


CONNECTICUT LATINOS

Evidence from the Connecticut Samples of the Latino National Survey - New England

University of Connecticut
Roper Center for Public Opinion Research



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Latino National Survey

The survey's complete data set is available at the Roper Center site:
<http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/>

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Funding and Acknowledgments

This project is part of the New England extension of the Latino National Survey (LNS), which was conducted in 2005-2006 by a team of Latina/o political scientists including Professors Luis Fraga (University of Washington), John Garcia (University of Arizona), Rodney Hero (University of Notre Dame), Michael Jones-Correa (Cornell University), Valerie Martinez-Ebers (University of North Texas), and Gary Segura (Stanford University). The LNS surveyed the Latino population in 16 states and Washington D.C.—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Texas, and Washington D.C.—with a geographic coverage of at least 83% of the Latino population currently residing in the United States

In fall 2007, under the directorship of Dr. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Brown University's Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity in America received a \$150,000 grant from the Rhode Island Foundation to conduct a survey—as part of the LNS—on Latinos in New England, specifically in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. With the assistance of graduate assistant Hongwei Xu, Dr. Hu-DeHart generously donated the survey's Connecticut data to the University of Connecticut. We gratefully acknowledge this collaborative effort.

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Foreword

Dear Connecticut Readers,

As the president of a foundation working to achieve universal health care reform in Connecticut, I am especially pleased to introduce the Connecticut Latino National Survey (CT-LNS). The successful passage this year of major health reform called SustiNet by the Connecticut General Assembly underscores the critical role of research in policymaking and decisionmaking.

This report provides much-needed empirical data on Latinos and civic and political engagement, among many other contributions to the social fabric of our state.

Until now, many of the facts and statistics presented in this report have been missing from the policymaking and decisionmaking discussions aimed at addressing the needs of this rapidly growing segment of our state's population. Covering approximately 30 towns, CT-LNS focused on Hartford, Bridgeport, and New Haven counties, the three metropolitan regions with the highest concentrations of Latino residents in the state.

In addition to providing valuable information for decision-makers, it is our hope that this research will serve as a catalyst for further inquiry and analysis, leading to public policy that will benefit all Connecticut residents. The survey signals a shift towards research-based decisionmaking, which should be welcomed not only by researchers, scholars, and policymakers, but also the general public.

Finally, the survey stands as a sterling example of the caliber of work that can be accomplished on behalf of our state through effective collaboration. It is the result of the successful partnership between legislative analysts from the Connecticut General Assembly and political and social scientists from the University of Connecticut with specializations in Latino, Latin America, and Caribbean studies.

This research is a tool from which everyone in our state stands to benefit, now and in the years to come.

Sincerely,

Juan A. Figueroa
President
Universal Health Care Foundation of Connecticut

Introduction

THE NEW FRONTIER: THE LATINO EXPERIENCE IN CONNECTICUT

As the result of a demographic explosion that began in the 1960s, people of Latin American and Caribbean origin in the United States now number over 50 million, or 16 percent of the country's total population.¹ One of every seven people in the nation identifies herself or himself as Latino (Hispanic), a group that has accounted for about half the growth in the U.S. population since 1990. Their presence has profound implications for the political, economic, social, and cultural future of this country and for the countries from which they originally came.²

However, these demographic statistics elide the fact that Latinos can be simultaneously an extremely diverse and fluid assortment of self-conscious individuals and a unified ethnic community. The strategic way that people define themselves or are defined by others as Latino is inherently political, and it is complicated by numerous factors, including historical context, generation, language, gender, race, class, location, and country of origin.

The history of U.S. Latinos is central to the history of the United States. From the sixteenth-century Spanish settlements in states such as Alabama, California, and Florida to the role of state residents in nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S. military campaigns in Latin America and the Caribbean to the contemporary surge of Latino populations in the Carolinas, Oklahoma, Oregon, and New England, Latinos have been intimately connected to every historical stage and to every region in the United States.

New England, once imagined as the land of steady habits and racial homogeneity, has not been immune to this history. Although the current total number of people of Latin American and Caribbean heritage and origin in New England is still small compared to other immigrant groups, Latinos have the fastest rate of population growth of any immigrant population in the region, with Connecticut receiving more Latinos than any other New England state in the past decade. Without a doubt, the rapidly growing Latino population will have considerable impact on the state in the future and thus demands careful and close examination. Indeed, the shifting Latino demographics in Connecticut have much to teach us about broader national trends where the arrival and incorporation of Latin American and Caribbean migrants to new areas are reshaping social and political relations. Given the rapid growth of Connecticut's Latino migrants into the twenty-first century and their disproportionately limited political influence, it is of utmost importance that academics, politicians, and community activists alike take a stake in learning more about the "Latinization" of their home state.

Connecticut Latinos examines central aspects of Latino migrant life in this new frontier. Unlike their Puerto Rican predecessors who possessed U.S. citizenship, the presence in the state of thousands of new migrants from Mexico and Central and South American with little legal and political power will increasingly force legislators and activists to consider the benefits and costs of either supporting or neglecting this segment of the population. We would do well to look at the state's historical relationship with the first wave of Puerto Rican migrants and at other "nontraditional" receiving states such as North and South Carolina and several states in the Midwest to begin to imagine the future course of Connecticut's relationship with its Latino community. It will be important to build educational, business, and community relationships with this transnational community in ways that foster crosscultural understanding and develop economic, educational, and political opportunities.

Connecticut Latinos was written to reflect some of the realities and identify the unique characteristics of Connecticut's Latino population. Specifically, this report analyzes data obtained from a telephone survey conducted by the Latino National Survey-New England project (2007) and focuses on six specific areas that are relevant to Latinos in Connecticut: Incorporation and Acculturation, Discrimination, Transnationalism and Roots, Political Alienation and Feelings of Efficacy, Civic and Political Engagement, and School Engagement. A demographic profile and methodology section explain in depth the quality of the data and its analysis.

Executive Summary

The Latino National Survey (LNS) contains 8,634 completed interviews (unweighted) of self-identified Latino/Hispanic residents of the United States. Interviewing began on November 17, 2005, and continued through August 4, 2006. The survey instrument contained approximately 165 distinct items ranging from demographic descriptions to political attitudes and policy preferences, as well as a variety of social indicators and experiences. All interviewers were bilingual speakers of English and Spanish. Respondents were greeted in both languages and were immediately offered the opportunity to interview in either language. Interviewers also provided a consent script that allowed respondents to opt out of the survey. Demographic variables include age, ancestry, birthplace, education level, ethnicity, marital status, military service, number of people in the household, number of children under the age of 18 living in the household, political party affiliation, political ideology, religiosity, religious preference, race, and sex.

The Connecticut sample of the LNS-New England provides an important window into the civic and political attitudes and preferences of Latinos residing in the three major metropolitan areas of the state. The CT-LNS should assist in framing new approaches to understanding the civic and political opinions of Latinos within the state of Connecticut. This report addresses six areas of civic and political attitudes and preferences across nine demographic dimensions. While many of the overall findings were inconclusive, individual demographic findings provide important information for future research.

Some of the key findings include:

1

Incorporation and Acculturation.

The overall findings on incorporation and acculturation were split and to this extent were inconclusive. About half (50.8%) of the Latino respondents indicated that they believe it is possible to incorporate into the state while simultaneously sustaining bilingual and bicultural values. Latinos in Connecticut reported that although their attachments to the Spanish language, Latino American identities, and transnational activities decrease over time, they feel that they can maintain these attachments while living in Connecticut.

2

Discrimination.

Close to two-thirds (61.1%) of Latinos reported that they have not experienced discrimination while residing in Connecticut. Puerto Ricans (8.7%) and U.S.-born Latinos (8.7%) were more likely to have experienced discrimination in Connecticut than naturalized citizens (1.7%) and noncitizen immigrants (3.9%).

3

Civic and Political Engagement.

The overall findings on civic and political engagement were split and to this degree were inconclusive. However, the survey suggests that Latinos are more likely to pursue low to medium levels of civic and political engagement. This finding also suggests that while Latinos may be less active in regional or statewide activities, they may be more involved in local civic and political activities.

4

Transnationalism and Roots.

The overall findings on transnationalism and rootedness were split and to this degree were inconclusive. However, the findings suggest that naturalized citizens and noncitizen immigrants sustained higher levels of transnationalism than U.S.-born Latinos and Puerto Ricans. Compared with Hartford, for example, residents of the New Haven metropolitan area, a residential area with a higher proportion of immigrants and migrants, reported higher levels of transnationalism (43.9%) than Hartford (25.3%).

Executive Summary continued

5

Political Alienation and Feelings of Efficacy.

Only about 45.1% of Latinos reported a high degree of efficacy in terms of their ability to influence politicians. Latinos residing in the Hartford metropolitan area are, the area with the second highest concentration of Latino elected officials in the state of Connecticut, reported the highest degrees of political efficacy (54.8%) and those residing in Bridgeport metropolitan area, the area with the highest number of Latino elected officials, reported the lowest (39.8%).

6

School Engagement.

Only 121 respondents answered questions related to school engagement. However, most Latino parents (81.1%) who answered these questions responded that they participate in Parent Teacher Association meetings and are actively supporting their children's educational activities.

Demographic Profile

The Connecticut Sample of the LNS for New England relied on 400 phone interviews of Latino and Latina respondents. The working group at the University of Connecticut divided the responses into nine demographic categories that were both representative of general population trends and that were useful in providing a more statistically accurate assessment of the impact of Latinos on political and civic activities in the state of Connecticut (Table 1). This report aggregated information available for three metropolitan areas with the highest concentrations of Latino residents in the state of Connecticut. The focus on the three metropolitan areas includes the twelve towns or cities with the highest numbers and concentrations of Latino residents in the state. The categories outlined below are meant to provide a better understanding of the relationship between Latino residents of the state of Connecticut and their civic and political activities.

In 2007, the native-born population of Latinos in the United States was larger (60.2%) than the foreign-born population (39.8%).³ U.S. Census data suggests that upwards of 60% of the Latino population in the United States was of Mexican origin and Puerto Ricans accounted for approximately 10% of this population. That same year, 11.7% of the population of Connecticut was Latino, and more than half (56.6%) was Puerto Rican. The CT-LNS relied on four subcategories of nativity and citizenship. Native-born respondents (60%) were divided into U.S.-mainland or stateside born Latinos (23%) and Puerto Ricans (37%). In contrast, foreign-born (40%) respondents were divided into two categories, namely immigrant citizens (11%) and noncitizen immigrants (29%). These distinctions help shed light on the percentage of Latino and Latina respondents that were eligible to participate in the electoral process as a direct result of their citizenship status.

National research suggests that as time passes and Latino migrants settle in the United States, their levels of transnational activities decrease.⁴ The CT-LNS also relied on two generational categories, namely first generation (41%) and second-or-more generation (59%). The higher proportion of second-or-more generation respondents suggests that the majority of respondents were more likely to be familiar with U.S., and perhaps Connecticut, public life and institutions.

In 2007, the national Latino population was evenly split along gender lines. Women accounted for 58% of the respondents of the CT-LNS, while men accounted for 42%. While there were some instances in which female responses differed from male responses in statistically meaningful ways, it is difficult to make broad gendered generalizations based on the available responses.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Respondents for CT Sample of LNS-New England

	Demographic Profile	%	N
Nativity & Citizenship	Mainland U.S.	23	84
	Puerto Rico	37	155
	Immigrant Citizen	11	43
	Immigrant non-citizen	29	113
	TOTAL	100	395
Generation	First generation	41	161
	Two or more generations	59	239
	TOTAL	100	400
Gender	Men	42	158
	Women	58	242
	TOTAL	100	400
Age	18-30	31	87
	30-49	40	158
	50+	29	127
	TOTAL	100	372
Home Ownership	Rent	67	256
	Own	33	133
	TOTAL	100	389
Education	<High School	41	161
	High School Graduate	22	86
	College+	37	153
	Total	100	400
Years Living in the U.S.	<20 years	59	149
	>20 years	41	127
	TOTAL	100	276
Ancestry	South American countries	17	70
	Caribbean Countries	7	22
	Central American & Mexican	20	74
	Puerto Rico	56	224
	TOTAL	100	390
Metropolitan Areas	Bridgeport	31	70
	New Haven	25	78
	Hartford	44	133
	TOTAL	100	281

Demographic Profile

The Latino population of the state of Connecticut and the United States more generally is young and will continue to be young. The median age of Latinos in both the state of Connecticut and the United States more generally is around 28 years, compared to a national median age of approximately 40.⁵ Age categories are also fairly reliable indicators of civic and political action. Younger populations are less likely to be engaged in civic and political activities than older populations. The Latino population is also the fastest growing population in both Connecticut and the United States more generally. However, for reasons that are not readily evident, older Latinos tend to migrate out of the state in large proportions. The CT-LNS divided the Latino respondents into three age categories, the young (18-30), adults (30-49), and seniors (50+). Young Latinos accounted for 31% of respondents in contrast to the adult (40%) and senior (29%) categories.

Homeownership suggests a certain degree of stability in a local community and is a fairly reliable indicator of higher levels of civic and political participation. In 2007, 49.9% of Latinos nationwide owned their homes, a significantly lower proportion than the national average (67.2%).⁶ Saúl N. Ramírez, Jr. suggests that there are several factors that can partially explain the gap between the national and Latino averages which include migration patterns; median age; and a lowered ability to earn, save, and establish creditworthiness.⁷ The majority (67%) of Latino respondents indicated that they rented their residences, while 33% indicated that they owned their homes.

Available information on voter participation also demonstrates that educational achievement can be a fairly reliable indicator of increased levels of civic and political participation. Persons with higher levels of educational achievement are more likely to vote in higher proportions.⁸ According to the Pew Hispanic Center's tabulation of the 2007 American Community Service data on Latino educational attainment, 29.4% acquired some K-12 education, 28.2% graduated from high school, 19.9% completed some college level education, and only 12.6% graduated from college. The demographic profile of the Latino respondents of the CT-LNS sample indicated that 41% of the respondents had achieved some K-12 education, 22% had graduated from high school, and 37% had some college education or graduated from college.

The Latino population of Connecticut is primarily a young population. The median age of Latinos is around 28 years of age. Available demographic data for Connecticut suggests that Latinos tend to migrate out of the state as they age.⁹ The CT-LNS divided the respondents in two residential categories, namely residents living in the state for less than 20 years and those residing in Connecticut for 20 years or more. An underlying assumption of this categorization is that Latinos who have resided in

Demographic Profile

the state for 20 year or longer are more likely to establish roots in the Connecticut and sustain more stable lives.

In 2007, Latinos comprised upwards of 45,378,596 or 15% of the total population of the United States. Connecticut had a total population of 3,502,309 people with approximately 411,349 (11.7%) Latino residents.¹⁰ Connecticut was the state with the eleventh largest proportion of Latino residents, followed by Rhode Island. According to the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute, in 2006 the Latino population for Connecticut was comprised of Puerto Ricans (56.6%), Mexicans (9.48%), Central Americans (5.94%), South Americans (14.06%), Cubans (1.83%) and other Latinos (12.14%). The CT-LNS category for ancestry divided the Latino respondents into four categories, namely Puerto Rican (56%), Mexican and Central American (20%), South American (17%), and Caribbean (7%).

Upwards of 70% of the Latino population of Connecticut resides in 12-15 of the 169 towns or cities in the state.¹¹ The majority of the Latino population of the state is highly concentrated in a small number of metropolitan communities. For the purposes of this study, the CT-LNS constructed three metropolitan areas that were comprised of 37 towns or cities and aggregated the survey responses. The CT-LNS metropolitan areas were constructed from clusters based on the number of respondents interviewed and a selection of towns with higher concentrations of Latino residents. The CT-LNS metropolitan areas do not conform to U.S. Census Bureau or other definitions of metropolitan areas.

The metropolitan areas used in this report were Bridgeport (70 respondents or 31%) (which included Fairfield, Stratford, and Bridgeport); Hartford (133 respondents or 44%) (which included Bristol, Cromwell, East Hartford, Ellington, Enfield, Hartford, Lebanon, Manchester, Mansfield Center, Middletown, New London, Newington, Southington, Tolland, Vernon-Rockville, West Hartford, Wethersfield, Willimantic, Windsor, and New Britain); and New Haven (78 respondents or 25%) (which included Meriden, New Haven, North Haven, Guilford, Wallingford, Clinton, East Haven, and West Haven).

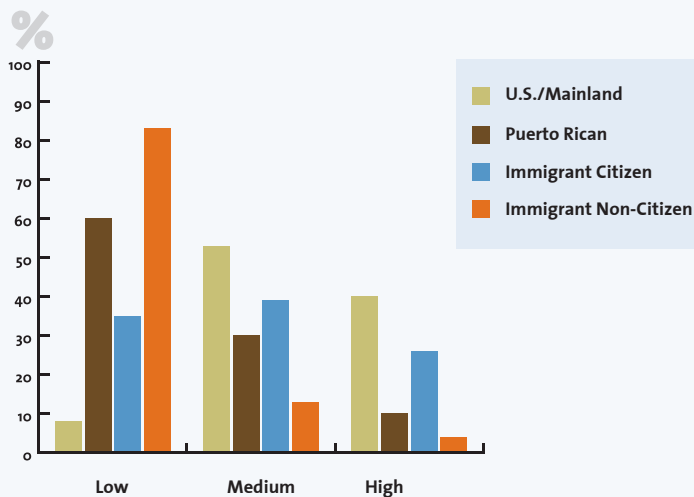
Data Analysis

INCORPORATION AND ACCULTURATION

Nationalist narratives in the United States have historically demanded that Latinos assimilate Anglo-American cultural values and traditions as a precondition for membership in U.S. society.¹² These arguments claim that civic and political participation or incorporation is wedded to the incorporation of Latinos into mainstream Anglo-American cultural values and traditions. Latinos throughout the United States, however, have consistently argued that it is possible to become incorporated into the United States while sustaining multiple cultural values and traditions.

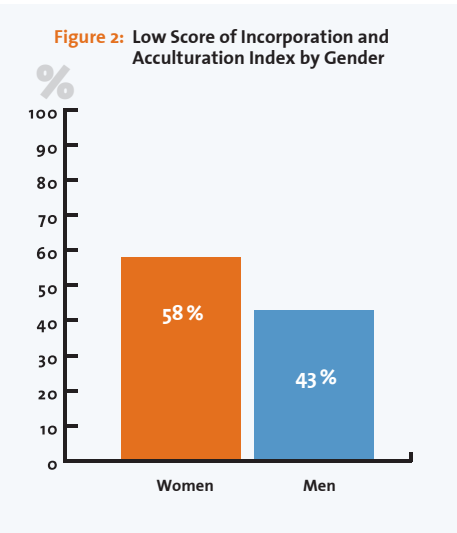
The Connecticut sample of the LNS sought to assess some of the attitudes of Latinos regarding incorporation and acculturation through five questions that gauged several dimensions of the relationship between cultural values and political attitudes. This index included questions on language preference, on political knowledge or reliance on English- or Spanish-language media, self-identification, ethnic or descriptive representation of public officials, and the use of Spanish language by candidates for public office. These questions sought to combine internal and external perceptions of incorporation and acculturation. The overall findings suggest that while half (50.8%) of Connecticut Latinos believe that it is possible to incorporate into U.S. society without having to acculturate to Anglo-American cultural values and traditions, the other half of

Figure 1. Incorporation and Acculturation Index by Nativity



Data Analysis

INCORPORATION AND ACCULTURATION continued

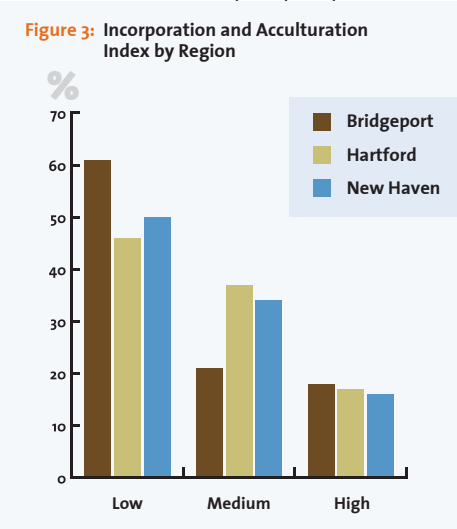


Latinos believe to varying degrees that it is important to speak English and adopt Anglo-American cultural values in order to become incorporated in Connecticut and perhaps the U.S. more generally.

U.S.- or mainland-born Latinos (39.9%) and naturalized citizens (26.3%) claimed the highest levels of acculturation in contrast to Puerto Ricans (9.5%) and noncitizen migrants (3.7%) (Figure 1). Women (57.8%) were less likely to acculturate than men (42.6%) (Figure 2). Latinos who achieved higher levels of education were also more likely to embrace the English language

and Anglo-American cultural values (30.5%). Likewise, Latinos who established roots in Connecticut 20 or more years ago were more likely to report higher levels of acculturation (17.3%) than Latinos who have lived in the state for less than 20 years (6.8%).

When viewed in terms of place of residence, however, the findings suggest that Latinos residing in the Bridgeport metro area (61%) are less likely to embrace Anglo-American cultural values and traditions than residents of New Haven (50.3%) and Hartford (45.6%) (Figure 3). This latter finding raises important questions that merit further research into the changing nature of Latino and Latin American migrations within the state, because the New



Haven Latino population has traditionally been comprised of a higher proportion of migrants than the comparable populations in the Hartford and Bridgeport metropolitan areas. These findings also invite further research into the impact of in and out of state migrations and their impact on the stability of Latino communities in the state. Despite the low scores of acculturation, the majority of Latino officials are being elected in Hartford, Bridgeport, and New Haven suggesting that Latinos feel comfortable electing Latino public officials without necessarily feeling a need to assimilate Anglo-American cultural values. In addition, given the high proportion of Puerto Ricans residing in CT, it would be interesting to explore in more detail whether Puerto Rican political attitudes, informed by their experience with mainland and island political institutions, may be assisting in the political socialization of other Latinos residing in these metropolitan areas.

Research on the relationship between the length of residency in a locality and acculturation suggests that as Latinos establish roots in a place, they are more likely to acculturate local values and engage in higher levels of civic and political action. As time passes, Anglo-American acculturation becomes a more integral companion of incorporation. However, the CT-LNS findings suggest that a substantive number of Latinos in Connecticut believe that it is possible to become incorporated into the state and the United States more generally, without having to abandon bilingual and bicultural values. These findings raise questions concerning the availability of organizations or institutions that may contribute to the civic and political socialization of Latinos. Further research should be conducted to understand the relationship between the mobility of Latinos within the state and the availability of local organizations or institutions that can contribute to the incorporation of bilingual and bicultural Latinos into civic and political arenas.

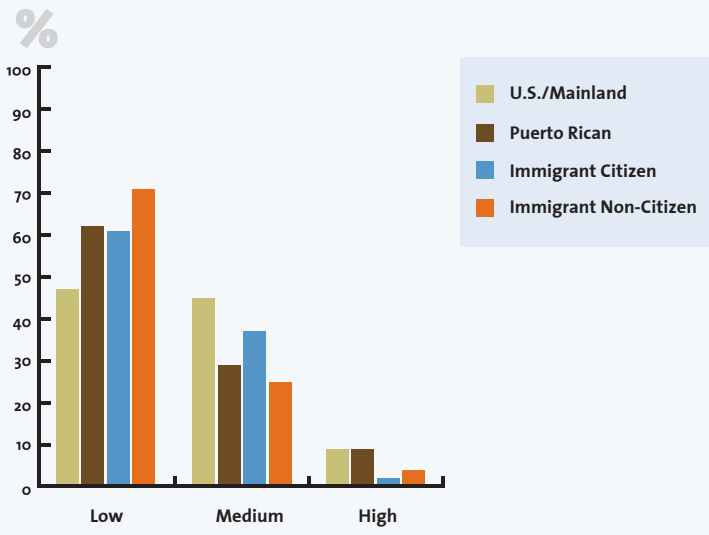
Data Analysis

DISCRIMINATION

One of the more controversial findings of the Connecticut sample of the LNS-New England is that Latinos reported that they are less likely to experience discrimination in the state of Connecticut. The CT-LNS sought to gauge discrimination in four areas of public life. A discrimination index was created to identify high, medium, and low or no feelings of discrimination in the workplace, in public establishments, in relation to residential or housing segregation, and with police officers. Almost two-thirds (61.1%) of all Latinos who participated in the CT-LNS responded that they had not experienced discrimination in these areas while living in Connecticut. These findings, while controversial, are consistent with the Rhode Island findings of the LNS-New England sample. They also tend to confirm the belief that Latinos can lead bicultural or multicultural lives without substantive fear of discrimination.

Puerto Ricans (8.7%) and mainland-U.S.-born Latinos (8.7%) were more likely to report experiences of discrimination than were immigrant citizens (1.7%) and noncitizen migrants (3.9%) (Figure 4). Young male Latinos under the age of 30 reported the highest levels of discrimination (25.5%). The survey results also indicate that men are more likely than women to experience various forms of discrimination. Latinos residing in the Bridgeport metro area reported the highest level of discriminatory experiences (10.3%)

Figure 4. Feelings of Discrimination Index by Nativity



in contrast to Latinos residing in the New Haven metro area, a residential area with a higher percentage of immigrants and noncitizen migrants, who reported the highest percentage (71.5%) of low or no levels of discrimination. These findings are consistent with the findings on incorporation and acculturation that suggest that Latinos feel comfortable maintaining bicultural or multicultural values and lifestyles while residing in Connecticut.

F. Chris Garcia and Gabriel R. Sanchez note, “although all surveys report that Latinos believe that they have been discriminated against more than non-Hispanic whites, answers to items concerning the amount and type of discrimination against Latinos vary tremendously.”¹³ While the findings of the CT-LNS raise interesting questions that merit more sustained research into the relationships between migrant, citizenship status, nationality and discrimination, it may also be possible to provide several plausible explanations for the general findings which merit further research.

One possible explanation for these findings involves the challenges of residential isolation. Demographic research on Latinos in Connecticut suggests that upwards of 70% of the population is concentrated in 12-15 towns and cities, all of which were included in the three geographical or metropolitan areas discussed in this report.¹⁴ This suggests that Latinos are not only likely to live in ethnic enclaves, but they are also more likely to interact primarily with other Latinos in most areas of public life and thus may not necessarily experience traditional forms of discrimination that they could experience through interactions with Anglo or white residents of Connecticut as well as with Anglo-American public institutions. In addition, newcomers may not have fully formed concepts of civil and political rights and a conception of what discrimination means in a U.S. context. For example, residents of Puerto Rico who may have been socialized with Spanish notions of class and color may not necessarily recognize various forms of racial discrimination that are informed by Anglo-American rules of hypodescent. These perceptions change as Latinos establish roots in the state and with new generations. A third possible explanation that is consistent with the overall findings may stem from the relationship between educational attainment and migration. Latinos with higher levels of educational achievement are more likely to identify medium to high levels of discriminatory experiences. However, demographic research conducted by the Connecticut State Data Center also suggests that Latinos with higher levels of educational achievement are also more likely to migrate out of traditional Latino enclaves and the state more generally.¹⁵ It is also important to note that Latinos residing in different urban and rural areas in Connecticut may experience discrimination in different ways and to different degrees without reaching a shared consensus.

Data Analysis

TRANSNATIONALISM AND ROOTS

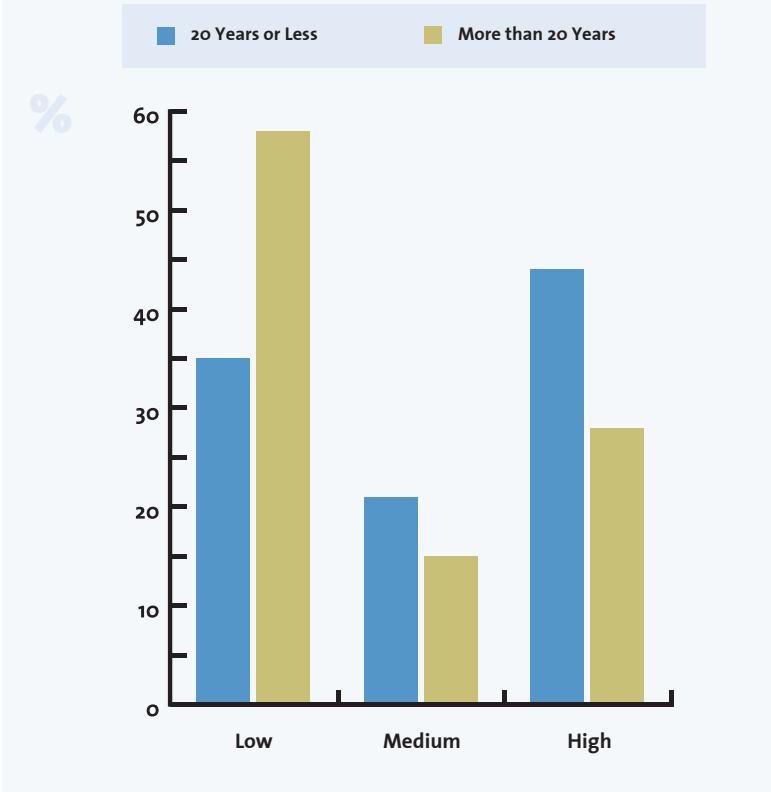
Nationalist and mainstream arguments suggest that Latinos, regardless of their country of origin, are more likely to maintain transnational ties or roots in a Latin American or Caribbean country and are thus less likely to engage in local civic and/or political activities in the United States. These narratives assert that transnational identities hinder the assimilation of Latinos to mainstream Anglo-American cultural values and traditions and by extension the incorporation of Latinos to the larger U.S. society and polity.

The CT-LNS sample sought to gauge the degree to which transnational lives and experiences impact civic and electoral political engagement through eight questions that address various transnational activities. Latino respondents were asked what types of contacts they maintained with people and places in Latin America and the Caribbean; how often they travelled to and from a country of origin; whether they sent remittances; whether they owned local properties; whether they planned to return and live in these locations; and to what extent they paid attention to local, U.S.-based politics. An index was created to classify high, medium, and low levels of transnationalism. The overall findings regarding transnational activities were split and to this degree were inconclusive; however, individual findings generally confirmed that as Latinos established roots in Connecticut their transnational activities decreased.

The findings generally confirm that mainland- or stateside-U.S.-born Latinos and Puerto Ricans (28.5%) were less likely to engage in transnational activities than immigrants (35.7%) and noncitizen migrants (50.3%). First-generation Latino immigrants (44.9%) and Latinos residing in the United States for less than 20 years (44%) were more likely to engage in transnational activities than second-generation Latinos (28.5%) and those residing in the state for more than 20 years (27.7%) (Figure 5). Latino men were also more likely (43.6%) than women (32.6%) to sustain transnational roots. The findings also confirm that Latinos residing in the New Haven metro area (43.9%), an area populated with a higher percentage of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants and migrants, are more likely to engage in higher levels of transnational activities than Latinos residing in the Hartford area (25.3%), an area with a significantly higher proportion of Puerto Rican residents with longstanding roots.

These findings are consistent with other research that suggests that Latin American and Caribbean immigrants become sojourners and while they maintain some connections to a Latin American or Caribbean country, these decrease over time and as they establish more permanent roots in the United States.¹⁶ Thus, while Latinos may continue to sustain transnational ties or engage in related activities, these decrease as they become incorporated into the society and polity of the United States. Although the available

Figure 5. Transnational Activity Index by Years in U.S.



findings suggest that as Latinos age and become more educated they are more likely to establish roots in the state, available U.S. Census data also show that this population also tends to migrate both within and out of the state in higher proportions than younger less educated Latinos. Further research should be conducted to understand the relationship of transnational ties to the high levels of migration among Latino residents of Connecticut.

Data Analysis

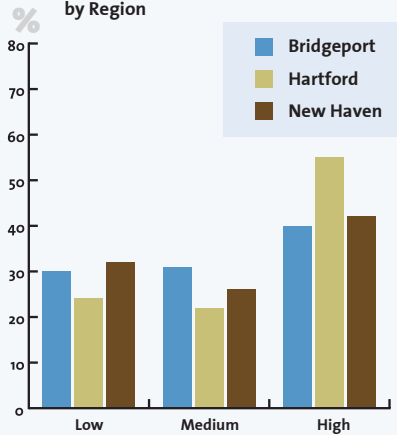
POLITICAL ALIENATION AND FEELINGS OF EFFICACY

Political alienation generally refers to the perceived inability of persons to influence public officials or the government more generally. In contrast, efficacy generally refers to the influence a person may have on public officials and government more generally. These attitudes can manifest themselves internally, or through introspective beliefs, or by way of external perceptions of public officials. Traditionally marginalized populations often feel that public officials and the government more generally are not responsive to their needs and interests.

The CT-LNS relied on four questions addressing internal and external feelings of alienation and efficacy to assess the political attitudes of Connecticut Latinos. An index was created to identify high, medium, and low levels of political efficacy. Overall, a plurality of Latinos reported feeling a high degree of efficacy (45.1%) in their ability to influence public officials and the government more generally. Almost half (49.1%) of the Puerto Rican respondents reported the highest feelings of political efficacy, in contrast to mainland- or stateside-U.S.-born Latinos, who reported the lowest feelings of political efficacy (36.3%).

These findings are somewhat consistent with the geographic findings which suggest that Latinos residing in the Hartford metro area (54.8%) perceived higher levels of political efficacy than those residing in the New Haven (41.7%) and Bridgeport (39.8%) areas (Figure 6). It is important to note that while the city of Bridgeport has the highest number of Latino elected officials in the state, the city of Hartford has a more diverse proportion of Puerto Rican elected officials that include the city's mayor, three city council members, several state legislators, and at least five school board members. Whereas it is estimated that Puerto Ricans comprise upwards of 60% of the Latino population in the Hartford area, it is also estimated that they comprise less than 40% of the Latino population in the Bridgeport and New Haven areas. Notwithstanding these findings, almost a third of Latinos across demographic categories generally reported that they felt alienated from public officials and the government more generally. Further research should be conducted on the possible impact of a state-wide Latino political agenda, an agenda shared by Latino elected officials across the state, on feelings of efficacy and trust among Latinos in the state of Connecticut.

Figure 6: Political Alienation and Efficacy Index by Region



CIVIC AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

According to the Pew Hispanic Center, the number of eligible Latino voters in the United States increased by 21.4% between 2004 and 2008, by far the largest increase of any group of voters at a national level.¹⁷ This increase in Latino voters is also keeping pace with a consistent Latino population growth will continue to outpace the population growth of all other racial and ethnic groups in Connecticut and the United States more generally.

In 2007, Connecticut ranked tenth among the states in terms of proportion of eligible voters.¹⁸ Notwithstanding the increase in Latino voter participation during the 2008 national elections, it is also important to remember that more than half of the Latino population in the United States is comprised of nonvoting immigrants and children under the age of 18. In 2007, Latinos under the age of 18 accounted for 33.8% of the overall Latino population, in contrast to the comparable figure for Anglos or Whites of 21.1%. The Latino population in Connecticut, however, has a higher proportion of eligible voter in large measure due to the higher proportion of Puerto Rican residents who are entitled to citizenship at birth.

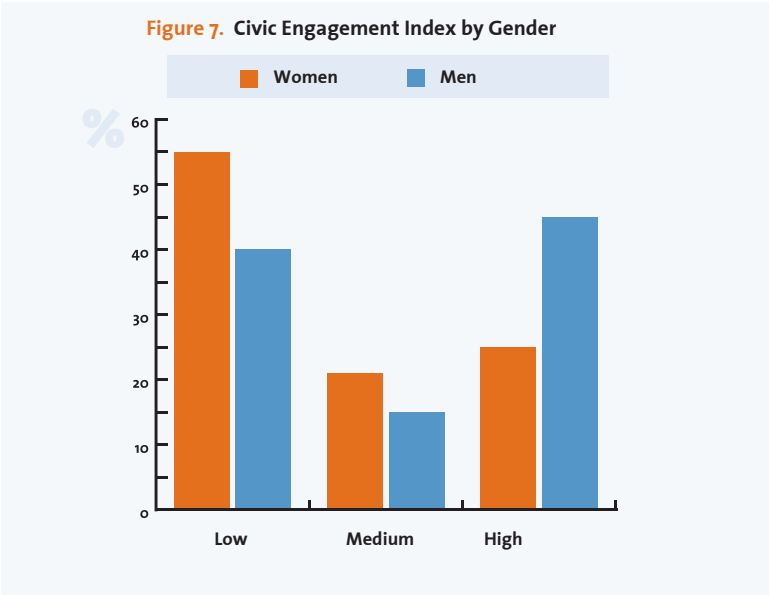
Yet, it is also important to remember that while the Latino population in Connecticut is growing and participating in the electoral process, it is also a relatively young population, with a median age of 28 years. Traditionally, younger populations are less likely to become civically and politically engaged. Despite increases in voter turnout among Latinos during the 2008 presidential elections, it is not clear how Latinos in Connecticut have increased their participation in other forms of civic and political engagement.

The CT-LNS survey included nine questions that explored various dimensions of political and civic engagement. An index that identifies high, medium, and low levels of political engagement was created. These questions focused on the intersection and relationship between political and civic engagement. It is important to note that noncitizen immigrants and migrants can and do participate in civic activities of a political nature, even if because of their citizenship status they are unable to vote and participate in the electoral process.

The CT-LNS results suggest that almost half (48.9%) of the Latino voting population of Connecticut indicated either low levels of civic and political engagement or none at all. The findings also reveal that women (54.5%) were more likely to participate in low levels of political and civic engagement (0 to 3 activities) than men (44.7%) who reported having participated in a high number (5 to 9) of civic and political activities than women (24.8%) (Figure 7). This finding suggests that there may be a “gender-gap” in the ways

Data Analysis

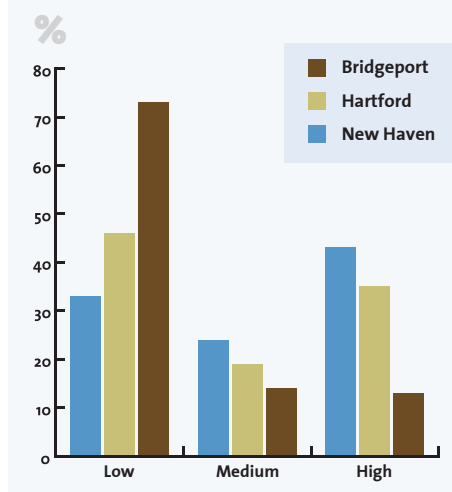
CIVIC AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT continued



that Latinas and Latinos envision political participation. Whereas Latino men tend to be involved in a large number of activities, it may be the case that these activities are oriented towards the electoral process, whereas Latina women may be more interested in local or perhaps community and grassroots political activities.

It is important to note that while Puerto Ricans most likely constitute the largest proportion of eligible voters, because of their overall numbers in the population and their citizenship status, they are also the least likely group to engage in civic and political action (58.7%). In contrast, in Connecticut, mainland- or U.S.-born Latinos are most likely to participate in civic and political activities. Latinos residing in the Bridgeport metro area reported the highest (42.8%) level of political and civic engagement followed by residents of the Hartford (35.3%) and New Haven (13.3%) metro areas (Figure 8). These findings raise interesting questions informing the relationship between feelings of alienation and efficacy and civic and political participation. More importantly, these findings suggest that even though Latino residents in the city of Bridgeport indicated that they are engaged at higher levels of civic and political participation than Latino residents of other cities, a perception confirmed by the fact that the city of Bridgeport has the highest number

Figure 8: Civic Engagement Index by Region



of Latino elected officials in the state, Latino residents of Bridgeport also reported the highest levels of feelings of political alienation and lowest levels of political efficacy.

Voter participation and civic engagement have also been linked to higher educational achievement and residential stability. Research suggests that Latinos with higher levels of educational achievement are more likely to be engaged in civic and political activities.¹⁹ The findings of the CT-LNS confirm that older Latino voters (33%), those who own homes

(43.5%), and those who have attained more than a high school degree (48.8%) engage in higher levels of civic and political activities. Latinos with access to more resources and more rooted in the state of Connecticut are also more likely to engage in civic and political action.

The Latino population of Connecticut, like the Latino population in the United States more generally, is a young population. Demographic research for the state of Connecticut suggests that the Latino population may continue to grow, but the median age will continue to be that of a younger population. Younger eligible voters have traditionally participated in lower proportions of civic and political activities. The findings of the CT-LNS suggest that Latinos who are less than 30 years of age participate in lower proportions (27.7%) than older Latinos between 30 and 49 (37%). Despite the suggestion that Latino civic and political participation are fairly low, it is also important to note that the number of Latino elected officials in the state of Connecticut remains fairly robust when compared to the proportion of eligible Latino voters. Further research should explore the relationship between these findings, findings which suggest that Latino voters are likely to participate in low to moderate levels, and the robust election of Latino public officials across the state.

Data Analysis

SCHOOL ENGAGEMENT

Latinos generally regard educational attainment as an important goal in society. Educational attainment has consistently been linked to economic mobility and higher levels of civic and political participation in society. Research also suggests that Latino parents value education and school-related activities more than other civic or political activities.²⁰ In general, however, statewide research suggests that Connecticut Latino parents have low levels of school engagement.

The CT-LNS sought to gauge the levels of Latino parents' involvement in school activities. The survey asked parents whether they attended Parent Teacher Association meetings, met with their children's teachers and became active in their children's school activities. Unlike the findings in the Rhode Island sample of the LNS, a little more than a quarter (121) of CT-LNS respondents reported some level of school engagement. This low level of participation is consistent with a general concern over low levels of school engagement among Latino families in the state of Connecticut. However, while the overall number of Latinos may not be actively engaged in the educational activities of their children, the majority (81.1%) of those who are engaged responded that they were actively attending PTA meetings, meeting their children's teachers and participating in school activities.

The findings throughout the survey were fairly consistent. Yet, parents who self-identified as noncitizens (87%) were more likely to report participation in school-related activities than were U.S.-born Latinos (72.9%) and Puerto Ricans (79%). These findings were consistent with the gap separating first-generation (89.7%) and second-generation (76.5%) Latino parents, suggesting that newcomers to the state have a tendency to be more actively involved in their children's school-related activities. At the same time, research demonstrates that Latino immigrants tend to face more obstacles in their efforts to become actively involved in their children's educational experience. This apparent discrepancy in attitudes indicates the need for further research into the relationship between socialization and perceptions of the value of school engagement in Connecticut, as well as the possible presence of local obstacles preventing parents from being more involved in school activities.

General Conclusions

Connecticut is in the midst of a fundamental demographic shift that will have a profound impact on the welfare of the state for generations to come. People of Latin American and Caribbean heritage and descent are at the forefront of this historic shift. As the state continues to change and grow, we will need to know more about this important population. Our conclusions emerging from the CT-LNS data, while still preliminary, point the way to a wide range of potential research on the fastest growing ethno-racial community in the state. Perhaps more important will be local and state government and nonprofit-organization policy initiatives that result from critical reflection on this and future studies.

We found that the variables of gender, generation, educational background, and location, among others, greatly influence experiences of transnational activities, discrimination, political efficacy, and civic and educational involvement. That stated, and taking into consideration the limitations of the CT-LNS survey data, we hazard the following general conclusions:

1

Incorporation and Acculturation.

The overall findings on incorporation and acculturation were split and to this extent were inconclusive. About half (50.8%) of the Latino respondents indicated that they believe it is possible to incorporate into the state while simultaneously sustaining bilingual and bicultural values. Latinos in Connecticut reported that although their attachments to the Spanish language, Latino American identities, and transnational activities decrease over time, they feel they can maintain these attachments while living in Connecticut.

2

Discrimination.

Close to two-thirds (61.1%) of Latinos reported that they have not experienced discrimination while residing in Connecticut. Puerto Ricans (8.7%) and U.S.-born Latinos (8.7%) were more likely to have experienced discrimination in Connecticut than naturalized citizens (1.7%) and noncitizen immigrants (3.9%).

3

Civic and Political Engagement.

The overall findings on civic and political engagement were split and to this degree were inconclusive. However, the survey suggests that Latinos are more likely to pursue low to medium levels of civic and political engagement. This finding also suggests that while Latinos may be less active in regional or statewide activities, they may be more involved in local civic and political activities.

4

Transnationalism and Roots.

The overall findings on transnationalism and rootedness were split and thus inconclusive. However, they suggest that naturalized citizens and noncitizen immigrants sustained higher levels of transnationalism than U.S.-born Latinos and Puerto Ricans. Residents of the New Haven metropolitan area, a residential area with a higher proportion of immigrants and migrants, reported the highest levels of transnationalism (43.9%), in particular contrast to Hartford (25.3%).

5

Political Alienation and Feelings of Efficacy.

Only about 45.1% of Latinos reported a high degree of efficacy in terms of their ability to influence politicians. Latinos residing in the Hartford metropolitan area are, the area with the second highest concentration of Latino elected officials in the state of Connecticut, reported the highest degrees of political efficacy (54.8%) and those residing in Bridgeport metropolitan area, the area with the highest number of Latino elected officials, reported the lowest (39.8%).

6

School Engagement.

Only 121 respondents answered questions related to school engagement. However, most Latino parents (81.1%) who answered these questions responded that they participate in Parent Teacher Association meetings and are actively supporting their children's educational activities.

Appendix

GLOSSARY

Throughout this report, we use the following terms to differentiate among different statuses and identities:

Immigrant citizens: foreign-born naturalized citizens.

Immigrant noncitizens: immigrants who are not citizens. This survey did not inquire into respondents' immigrant status (whether documented or undocumented).

U.S.-born citizens: all citizens by law; all Puerto Ricans belong to this category, as Puerto Rico is part of the United States

Latina/o and Hispanic: According to the official classification schemes of the U.S. Census, “Latino” is applied to migrants and their descendants in the United States originating from the Spanish-speaking countries of North, Central, and South America, as well as from countries in the Caribbean and from Spain. This definition often but not always excludes countries like such as Haiti, Brazil, and Belize, but it includes U.S. territories such as Puerto Rico.

Appendix

METHODOLOGY

I. Data

The data that are the basis of this report were obtained from a telephone survey that was part of a larger study conducted by the Latino National Survey-New England project in 2007 in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The entire study had a sample size of 1,200 observations of self-identified Latino/Hispanic respondents. It followed a stratified probability sample of New England to produce a sample that was representative with respect to geographical localities and gender.²¹ For the purposes of this report, we focus on the Connecticut sample, which had a total of 400 respondents. These data were weighted based on the Connecticut state-level weight available in the dataset.²²

II. Measurement

The Connecticut sample included multiple questions on six dimensions: incorporation and acculturation (5 items), discrimination (4 items), civic/political engagement (9 items), transnationalism and roots (8 items), efficacy/alienation (4 items), and school engagement (3 items). To measure these concepts, it is necessary to evaluate first is the reliability of the set of items in measuring each of the concepts. The concept of reliability refers to the consistency within a measure. The rationale behind internal reliability assessments is that a measure that is not internally consistent will not be consistent over time either. Data analysis without an assessment of reliability would be “like describing the characteristics of [a phenomenon] without an exact definition of what is meant by this phenomenon.”²³ The aim, then, with the reliability test is to use scales that adequately measure concepts widely researched in Latino scholarship. We measure reliability with Cronbach’s alpha, whose values run from 0 to 1. The closer the value to 1, the more reliable the index. For our five indexes, Cronbach’s alpha ranged between 0.64 and 0.74. These values are below the ideal, and the indexes include fewer than the ideal number of questions. It would be best, therefore, to consider them quasi-scales.

III. Indexes

Each answer of the items related to the concepts was coded either one (1) or zero (0), with one representing more of whatever the index involved. Each person's score is the sum of these answers to the questions in the index. Thus, the maximum score possible with a five-item index is five. The minimum score is always zero. Zero means that respondents claimed that none of the events related to the concept happened or applied to them. Finally, we divided every index into approximately equal thirds to identify low, medium, and high scores on the index.

IV. Demographics

The indexes were examined in relation to the following demographic variables:

1. Citizenship Status:
 - a. Mainland U.S.: people born in the mainland United States.
 - b. Puerto Ricans.
 - c. Immigrant citizens: foreign-born naturalized citizens.
 - d. Immigrant noncitizens: immigrants who are not citizens.
2. First generation: Constructed using the U.S.-born variable; island-born Puerto Ricans were coded as second-or-more-generation citizens.
3. Gender: male or female.
4. Age: respondents were categorized as less than 30 years old, 30 to 49 years old, or 50 or more years old.
5. Home ownership: rent or own
6. Education: respondents' levels of education attainment were categorized as less than high school, high school, and more than high school
7. Time in the U.S.: Constructed using when the respondent arrived to the U.S. and age variables. For island-born Puerto Ricans, the variable measures the years since having moved to the mainland U.S.
8. Ancestry: The categories were Puerto Rico; South American countries including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela; Caribbean countries including Cuba and the Dominican Republic; Mexico or

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Central American countries including Nicaragua, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama.

9. Metropolitan areas were based on census information and available numbers of respondent samples in three major metropolitan areas and their surrounding town.²⁴ These metropolitan areas encompassed Bridgeport (70 respondents or 31%) (which included Fairfield, Stratford, and Bridgeport); Hartford (133 respondents or 44%) (which included Bristol, Cromwell, East Hartford, Ellington, Enfield, Hartford, Lebanon, Manchester, Mansfield Center, Middletown, New London, Newington, Southington, Tolland, Vernon-Rockville, West Hartford, Wethersfield, Willimantic, Windsor, and New Britain); and New Haven (78 respondents or 25%) (which included Meriden, New Haven, North Haven, Guilford, Wallingford, Clinton, East Haven, and West Haven).

List of Questions by Index ²⁵

Index One: Incorporation and Acculturation

Cronbach's alpha: 0.737

1. Would you prefer that I speak in English or Spanish? (langpref)
2. For information about public affairs and politics, would you say you rely more heavily on Spanish-language television, radio, and newspapers, or on English-language TV, radio, and newspapers? (relymed)
3. In general, how strongly or not do you think of yourself as American? (american)
4. People can prefer a candidate for a variety of different reasons. How important is it for you, that a candidate is Hispanic or Latino? ²⁶ (preflat)

Index Two: Discrimination

Cronbach's alpha: 0.715

1. Have you ever been unfairly fired or denied a job or promotion? (dfired)
2. Have you ever been unfairly treated by the police? (dbadpolc)
3. Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood (vecindario o barrio) because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment? (dhousing)
4. Have you ever been treated unfairly or badly at restaurants or stores? (drestaur)

Index Three: Transnationalism and Roots

Cronbach's alpha: 0.655

1. How often do you have contact with friends and family in [country of origin]? (trconct)
2. Have you ever returned to live (rather than just visit) there for a portion of time? (trlive)
3. How long do you think you will remain in the U.S.? (tremain)
4. Are you the owner of land, a house or a business in [country of origin]? (trownld)

Appendix

5. How often do you visit [country of origin]? (trvisit)
6. Do you have plans to go back to [country of origin] to live permanently? (trgoback)
7. How often do you send money? (trmoney)
8. How much attention would you say you pay to politics in [country of origin]? Would you say you pay a lot of attention, some attention, a little attention, or none at all? (trattpol)

Index Four: Political Alienation and Feelings of Efficacy

Cronbach's alpha: 0.688

1. "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on." (complic)
2. "People are better off avoiding contact with government" (nocontac)
3. "Government is pretty much run by just a few big interests looking out for themselves, and not for the benefit of all the people." (bigintst)
4. "People like me don't have any say in what the government does." (sayso)

Index Five: Civic and Political engagement

Cronbach's alpha: 0.643

1. How interested are you in politics and public affairs? Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested, or not at all interested? (polintere)
2. Have you ever tried to get government officials to pay attention to something that concerned you, either by calling, writing a letter, or going to a meeting? (contoff)
3. Are you currently registered to vote in the U.S.? (regvote)
4. Which political party, Democrat or Republican (alternate order), has a majority in the United States House of Representatives? (knowpart)
5. In the United States, presidential elections are decided state-by-state. Can you tell me, in the election of 2004, which candidate, Bush or Kerry, won the most votes in [respondent's current state of residence]? (state 04)

6. Which one of the political parties is more conservative than the other at the national level, the Democrats or the Republicans? (conctpar)
7. Do you participate in the activities of one social, cultural, civic or political group, more than one such group, or do you not participate in the activities of any such groups?
8. Are you or anyone in your household a member of a union? (comparp)
9. In the 2004 elections, were you ever contacted to vote for or contribute money to a candidate or political campaign? (contact 04)

Index Six: School Engagement ²⁷


Cronbach's alpha: 0.337

1. Here is a list of things that some parents have done and others have not regarding their children's school. Which of these things have you done? Have you...Met with your child's teacher? (meeteach)
2. Here is a list of things that some parents have done and others have not regarding their children's school. Which of these things have you done? Have you...Attended a PTA meeting? (attmeet)
3. Here is a list of things that some parents have done and others have not regarding their children's school. Which of these things have you done? Have you...Acted as a school volunteer for your child's school? (volschol)

Notes

- 1 This number includes Hispanics from Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and other U.S. territories.
- 2 Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, “Introduction,” in *Latino America: A State-by-State Encyclopedia* (2 vols.), ed. Overmyer-Velázquez, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008).
- 3 Pew Hispanic Center, *Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States 2007*, <http://pewhispanic.org/factsheets/factsheet.php?FactsheetID=46> (accessed on August 16, 2009).
- 4 Roger Waldinger, *Between Here and There: How Attached are Latino Immigrants to their Native Country?* Pew Hispanic Center, October 25, 2007, <http://pewhispanic.org/> (accessed on August 16, 2009).
- 5 Pew Hispanic Center, *Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States 2007*, <http://pewhispanic.org/factsheets/factsheet.php?FactsheetID=46> (accessed on August 16, 2009).
- 6 Pew Hispanic Center, *Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States 2007*.
- 7 Saúl N Ramírez, Jr. “Housing the Nation’s Latinos: An Overview,” in Henry G. Cisneros, Ed. *Latinos and the Nation’s Future* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2009), 183.
- 8 See generally United States Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting.html>.
- 9 Orlando Rodriguez, *Connecticut’s Hispanic Population* (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut and the Connecticut State Data Center, 2009).
- 10 Pew Hispanic Center, *Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States*.
- 11 Orlando Rodriguez and Charles Venator, “Projected Population in 2010 for Congressional Districts in Connecticut” (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut and the Connecticut State Data Center, 2009).
- 12 We recognize that the ethno/racial terms “Anglo” and “white” are far from static and monolithic categories. We employ the term “Anglo-American cultural values and traditions” to describe the dominant socio-cultural and political positions of non-Latino whites.
- 13 F. Chris Garcia and Gabriel R. Sanchez, *Hispanics and the U.S. Political System: Moving into the Mainstream* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice-Hall, 2008), 100-101.
- 14 Rodriguez and Venator, “Projected Population in 2010 for Congressional Districts in Connecticut.”

- 15 Orlando Rodriguez, *Connecticut's Hispanic Population* (Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut and the Connecticut State Data Center, 2009).
- 16 Waldinger, *Between Here and There*, 12.
- 17 Mark Hugo Lopez and Paul Taylor, *Dissecting the 2008 Electorate: The Most Diverse in U.S. History*, Pew Hispanic Center, April 30, 2009, <http://pewhispanic.org/>.
- 18 Paul Taylor and Richard Fry, *Hispanics and the 2008 Elections: A Swing Vote?*, Pew Hispanic Center, December 6, 2007, <http://pewhispanic.org/> (accessed on August 16, 2009).
- 19 Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, eds., *Muted Voices: Latinos and the 2000 Elections* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 2005), 22-23.
- 20 Mark Hugo Lopez and Susan Minushkin, *2008 National Survey of Latinos: Hispanic Voter Attitudes*, Pew Hispanic Center, July 24, 2008, <http://pewhispanic.org/> (accessed on August 16, 2009).
- 21 For further information about the sampling process please contact the Roper Center (<http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/>) to have access to the original description on the sampling process as described by the polling house that conducted the survey.
- 22 State level figures were weighted on the basis of a state-level weight of the population surveyed in New England. The state weight variable (wt_state) is available in the original dataset. Totals are unweighted.
- 23 Zsolt Demetrovics, Beatrix Szeredi, and Sándor Rózsa, "The Three-Factor Model of Internet Addiction: The Development of the Problematic Internet Use Questionnaire," *Behavior Research Methods*, 40, no.2 (2008): 563-74.
- 24 A Metropolitan Statistical Area consists of one or more counties that contain a city of 50,000 or more inhabitants or a Census Bureau-defined urbanized area (UA) and have a total population of at least 100,000 (75,000 in New England). See <http://www.census.gov/geo/www/GARM/Ch13GARM.pdf>.
- 25 The names of the variables as they appear in the codebook are in parentheses.
- 26 The use of Hispanic or Latino depends on what the respondent's answer to the following question: "The most frequently used terms to describe persons of Latin American descent living in the United States are 'Hispanic' and 'Latino.' Of the two, which do you prefer, or do you not care about this terminology?"
- 27 Given the low levels of the Cronbach's alpha for this index, we decided to use item two, which has the best result in the corrected-item total correlation (0.069).



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