

## National Latino Leader? The Job is Open

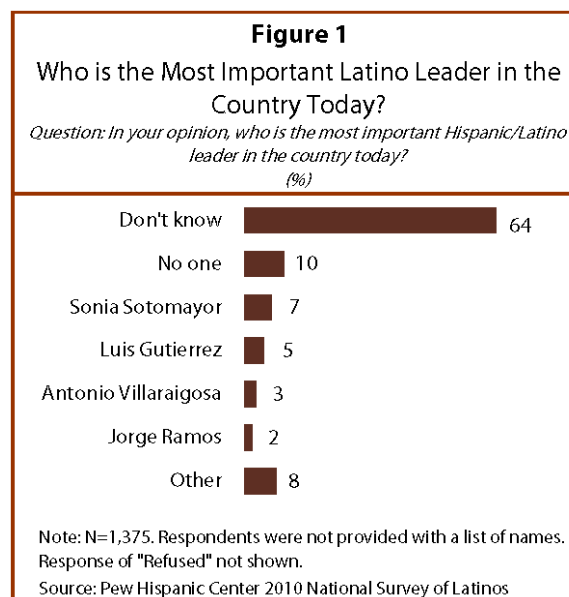
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By their own reckoning, Latinos<sup>1</sup> living in the United States do not have a national leader. When asked in an open-ended question to name the person they consider “the most important Latino leader in the country today,” nearly two-thirds (64%) of Latino respondents said they did not know. An additional 10% said “no one.”

These findings emerge from the 2010 National Survey of Latinos, a bilingual national survey of 1,375 Hispanic adults conducted prior to this month’s mid-term elections by the Pew Hispanic Center, a project of the Pew Research Center.

The most frequently named individual was Sonia Sotomayor, appointed last year to the U.S. Supreme Court. Some 7% of respondents said she is the most important Latino leader in the country. U.S. Rep. Luis Gutierrez (D-Ill.) of Chicago is next at 5%. Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa draws 3%, and Jorge Ramos, an anchor on *Noticiero Univision*, the national evening news program on the Spanish-language



<sup>1</sup> The terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” are used interchangeably in this report.

television network Univision, drew 2%.

No one else was named by more than 1% of respondents in the 2010 National Survey of Latinos conducted August 17 through September 19, 2010, by landline and cellular telephone. The margin of error for the full sample is plus or minus 3.3 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. For a full description of the survey methodology, see Appendix A.

In the November 2, 2010 elections, three Hispanics, all of them Republican, were elected to top statewide offices: Marco Rubio won a U.S. Senate seat in Florida, Brian Sandoval was elected governor of Nevada, and Susana Martinez was elected governor of New Mexico.

The prominence of these offices conceivably could provide platforms from which any of the three could emerge as national Latino leaders, but to do so they would have to overcome some strong partisan head winds. Nationwide, Latinos supported Democratic candidates for the U.S. House this month by a wide margin, according to the National Election Pool's national exit poll—continuing a pattern of strong Latino support for Democrats that has persisted in recent elections ([Lopez, 2010](#)).

At 47 million strong, Latinos are the nation's largest minority group, constituting more than 15% of the U.S. population. As a group, they feel increasingly targeted by ethnic bias. More than six-in-ten (61%) say that discrimination against Latinos is "a major problem" that prevents members of their ethnic group from succeeding in America ([Lopez, Morin and Taylor, 2010](#)), up from 47% who felt this way in 2002 ([Pew Hispanic Center, 2002](#)).<sup>2</sup>

At various times in American history, groups that have felt aggrieved have rallied behind leaders who championed their cause—be it a Susan B. Anthony, who led the women's suffrage movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, or a Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who led the civil rights movement in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. From the 1960s through the 1980s, Cesar Chavez, co-founder of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), played a similar role for Latinos, who at the time were a much smaller share of the U.S. population than they are now.

But there are often times when groups—be they ethnic, racial or political—do not have easily identifiable leaders. For example, in a national survey conducted after this month's mid-term elections, when Republicans were asked who they think of

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<sup>2</sup> According to a survey from Pew Social and Demographic Trends conducted in the fall of 2009, the American public sees Latinos as the nation's most discriminated against group. Some 23% said Latinos experience a lot of discrimination in society today, while 18% said the same of African Americans, 10% said so of whites and 8% said the same about Asians ([Pew Social Trends, 2010](#)).

as the leader of the Republican Party these days, 45% said they don't know and 13% said that "nobody" leads the party ([Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 2010](#)).

Today, not only are most Latinos unable to name anyone they consider a national leader, but many see divisions within the Latino community between the native-born and foreign-born. About half (45%) say they believe that immigrant Latinos and native-born Latinos are working together to achieve common political goals, but a nearly identical share (46%) say they do *not* believe these two groups are working together ([Lopez, Morin and Taylor, 2010](#)). Both the native born<sup>3</sup> (who comprise 47% of the adult population of Latinos) and the foreign born (who comprise 53%) are also roughly equally divided on this question.

### Prominent Latinos and Leadership

The survey explored the subject of leadership in the Latino community in two different ways. The first was to present an open-ended question in which respondents were asked: "In your opinion, who is the most important Latino leader in the country today?" As reported above, nearly two-thirds said they did not know, and an additional one-in-ten said "no one."

Later in the survey, respondents were presented with the names of eight prominent Latinos and asked if they had heard of each. Those who said they had were then asked if they considered that person to be a leader. (The sample was split in half so that each respondent was asked about four prominent individuals).

#### Names of Leaders Tested in the Survey

**Sonia Sotomayor** is an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

**Jorge Ramos** is an anchor on Univision's *Noticiero Univision*, a national evening news show.

**Antonio Villaraigosa** is the mayor of Los Angeles, Calif. U.S. Rep. **Luis Gutierrez** (D) represents Illinois' 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District. He currently serves as chair of the Democratic Caucus Immigration Task Force.

**Dolores Huerta** is co-founder of the United Farm Workers of America.

**Bill Richardson** is the governor of the state of New Mexico.

U.S. Rep. **Raúl Grijalva** (D) represents Arizona's 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District.

**Janet Murguía** is the President and Chief Executive Officer of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), a Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization.

<sup>3</sup> "Native born" refers to persons who are U.S. citizens at birth, including those born in the United States, Puerto Rico or other U.S. territories and those born abroad to parents at least one of whom was a U.S. citizen. "Foreign born" refers to persons born outside of the United States, Puerto Rico or other U.S. territories to parents neither of whom was a U.S. citizen.

Of the eight names presented (see box), just two were familiar to a majority of respondents: Sotomayor (67%) and Ramos (59%). Four others were known by more than a quarter of respondents: Villaraigosa (44%), Gutierrez (38%), New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson (35%), and UFW co-founder Dolores Huerta (28%). The other two were familiar to only a small share of respondents: U.S. Rep. Raúl Grijalva (D-AZ) of Tucson, Arizona (13%), and Janet Murguía, President and Chief Executive Officer of the National Council of La Raza (8%).

In the follow-up question, anywhere between one-third and two-thirds of respondents who had heard of each prominent Latino said that they considered that person to be a leader. The highest leadership “score” was received by Sotomayor. Among the 67% who said they had heard of her, some 68% said they consider her to be a leader—meaning that, when the questions are posed in this manner, a total of 45% of survey respondents (67% × 68%) consider her a leader.

Ramos is next with a leadership score of 38%, followed by Villaraigosa at 29% and Gutierrez at 23%. No one else on the list had a score above 20%.

**Table 1**  
Views of Prominent Latinos

*Questions: I'm going to read you a list of names of some Hispanics/Latinos you may have heard of. Have you heard of ...? Would you say ... is a leader in the country today, or not?*

	% who have heard of ...		Among those who have heard of ..., % who say ... is a leader		Leadership score (% who say ... is a leader)
Sotomayor	67	×	68	=	45
Ramos	59	×	65	=	38
Villaraigosa	44	×	65	=	29
Gutierrez	38	×	59	=	23
Huerta	28	×	61	=	17
Richardson	35	×	42	=	15
Grijalva	13	×	36	=	5
Murguía	8	×	52	=	4

Notes: N varies from 641 to 688. Responses of "Don't know" and "Refused" not shown. The leadership score is the product of (% who have heard of ...) and (among those who have heard of ..., % who say ... is a leader). It also is equal to the share who say ... is a leader. Leadership scores might not equal multiplication result due to rounding.

Source: Pew Hispanic Center 2010 National Survey of Latinos

## Leadership, Nativity and Language

For the most part, immigrant Latinos are more familiar than native-born Latinos are with the names of persons presented in the survey. For example, nearly three-in-four (73%) of the foreign born said they have heard of Sotomayor, while just 59% of the native born said the same. And more than half (55%) of the foreign born have heard of Villaraigosa, while just three-in-ten (31%) of the native born said the same. Only in the case of Richardson are the foreign born and the native born equally likely to have heard of him—35% and 36% respectively.

Immigrant Hispanics are also more inclined than native-born Hispanics to say each of the eight prominent Hispanics are leaders. Sotomayor achieved a leadership score of 51% among foreign-born Hispanics, but only 38% among the native born. Ramos achieved a score of 51% among the foreign born—equal to that of Sotomayor—but he achieved a score of less than half that (23%) among native-born Hispanics.

**Table 2**

## Views of Prominent Latinos, by Nativity

Questions: I'm going to read you a list of names of some Hispanics/Latinos you may have heard of. Have you heard of ...? Would you say ... is a leader in the country today, or not?

	Native Born					Foreign Born					
	% who have heard of...	Among those who have heard of ..., % who say ... is a leader		Leadership score (% who say ... is a leader)		% who have heard of...	Among those who have heard of ..., % who say ... is a leader		Leadership score (% who say ... is a leader)		
Sotomayor	59	x	65	=	38	Sotomayor	73	x	69	=	51
Ramos	38	x	60	=	23	Ramos	76	x	67	=	51
Villaraigosa	31	x	52	=	16	Villaraigosa	55	x	71	=	39
Gutierrez	29	x	50	=	15	Gutierrez	46	x	64	=	29
Huerta	23	x	56	=	13	Huerta	32	x	64	=	20
Richardson	36	x	34	=	12	Richardson	35	x	49	=	17
Grijalva	11	x	30	=	3	Murguía	10	x	58	=	6
Murguía	7	x	42	=	3	Grijalva	14	x	39	=	5

Notes: Responses of "Don't know" and "Refused" not shown. The leadership score is the product of (% who have heard of ...) and (among those who have heard of ..., % who say ... is a leader). It also is equal to the share who say ... is a leader. Leadership scores might not equal multiplication result due to rounding.

Source: Pew Hispanic Center 2010 National Survey of Latinos

Responses to these questions are also correlated with the preferred language of the respondent. English-dominant Hispanics are less likely than bilingual or Spanish-dominant Hispanics<sup>4</sup> to have heard of each prominent Hispanic, except for Richardson and Murguía. In the case of Richardson, four-in-ten (40%) English-dominant Hispanics have heard of him, but fewer than three-in-ten (29%) Spanish-dominant Hispanics said the same. In the case of Murguía, all three groups were equally likely to say they have heard of her. Overall, Ramos (78%) is the most well known prominent Hispanic among the Spanish dominant.

Among English-dominant Latinos, Sotomayor achieved the highest leadership score (32%), followed by Richardson (15%), Villaraigosa (13%) and Gutierrez (10%). Among bilingual Latinos, Sotomayor once again has the highest leadership score—45%. She is followed by Ramos (39%), Villaraigosa (26%) and Huerta (19%).

Among Spanish-dominant Latinos, Ramos achieved the highest leadership score at 55%, followed by Sotomayor (53%), Villaraigosa (41%), Gutierrez (35%) and Huerta (21%).

<sup>4</sup> Language dominance is a composite measure based on self-described assessments of speaking and reading abilities. Spanish-dominant persons are more proficient in Spanish than in English, i.e., they speak and read Spanish “very well” or “pretty well” but rate their English speaking and reading ability lower. Bilingual refers to persons who are proficient in both English and Spanish. English-dominant persons are more proficient in English than in Spanish.

**Table 3****Views of Prominent Leaders, by Primary Language**

Questions: I'm going to read you a list of names of some Hispanics/Latinos you may have heard of. Have you heard of...?  
Would you say ... is a leader in the country today, or not?

	<b>English Dominant</b>					<b>Bilingual</b>					<b>Spanish Dominant</b>						
	% who have heard of...	X	Among those who have heard of..., % who say ... is a leader	=	Leadership score (% who say ... is a leader)		% who have heard of...	X	Among those who have heard of..., % who say ... is a leader	=	Leadership score (% who say ... is a leader)		% who have heard of...	X	Among those who have heard of..., % who say ... is a leader	=	Leadership score (% who say ... is a leader)
Sotomayor	54	X	59	=	32	Sotomayor	70	X	65	=	45	Ramos	78	X	70	=	55
Richardson	40	X	36	=	15	Ramos	63	X	63	=	39	Sotomayor	72	X	73	=	53
Villaraigosa	20	X	66	=	13	Villaraigosa	45	X	57	=	26	Villaraigosa	59	X	70	=	41
Gutierrez	25	X	41	=	10	Huerta	28	X	67	=	19	Gutierrez	52	X	68	=	35
Ramos	19	X	41	=	8	Gutierrez	34	X	53	=	18	Huerta	34	X	63	=	21
Huerta	17	X	32	=	6	Richardson	38	X	45	=	17	Richardson	29	X	42	=	12
Grijalva	6	X	68	=	4	Grijalva	13	X	36	=	5	Murguía	9	X	56	=	5
Murguía	8	X	49	=	4	Murguía	8	X	49	=	4	Grijalva	16	X	28	=	5

Note: Responses of "Don't know" and "Refused" not shown. The leadership score is the product of (% who have heard of ...) and (among those who have heard of ..., % who say ... is a leader). It also is equal to the share who say ... is a leader

Source: 2010 National Survey of Latinos

## References

- Lopez, Mark Hugo, "[The Latino Vote in the 2010 Elections](#)," Pew Hispanic Center, Washington, D.C. (November 3, 2010).
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- Pew Hispanic Center & the Kaiser Family Foundation, "[Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation 2002 National Survey of Latinos](#)," Washington, D.C. (December 17, 2002).
- Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "[Mixed Reactions to Republican Midterm Win; Public Less Happy Than After 2006 and 1994 Elections](#)," Washington, D.C. (November 11, 2010).
- Pew Social & Demographic Trends, "[Blacks Upbeat about Black Progress, Prospects](#)," Washington, D.C. (January 12, 2010).

## Appendix A: 2010 National Survey of Latinos Survey Methodology

Results for this study are based on telephone interviews conducted by Social Science Research Solutions (SSRS), an independent research company, among a nationally representative sample of 1,375 Latino respondents ages 18 and older, from August 17 through September 19, 2010. Some 542 respondents were native born (including Puerto Rico), and 833 were foreign born (excluding Puerto Rico). For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3.3 percentage points.

	<i>Sample Size</i>	<i>Margin of Error 95% confidence level</i>
<i>Total respondents</i>	1,375	+/-3.28%
<i>Native born</i>	542	+/-5.17%
<i>Foreign born</i>	833	+/-4.21%

For this survey, SSRS maintained a staff of Spanish-speaking interviewers who, when contacting a household, were able to offer respondents the option of completing the survey in Spanish or English. A total of 548 respondents were surveyed in English, and 827 respondents were interviewed in Spanish. Any male or female age 18 or older of Latino origin or descent was eligible to complete the survey.

According to government statistics from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS), during the first six months of 2009, 28% of Hispanic adults lived in households reachable only by cell phone. Adults who are cell-only are very different demographically from those reachable on a landline. In particular, they tend to be younger, less likely to be married or have children, or to own a home. To address the growing number of Hispanic households in the U.S. that are reachable only by cell phone, the study included interviews from both landline ( $n=710$ ) and cell phone ( $n=665$ ) sample frames.

Both sample frames were stratified via a disproportionate stratified design. All telephone exchanges in the contiguous 48 states were divided into groups, or strata, based on their concentration of Latino households. For the landline frame, the sample was also run against InfoUSA and other listed databases, and then scrubbed against known Latino surnames. Any “hits” were subdivided into a surname stratum, with all other samples being put into four other RDD strata. The



cell phone sample was divided into three strata. Overall, then the study employed eight strata:

<i>Strata (General Incidence of Reaching a Hispanic Household)</i>	<i>Landline</i>	<i>Cell Phone</i>
<i>Surname</i>	<i>X</i>	
<i>Very High</i>	<i>X</i>	
<i>High</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>
<i>Medium</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>
<i>Low</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>

It is important to note that the existence of a surname stratum does not mean this was a surname sample design. The sample is RDD, with the randomly selected telephone numbers divided by whether they were found to be associated with or without a Latino surname. This was done simply to increase the number of strata and thereby increase the ability to meet ethnic targets and ease administration by allowing for more effective assignment of interviewers and labor hours.

A five-stage weighting design was used to ensure an accurate representation of the national Hispanic population.

- An adjustment was made for all persons found to possess both a landline and a cell phone, as they were twice as likely to be sampled as were respondents who possessed only one phone type.
- The sample was corrected for the disproportionality of the stratification scheme described earlier.
- The sample was corrected for the likelihood of within-household selection, which depended upon the likelihood that the respondent's age group would be selected, and that within that age group, the particular respondent would be selected.
- The sample was corrected to reflect the percentage that is cell-only, landline-only, or reachable by either a landline or a cell phone, based upon estimates for Hispanics from the 2009 National Health Interview Survey estimates projected to 2010.
- Finally, the data were put through a post-stratification sample balancing routine. The post-stratification weighting utilized national 2009 estimates from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, March Supplement, on gender, education, age, region, foreign/native born status, year of entry into the U.S., and Hispanic heritage.

## Appendix B: 2010 National Survey of Latinos Topline

The study was conducted for the Pew Hispanic Center via telephone by SSRS, an independent research company. Interviews were conducted from August 17 – September 19, 2010 among a nationally representative sample of 1,375 Hispanic respondents age 18 and older. Of those, a total of 710 were contacted via landline, and a total of 665 were contacted on their cell phones. We conducted interviews with 542 native-born Hispanics (Puerto Rico included) and 833 foreign-born Hispanics (Puerto Rico excluded).

More information about SSRS can be obtained by visiting [www.ssrs.com](http://www.ssrs.com).

	Sample size	Margin of Error
Total Hispanic respondents	1,375	+/- 3.28% points
Native born	542	+/- 5.17% points
Foreign born	833	+/- 4.21% points

### QUESTIONS 1 – 17 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

18. In your opinion, who is the most important (HISPANIC/LATINO) leader in the country today?  
(OPEN ENDED)

	Total	Native born	Foreign born
Sonia Sotomayor	7	9	6
Luis Gutierrez	5	2	7
Antonio Villaraigosa	3	2	4
Jorge Ramos	2	2	3
Bill Richardson	1	2	1
Dolores Huerta	1	*	1
Cesar Chavez	1	*	1
Bob Menendez	1	*	1
Raúl Grijalva	*	*	*
Janet Murguía	*	*	--
Barack Obama	*	--	*
Serrano	*	*	*
Other	4	5	4
No one	10	12	8
Don't know	64	64	64
Refused	1	1	1

19. I'm going to read you a list of names of some (HISPANICS/LATINOS) you may have heard of. Have you heard of (INSERT NAME)?

a. Luis Gutierrez (loo-EESS goo-TYAIR-res) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 658; Native born = 258; Foreign born = 400)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	38	60	1	*
Native born	29	69	2	--
Foreign born	46	53	*	*

b. Raúl Grijalva (rah-OOL gree-HAHL-vah) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 687; Native born = 277; Foreign born = 410)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	13	86	1	*
Native born	11	88	*	1
Foreign born	14	85	1	--

c. Sonia Sotomayor (SOAN-yah soh-toh-my-YOR) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 641; Native born = 242; Foreign born = 399; FB U.S. citizen = 149)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	67	32	1	*
Native born	59	40	1	--
Foreign born	73	25	2	*

d. Bill Richardson (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 677; Native born = 272; Foreign born = 405)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	35	64	1	*
Native born	36	63	*	1
Foreign born	35	65	1	--

e. Janet Murguía (JAN-net mor-GEE-uh) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 688; Native born = 265; Foreign born = 423)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	8	91	*	*
Native born	7	93	1	--
Foreign born	10	90	*	*

f. Dolores Huerta (duh-LOOR-riss WAIR-tah) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 682; Native born = 277; Foreign born = 405)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	28	71	1	*
Native born	23	76	1	1
Foreign born	32	67	1	--

g. Antonio Villaraigosa (ahn-TOE-nee-o vee-yah-ry-GO-suh) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 661; Native born = 260; Foreign born = 401)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	44	55	1	*
Native born	31	69	1	--
Foreign born	55	43	1	*

h. Jorge Ramos (hor-hay RAH-moass) (Asked of one half of total Latinos who did not mention...; n = 673; Native born = 273; Foreign born = 400)

	Yes, heard of	No, never heard of	Don't know	Refused
Total	59	40	*	*
Native born	38	61	1	1
Foreign born	76	24	--	--

19a. Would you say (INSERT NAME) is a leader in the country today, or not?

- a. Luis Gutiérrez (loo-EESS goo-TYAIR-res) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 256 ; Native born = 73; Foreign born = 183)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	59	25	16	1
Native born	50	27	23	*
Foreign born	64	23	12	1

- b. Raúl Grijalva (rah-OOL gree-HAHL-vah) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 86; Native born = 30; Foreign born = 56)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	36	38	24	2
Native born	30	54	15	--
Foreign born	39	27	30	3

- c. Sonia Sotomayor (SOAN-yah soh-toh-my-YOR) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 434; Native born = 144; Foreign born = 290)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	68	24	8	*
Native born	65	25	10	*
Foreign born	69	23	7	*

- d. Bill Richardson (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 256; Native born = 109; Foreign born = 147)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	42	38	19	1
Native born	34	41	25	--
Foreign born	49	34	15	2

- e. Janet Murguía (JAN-net mor-GEE-uh) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 72; Native born = 22; Foreign born = 50)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	52	36	12	--
Native born	42	52	5	--
Foreign born	58	26	16	--

- f. Dolores Huerta (duh-LOOR-riss WAIR-tah) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 184; Native born = 59; Foreign born = 125)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	61	22	17	1
Native born	56	19	25	--
Foreign born	64	23	12	1

- g. Antonio Villaraigosa (ahn-TOE-nee-o vee-yah-ry-GO-suh) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 303; Native born = 87; Foreign born = 216)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	65	25	9	1
Native born	52	36	12	*
Foreign born	71	21	8	1

- h. Jorge Ramos (hor-hay RAH-moass) (Asked of total Latinos who have heard of...; n = 390;  
Native born = 93; Foreign born = 297)

	Yes, a leader	No, not a leader	Don't know	Refused
Total	65	24	11	*
Native born	60	25	15	--
Foreign born	67	24	9	1

**18/19 Leadership Score Combination Table**

	Luis Gutierrez n = 658	Raúl Grijalva n=687	Sonya Sotomayor n=641	Bill Richardson n=677
Total	23	5	45	15
Native born	15	3	38	12
Foreign born	29	5	51	17

	Janet Murguía n=688	Dolores Huerta n=682	Antonio Villaraigosa n=661	Jorge Ramos n=673
Total	4	17	29	38
Native born	3	13	16	23
Foreign born	6	20	39	51

QUESTIONS 21 - 55a PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUESTIONS 56 – 62 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUESTIONS 63 – 78 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED