virtually nothing about the groups referenced. In this case, what we learn is that Asian Americans are voting for “our” (here he means Democratic) candidate. None of the Big Five programs ever discussed the issues that led a majority of Asian American voters to select Democratic candidates.

What They Did Say

The two references to Asian Americans in which we were not just one group in a list are troubling, both for what was said and who said them (and who didn't). The speakers in these instances were former Republican Governor of Florida, [Jeb Bush](#), and former Republican Mayor of New York, [Rudy Giuliani](#).

1. A comprehensive account of all listing references can be seen in [Appendix A: All Mentions of Asian American on Big 5](#).

Here's what Governor Bush said —

...I mean, if you look at Asian Americans, for example, in general, they have higher income [sic] than the median of our country, more intact families, more entrepreneurship, higher levels of education. And they supported President Obama 75-24; higher margins than with Hispanics...

The statement responds to a question from the host concerning the alienating effect of Republican hostility to immigrants. Bush's response suggests that Asian Americans should, or could be induced to, lean Republican if the GOP softened its stance on immigration.

This statement implies that Asian American voters' opposition to the GOP is based on the single issue of immigration. According to 2009 Gallup Daily Tracking polls, 41 percent of Asian Americans identify as Democratic voters (as compared to 34 percent nationwide), 41 percent identify as independents (compared to 37 percent nationwide), and 16 percent identify as Republicans (compared with 27 percent nationwide). Gallup also found that Asian Americans are more likely than the general public to identify as politically liberal.

Despite the fact that Asian Americans as an aggregate share many characteristics with those who are more likely to lean conservative, including having relatively high median family incomes, higher than average levels of formal education, and a greater likelihood of two-parent households, they are also the least likely to characterize themselves as religious among racial groups in the United States. In general, those who are less religious tend to be more Democratic and more liberal than those for whom religion is more important.

Asian Americans are much more likely to be immigrants, and perceived GOP immigrant bashing may be causing Asian American voters to lean toward Democratic candidates.

However, Asian Americans also support the Affordable Care Act and affirmative action more strongly than the general public, suggesting that immigration is not the only issue that is causing Asian American voters to lean to the left.

Moreover, while Governor Bush is correct that Asian Americans as an aggregate have relatively high median family incomes, it is important to note that Asian American per capita income is actually lower than that of whites. Asian America also includes 43 diverse ethnic groups speaking over 100 distinct language dialects. Among these groups, the Hmong, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Chinese exceed the national average of adults without high school diplomas, and are not among the Asian American ethnic groups whose representation among those enrolled in American colleges and universities exceeds their share of the population.

The National Coalition of Asian and Pacific American Community Development reports that from 2007-2011 the Asian American poverty rate increased by 37 percent, exceeding the national rate of increase by 10 percent. Asian American ethnic groups, including the Hmong, Vietnamese, and Cambodian minorities, are also among the most impoverished groups by ethnicity in the United States. Among Asian American workers as an aggregate, research conducted by Tulane University's Lei Lai indicates we suffer the lowest probability of promotion to managerial positions among all racial groups in both the public and private sectors.

But to know all of this, and, more importantly, to know why, you would have to know more about Asian Americans than the generalities that Governor Bush used to describe us, and you would have to understand that one of the effects of racism is to aggregate diverse peoples into monolithic categories. These categories tend to obscure our ability to understand the specific circumstances of various arbitrarily grouped populations and to craft effective public policy accordingly.

Mayor Giuliani's comment is also telling.

...if you're following objective evidence. Somebody tells you that the person who committed the crime is 6'4" and he's white, you don't go look for a 5'4", you know, Asian...

Mayor Giuliani's reference to "Asian" is telling because it is incidental, which typifies the majority of references to Asian Americans on the Big 5 Sunday Shows. That the reference is used in the course of arguing for racial profiling is troubling, but not relevant. He could have used any other non-white racial or ethnic identifier here with the same effect.

Together, these singular references to Asians amount to about 73 words, depending on how you parse them out. Those 73 words were culled from 130 episodes (approximately 130 hours of programming) of the Big Five Sunday political talk shows that aired over six months of 2013. The only references to Asian Americans outside of the context of lists came from Republicans, while Asian American votes are going overwhelmingly to Democrats.

Democrats, on those five shows for those six months, made no meaningful references to America's fastest growing, Democratic-leaning racial minority.

CONCLUSION: WHY ASIAN AMERICAN STORIES MATTER

It is worth noting that Asian Americans are, like other immigrants, [being deported](#) from the United States. We also face [anti-Asian defamation](#), are being misrepresented in [research](#) regularly cited by a range of media outlets, face [police brutality](#) and [hate crimes](#), and suffer gaps in the provision of vital public services because of language and cultural barriers.

Asian women are disproportionately affected by [human trafficking](#). Many Asian immigrants are [refugees of wars](#), often wars sponsored by the United States. Other Asian immigrants come here as [refugees of the U.S. dominated global economy](#). Their stories contradict the prevailing narrative about America as a global leader on human rights and a beacon of freedom and economic progress around the world, and point to issues of import to the American people as a whole.

Here in the United States, Asian American ethnic groups like the Hmong, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians suffer among the lowest average per capita income of any groups by race or ethnicity. These same Asian ethnic groups are also among the most educationally disadvantaged ethnic minorities in the United States.

U.S. Chinatowns may appear to be nothing more than quaint tourist attractions to most Americans, but they are, in fact, [ghettos](#), where living conditions are shockingly low and concentrations of poverty are high. But the prime locations of Chinatowns in Portland, Oregon, New York City, and San Francisco have made them centers of gentrification that is driven by population shifts and economic changes, in particular growing wealth inequality, that are of import to Americans generally.

In pointing out these realities of Asian America, it is also important to acknowledge that even the poorest Asian Americans in the most overcrowded ghettos are more likely to experience upward social mobility than poor African Americans. That reality speaks to an aspect of structural racism in America about which the programs we examined were largely silent — the persistence of an array of institutional policies and practices that together serve to relegate African Americans to the margins of our economy.

We suggest these stories are important, and not just for the sake of coloring up the news. They are important for many reasons, including these two:

1. The rapid movement to the left of Asian American voters seems to speak to changes in the political culture of our nation. As national political debates have grown more polarized around issues of immigration, the social safety net (and expanding public subsidies for health care), religion, culture, the relevance of racism to American life, as well as the larger debate concerning the appropriate size and role of government in the United States, the majority of Asian American voters appear to be choosing a side. We believe the reasons this is happening should be relevant to both major political parties and to political media.
2. Ignoring how the political actors and institutions that shape race in America have manipulated the story of Asian American social mobility masks the interplay of xenophobia, Orientalism, and anti-blackness in reproducing racial inequity. Perhaps more importantly, it obscures the structural dimensions of racism and the particular impact of structural racism on African Americans.

It's about time that Asian American stories get told, and not just to benefit Asian Americans. Until our stories are told, our

understanding of the experiences and political behavior of every other racial group in America is incomplete. The stories of Asian Americans – dealing with war, migration, assimilation and upward mobility, and enduring poverty and exclusion – are critical to the story of race in America. Excluding these stories from public discourse obscures important elements of political and social life in America that we believe are relevant to all of us, regardless of race.

If the invisibility of Asian Americans on the Sunday Shows is the result of market forces, then the findings are even more telling. By bowing to market pressures when opting against or simply not considering Asian American storylines, are we allowing our political imaginations to be over-determined by market demands? More to the point, are we complacently accepting the dictates of the market as it is currently constituted, rather than anticipating racial demographic change by developing diverse programming that leads us toward our multi-racial future?

Recommendation:

Our analysis of transcripts also included searches related to three topics: voting rights, immigration policy, and affirmative action. We believe these topics offer obvious opportunities to include Asian American perspectives, and relevant data and information.

Here's why:

On the issue of **voting rights**, Asian Americans are relevant and affected parties. Chinese Americans were excluded from the franchise until 1943; Asian Indians until 1946; and other Asian Americans until 1952. Each wave of expansion was the result of political pressure, both foreign and domestic. However, [the 1965 Voting Rights Act is still relevant to Asian Americans.](#) For example, Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act prohibits discrimination based upon membership in language minority groups, protection that is of obvious relevance to a group that is

the fastest growing among all racial groups in the United States, primarily as a result of immigration.

Voting rights was a topic on two episodes of *Meet the Press*; one episode of *Fox News Sunday*; one episode of *State of the Union*; two episodes of *Face the Nation*; two episodes of *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*. None of these episodes included Asian American stories.

On the issue of **immigration**, the Pew Research Center found that [36 percent of immigrants arriving in the United States were Asian](#) as of 2010, surpassing the percentage of Latino immigrants (31 percent).

Asian Americans were nearly half of all immigrants in the United States, numbering [18.2 million](#) in 2011. [Fifty-eight percent of Asian Americans are in support of a pathway to citizenship](#) for undocumented immigrants, a statistic that may be related to the fact that approximately [12 percent](#) of undocumented immigrants in the United States are from Asia.

Yet, when immigration was discussed on the Sunday shows (on 10 episodes of *Fox News Sunday*; two episodes of *State of the Union*; four episodes of *Face the Nation*; 12 episodes of *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*; five episodes of *Meet the Press*), Asian American stories were included twice, on *Meet the Press*, and once on *State of the Union*. Excerpts follow:

Meet the Press

03/10/2013

David Gregory (Host): *Do you think there is a view - and do you share it - among Republicans that to allow illegal immigrants who are now in this country to become citizens would, in effect, be able to create all new Democratic voters that would deeply hurt the Republican Parties changes to win national elections?*

Jeb Bush (former Governor, Florida): *No, I don't believe that. I mean, if you look at Asian Americans, for example, in general, they have higher income than the median of our country, more intact families, more entrepreneurship, higher levels of education. And they supported President Obama 75-24; higher margins than with Hispanics. I think there's a problem that's a little bit bigger, and that goes back to my belief that we need to be offering a compelling alternative, an alternative that says that the lack of social mobility needs to be addressed, not by higher taxes and more government, but giving people the tools to rise up and be successful; that an opportunity society is the path we should be on.*

01/13/2013

Colin Powell (former Secretary of State, G.W. Bush Administration): *The country is changing demographically. And if the Republican Party doesn't change along with that demographic, we're going to be in trouble. And so, when we see that in one more generation, the minorities of America; African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans will be the majority of the country, you can't go around saying that we don't want to have a solid immigration policy.*

State of the Union

01/27/2013

Candy Crowley (Host): *Fellows, I want to put up some of the exist polls and basically what they show, is anyone from 18-39, President Obama won all the young people. Women, 55% President Obama won women. Latinos, 71%. And yet the Republican Party doesn't want to be the party that goes after segments of society. How do you attract Latinos, how do you attract young people without sort of catering in a way Republicans say they don't want to?*

Carlos Gutierrez (former Commerce Secretary, G.W. Bush Administration): *In terms of Latinos, in terms of Asians, in terms of immigrants I think we fell into the trap of looking into the numbers too literally. So, look, Latinos want jobs, they want education, they want health care and immigration was like number 5 or number 6. But they what they sensed is that we don't welcome them and we have to be the party that celebrates immigration.*

In two of these instances in which Asians are referenced in relation to immigration/immigrants, we are mentioned as members of a list of affected groups. In all three instances, it is interesting to note that the commentators are Republicans and the subject matter is the destructive effect of perceived GOP immigrant bashing on Republican outreach to immigrants and not Republican immigration policy. None of these discussions included specific references to the dimensions and dynamics of Asian immigration nor to the particular circumstances of Asian immigrants.

In the context of the relative invisibility of Asian American voters in the media, the effect of immigrant bashing on Asian American voters who may be leaning Democratic in response may best be understood as collateral damage in a debate over Latino undocumented immigration into the United States.

On the issue of **Affirmative Action** in college admissions, Asian Americans are often described as [overrepresented](#). Simultaneously, Asian Americans are being [cited by affirmative action opponents as unfairly underrepresented](#) relative to their presence in the qualified pool of applicants. The latter circumstance is inspired, in part, by some Asian American civil rights advocates who have suggested that [Asian applicants may be subject to unofficial quotas](#).

The complexity of the issues has made Asian Americans a political wedge in the highly polarized debate on affirmative action. In particular, conservatives suggest that Asian

Americans are victims of affirmative action programs that benefit African Americans and Latinos at their expense, while also suggesting that the highly touted and exaggerated success of Asian Americans is evidence that American society is a post-racial meritocracy.

In California in 2012, Senate Constitutional Amendment 5 (SCA 5) was introduced as a resolution to present a proposal to the voters of California to delete certain provisions of California Proposition 209 (1996) that bans affirmative action in public employment, contracts, and education. SCA 5 was passed by the Senate in January 2014 and referred to the State Assembly, but was returned by the Assembly Speaker after three Asian American Senators requested further review of the proposal after being deluged by petitions, letters, and calls from Asian Americans opposed to the Amendment.

However, the opposition was primarily among a minority of Asian American voters. Sixty percent of Asian American voters in California opposed Proposition 209 in 1996. [The National Asian American Survey](#) found in 2012 that 72 percent of Asian Americans surveyed nationally and 80 percent of Asian Americans surveyed in California support affirmative action.

Now, anti-affirmative action crusader, [Edward Blum](#), the attorney who located Abigail Fisher, the plaintiff in Fisher v. University of Texas, has created three websites seeking Asian American plaintiffs for future anti-affirmative action cases. His recruitment efforts portend a media-worthy, racially divisive scenario.

But the reality for Asian American college hopefuls is much more complex than is presented by those holding up the poles in this debate. For instance, Southeast Asian Americans are under-represented in college and university admissions in the United States, while certain other Asian ethnic groups are enrolling at rates higher than their presence in the overall population. The differences among Asian ethnic groups when it comes to college

enrollment reflect disparate socioeconomic realities, including the circumstances of one's immigration to the United States, such as whether one entered under a special visa in order to fill labor shortages in highly skilled trades and professions, or as refugees of war, among others.

When affirmative action was discussed on the Sunday shows in the period under examination, Asian American stories were absent. Affirmative action was discussed on one episode of *Face the Nation* and one episode of *This Week with George Stephanopoulos*, but neither show included Asian American stories.

These issues, at minimum, represent soft-entry points for introducing Asian American storylines, journalists, and community-based commentators onto the Sunday shows and into the mainstream American media landscape.

Representation of Asian Americans in Media

Of course, in order to deliver programming relevant to Asian Americans (and we argue, relevant to all Americans in a multi-racial society), we need to do more than add Asian American storylines to news programming. We need to feature more Asian American journalists, particularly those whose journalism focuses on Asian American social and political life, as well as Asian American community leaders to discussions of key policy issues relevant to Asian Americans. Stakeholders in the issues being discussed bring valuable, even essential, and newsworthy perspectives and experiences to the table.

Appendix A:

All Mentions of Asian American on Big 5 1/1/2013 – 6/30/2013

Face The Nation 1/30/2013

BOB SCHIEFFER: How big was the White House staff when you were there?

JOSEPH CALIFANO: It was about twenty-five people. Think about it.

CONDOLEEZZA RICE: Not anymore.

TAYLOR BRANCH: Not anymore.

JOSEPH CALIFANO: There were only about five senior aides. Think about it, you know, I had the first domestic policy operation. I had four people working for me. It's what, two hundred and sixty-seven today in domestic policy? It's actually it's— it's way too big, puts the President deeply into this thing. And the last thing, immigration reform, something Taylor is very conscious of. You know, you look at this presidential election. You know, right after he passes the Voting Rights Act, he started breaking the filibuster, he says, "We got to get immigration reform." We'd closed the whole— most of the world off. You had to be northern European and blond and blue-eyed if you wanted to get into this country. You know, there were quotas on Italians, there were quotas in South America and Mexico and Asia and Africa. And he said, "We do it right away." Well, they're prostrated. Prostrate, we'll get it done. And he got immigration reform done. And all you have to do— to me it's the most important factor in Obama's reelection was the Voting Rights Act, which Johnson thought was the most important law of his administration, and immigration reform. Look at the electorate today. I mean, you have Indian-Americans, Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, African-Americans saying we're voting for our candidate, this is our country.

Face The Nation 1/27/2013

SCHIEFFER: Welcome back to Face the Nation. We're here with former speaker Newt Gingrich and representative Marsha Blackburn of the great state of Tennessee. I want to talk to you all because this is a week that you really saw Republicans start to say who are we and what did we do wrong the last time out? Haley Barbour says we should have won the presidential election. And you had different people had different things to say. And I thought one of the more interesting was Bobby Jindal, the governor of Louisiana. Boy, he laid it out on the line. So let's just listen to what Mr. Jindal had to say.

GOV. BOBBY JINDAL, R-LA.: We've got to stop being the stupid party. It's no secret we had a number of Republicans that damaged the brand this year with offensive and bizarre comments. I'm here to say we've had enough of that.

SCHIEFFER: So there you go. Newt Gingrich, you ran and tried to get the nomination to run for president. Bobby Jindal's got a point, though, doesn't he?

GINGRICH: You know, it's ironic. In 1976, Irving Kristol wrote an essay for The Wall Street Journal entitled "The Stupid Party," which I commend to every Republican, and also one called "The Future of the Republican Party. Ronald Reagan came along with Jack Kemp and they basically moved us back to being an idea-oriented party. I think we clearly have to change. I don't agree — I mean, maybe we could have won or not won this year. I was certainly wrong. I thought we would win up until about 5:30 Election Day, when we began seeing election polls. But when you — I wrote a paper recently, which is on gingrichproductions.com, which outlines 23 different areas Republicans ought to look at. When you lose Latinos by 71 percent; you lose Asian-Americans by 74 percent; you lose people under 30; you lose single women — I mean, you go down the list. We have not won a majority — except for 2004, with an incumbent — we have not won a majority since 1988.

Face The Nation 1/27/2013

SCHIEFFER: What do you think — what do you say, what is the one

thing — what's the worst thing or the thing that the Republicans did wrong last time out, Ms. Blackburn?

BLACKBURN: I — I think that the thing that we did not do well was to penetrate the marketplace with our message. We didn't have a broad enough basis using social media, using all the different media formats that are there. People — the network of you is how people get their message now, their media. They are pulling together different sources via the Internet, electronic media, TV, print. And we need to utilize each and every one of those and realize that, at the grassroots, there's an army of people out there that are ready to be the happy warriors in this fight and get the job done because they're committed to freedom.

SCHIEFFER: What would you say?

GINGRICH: I'd say Republicans had better listen very carefully to Marco Rubio. When I said as a candidate we're not going to deport a grandmother if she's been here 25 years, and we have a nominee who said, yes, we would, that she would self-deport, I think, at that point, we lost Asians; we lost Latinos. You can't lose Asians, Latinos, African-Americans and young people and think you're going to be competitive. So I think — I think we have to come to grips with the reality. I agree exactly with Marsha. We have to learn to communicate in the world of young people on their terms. But we also have to understand that we need to be a country of immigrants, where Republicans are seen as welcoming hard-working competent people, not prepared to kick grandmother out.

Face The Nation 3/17/2013

SCHIEFFER: And we're joined now by the Republican Party chair Reince Priebus. Mr. Chairman, you have initiated the most public, comprehensive post-election review in your party's history. And my source for that is you.

(LAUGHTER)

I mean, I understand that's how you characterize it. So tell us, what's the headline here?

PRIEBUS: Well, I mean, it is true. I mean, you don't see too many political parties or organizations around Washington that put all

their cards face up on the table, and that's what we did. This is unprecedented, and it's something that we had to do. And it's something we worked really hard on. Let me just say real quickly generally what we found out. Number one, I believe our party has had a real quality of context problem. And what I mean is that we have become a party that parachutes into communities four months before an election. And while that's how we operated for years and years, and we've done well compared to ourselves, in comparison to the other side, the Obama campaign lived in these communities for years. The relationships were deep. They were authentic. So, first of all, one of the major things you're going to see tomorrow come out is that, for the first time in our party's history, we're not talking about having a few people down the hallway working on outreach and inclusion. We're going to be announcing a \$10 million initiative, just this year, which will include hundreds of people, paid, across the country, from coast to coast, in Hispanic, African-American, Asian communities, talking about our party, talking about our brand, talking about what we believe in, going to community events, going to swearing-in ceremonies, being a part of the community on an ongoing basis, paid for by the Republican National Committee, to make the case for our party and our candidates.

Face The Nation 3/24/2013

BRENDON AYANBADEJO: Well, this is something I've been speaking about since 2009, and in my opinion, it's just the evolution of civil rights and equal rights and athletes do a lot to change society, and this is something we can make a big difference on. It starts with bullying kids in elementary school and it goes all the way to legislative and treating everybody equally. This is a fight myself and a bunch of my colleagues we want to take to and we feel that everyone should be treated equally and we're not going to stop until everyone is treated fairly and that's especially including the LGBT community.

BOB SCHIEFFER: was there one single thing that caused you to say, hey, this is just wrong, and I think we ought to change it?

BRENDON AYANBADEJO: Well, I think it's something we see every day. I mean, we all have coworkers, friends, family members that are part of the LGBT community, and I was always raised in a Santa Cruz,

California, that everybody was equal, and everybody was fair and that's why proposition 8 needs to be repealed in California. It's just a way of life that I have been, you know, being a biracial kid and knowing what it's like to be a part of the minority, I know what it feels like to be treated differently and discriminated. So this is no different. The way the LGBT community is treated — the same as minorities, whether it's African Americans or Latinos or Asians or even women comparing this to suffrage and the civil rights movement — it's just the evolution of the same issue.

Face The Nation 6/30/2013

BOB SCHIEFFER: When the Senate passed the immigration reform bill by an overwhelmingly bipartisan vote, the New York Times accurately reported— and I quote— “Party leaders hope the Senate action will put pressure on the House.” Earth to Party leaders: Don't hold your breath. Here's why. As party leaders you see the changing demographics the country is undergoing. You know the Hispanic population is growing. You watched as Mitt Romney did quite well among old white guys while President Obama ran away with the African-American vote, the Hispanic vote, and the Asian vote. You have realized that unless your party can find ways to appeal to minorities, winning presidential elections is going to be a steep climb. But here's some news you can use: National Journal reports that seventy percent of the House districts represented by Republicans have Hispanic populations of ten percent or less. That means voting against immigration reform is one of the easiest votes that Republicans in those districts can take. Voting for it increases the possibility they'll get a Republican primary opponent next time. I have noticed over the years that when politicians of either party are given the choice between personal survival and party survival they usually choose personal, which is why I'm guessing that when it's over we'll put the headline on the immigration story that we put on other stories “It took a while, but in the end, nothing changed.” Back in a moment.

Fox News Sunday 6/2/2013

WALLACE: I got to tell you, they're not going to like what Bob

Goodlatte just said either, which is the idea of, you know, incremental piecemeal immigration reform.

PRIEBUS: Look, most people in our party, including Rand Paul and others, believe we need comprehensive immigration reform. Now, what that means and what exactly steps that we need to take is up for debates.

But no one can deny the fact that Marco Rubio is leading the debate in this country on comprehensive immigration reform. I mean — and he's a Republican. Without Marco Rubio, we wouldn't even be having this conversation.

To your overall point, though, we recognize our party has to be a year-round party in every community across the country. We have to be on the ground. Hispanic, Asian, African American — we have to be there with people from the community working in those communities on a year-round basis.

Meet The Press 1/13/2013

GEN. POWELL: I think the Republican Party right now is having an identity problem. And I'm still a Republican. I'm a Republican who grew up along with George Bush XLI. I grew up with Ronald Reagan, Cap Weinberger,

Frank Carlucci, that Republican Party, the Republican Party of Dick Lugar and John Tower. But in recent years, there's been a significant shift to the right and we have seen what that shift has produced, two losing presidential campaigns. I think what the Republican Party needs to do now is take a very hard look at itself and understand that the country has changed. The country is changing demographically. And if the Republican Party does not change along with that demographic, they're going to be in trouble. And so, when we see that in one more generation, the minorities of America, African-Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans will be the majority of the country, you can't go around saying we don't want to have a solid immigration policy. We're going to dismiss the 47 percent. We are going to make it hard for these minorities to vote as they did in the last election. What did that produce? The court struck most of that down and most importantly, it caused people to turn out and stand in line because

these Republicans were trying to keep us from voting. There's also a dark — a dark vein of intolerance in some parts of the Party. What I do mean by that? I mean by that is they still sort of look down on minorities. How can I evidence that? When I see a former governor say that the president is shuckin' and jivin', that's a racial era slave term. When I see another former governor after the president's first debate when he didn't do very well, says that the president was lazy. He didn't say he was slow, he was tired, he didn't do well, he said he was lazy. Now, it may not mean anything to most Americans but to those of us who are African-Americans, the second word is shiftless and then there's a third word that goes along with it Birther, the whole Birther Movement. Why do senior Republican leaders tolerate this kind of discussion within the Party? I think the Party has to take a look at itself. It has to take a look at its responsibilities for health care. It has to take a look at immigration. It has to take a look at those less fortunate than us. The Party has gathered unto itself a reputation that it is the party of the rich. It is the party of lower taxes. But there are a lot of people who are lower down the food chain, the economic chain, who are also paying lots of taxes relative to their income and they need help. We need more education work being done in this country. We need a solid immigration policy. We have to look at climate change. There are a lot of things that the American people are expecting and the Republican Party, as they get ready for the next election, really has to focus on some of these issues and not ignore them. Everybody wants to talk about who's going to be the candidate. You better think first about what's the party they're actually going to represent. If it's just going to represent the far right-wing of the political spectrum, I think the Party is in difficulty. I'm a moderate but I'm still a Republican, that's how I was raised. And until I voted for Mister Obama twice, I had voted for seven straight Republican presidents.

Meet The Press 2/13/2013

FMR. GOV. HALEY BARBOUR (R-MS; FMR. CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE): Well look, General Powell and I have been friends since he quit being a general and could be involved in politics. We don't see everything the same way, but one thing very plain, Republicans in this election did more poorly among

Hispanics, much more poorly among Asian Americans and — and typically poorly among African-Americans. We have to improve our stand among all those. The good thing is with the right kind of policies and the right kind of effort we'll do that. Remember George Bush the last Republican president got 44 percent of the Hispanic vote. This is not like there's some thousand-year history here.

Meet The Press 3/10/2013

DAVID GREGORY: You know, it's interesting: There's obviously a political component to this, about who wants what kind of deal and what does it mean as we move forward. After Romney lost, a lot of focus on the Hispanic vote in this country and the Republican Party's problem with Hispanics. It's interesting; one of the things that Romney says, right, to his donors after he loses is 'What the president's campaign did was focus on certain members of his base coalition, give them extraordinary financial gifts from the government, and then work very aggressively to turn them out to vote.'

That was with a campaign call with donors. Do you think there's a view — and do you share it — among Republicans that to allow illegal immigrants who are now in this country to become citizens would, in effect, be able to create all new Democratic voters that would deeply hurt the Republican Party's chances of winning national elections?

GOVERNOR JEB BUSH: No, I don't believe that. I mean, if you look at Asian Americans, for example, in general, they have higher income than the median of our country, more intact families, more entrepreneurship, higher levels of education. And they supported President Obama 75-24; higher margins than with Hispanics. I think there's a problem that's a little bit bigger, and it goes back to my belief that we need to be offering a compelling alternative, an alternative that says that the lack of social mobility needs to be addressed, not by higher taxes and more government, but giving people the tools to rise up and to be successful; that an opportunity society is the path that we should be on. And that aspirational message could convince a lot of people that right now are supporting a more stasis kind of approach. But we have to have the alternative. We have to actually advance the cause of freedom and of entrepreneurship and of building capacity so people can freely pursue their dreams as they see fit —

DAVID GREGORY: Should it be disqualifying for a candidate in the future if they've hired an illegal immigrant? Should that disqualify their run for office?

GOVERNOR JEB BUSH: I don't know. That's - that's above my pay grade. I would hope that people try hard to make sure that they hire legal workers. It's the law.

Meet The Press 5/5/2013

DAVID GREGORY: — Mayor Giuliani. Because there have been some calls for more ethnic profiling. Is there cooperation in the Muslim community? Or is it greater tracking and monitoring in mosques and in the Muslim community, to detect what was missed here with Tsarnaev, who apparently was challenging his imam and all the rest?

RUDY GIULIANI: Well, you have to go where the evidence takes you. I mean this whole idea of profiling, profiling is perfectly legal and perfectly legitimate if you're following leads, if you're following objective evidence. Somebody tells you that the person who committed the crime is 6'4" and he's white, you don't go look for a 5'4", you know, Asian. So the reality is profiling is perfectly appropriate if it relates to objective facts, and not to some attempt to just smear someone. And reality is, unfortunately, a significant number, not all, but a significant number of these attacks come about from this distorted Islamic extremist ideology. So you can't ignore it. You've got to go after it. We don't have to sacrifice privacy to do it. But we also shouldn't sacrifice common sense. The president could help us here a lot if he would designate the Major Hasan shooting of several years ago as a terrorist act and not workplace violence. I think that sent the wrong signals to the bureaucracy.

State of the Union 1/27/2013

CROWLEY: Fellows, I want to put up some of the exit polls, and it basically what they show is anyone from 18 to 39, President Obama won all the young people. Women, 55 percent, President Obama won women. Latinos, 71 percent. And yet the Republican Party doesn't want to be the party that goes after segments of society. How do

you attract Latinos, how do you attract young people without sort of catering in a way Republicans say they don't want to?

GUTIERREZ: In terms of Latinos, in terms of Asians, in terms of immigrants, I think we fell into the trap of looking at the numbers too literally. So, look, Latinos want jobs, they want education, they want health care and immigration was like number five or number six. But what they sense is that we don't welcome them. And we have to be the party that celebrates immigration.

Every time the president talks about business, there's always a but in the sentence.

And when you hear some Republicans talk about immigration, there is always a but in the sentence.

People sense that, people, you know, they have a gut feel for that. We've got to make people feel welcome.

This Week with George Stephanopoulos 2/17/2013

KARL: OK, Speaker Gingrich, how much damage did Mitt Romney do, not just to his own election prospects there, but to the Republican brand with how he handled that issue?

NEWT GINGRICH, FORMER SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE: Oh, I think that and the 47 percent comment were fatal. If you look at the polling data from Univision and others, the minute he got into self-deportation, both Asian-Americans and Latino-Americans said, don't talk to me about jobs. You're going to deport me? You expect that my grandmother is going to go home? I mean, don't talk to me.

And you couldn't break through. And the — look at the last ad that the Obama campaign ran in Spanish for the last few weeks of the campaign; it was just Mitt Romney.

RUTH MARCUS, COLUMNIST, THE WASHINGTON POST: And, John, I think the Republican Party understands that and that's why I think there is going to be immigration reform. The president wants it. It's really his top legislative priority.

The Republican Party wants it for the reason that it would like to retain

— regain the presidency at some point. But Congressman Ryan, in his interview with you, used the phrase “delicate balance.” And there were two delicate balances here. The first is the balance of whether the degree to which the president inserts himself into the process, the legislative process, or whether he holds back. For the White House there’s a little bit of a rerun of health care here, where they held back too long and let — (CROSSTALK)

KARL: Then it was —

MARCUS: — the process slip away. But they’ve been urged to stay out a little bit. So you have that back and forth. The other delicate balance is the degree to which the Republican Party can bring itself to do what it knows it needs to do in terms of comprehensive immigration reform. And so I think the unhappiness that Senator Rubio expressed also reflected the delicate nature of how far Republicans can go in creating that pathway to citizenship.

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