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The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion

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The public opinion of the Latino community is an understudied area within the political science literature. This analysis contributes to this literature by investigating the role of group consciousness across both Latino salient and general policy areas utilizing the 1999 *Washington Post*/Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation National Survey of Latinos. By including both issue areas that are salient to the Latino community (immigration, bilingual education) as well as those that are not directly tied to Latinos (abortion, death penalty), I test the primary hypothesis that group consciousness has a greater impact on Latino political attitudes across issues that are directly tied to ethnicity than on those that are not. Results from this analysis support the overall theory, as perceived discrimination motivates public opinion toward both immigration and bilingual education, and collective action toward immigration. Among other factors, nativity and the length of time lived in the U.S. have the greatest influence on Latino public opinion.

Relative to Americans generally, very little is known about the political opinions of the Latino community in the U.S. This is a result of a general disinterest in the attitudes and opinions of Latinos prior to the late 1980s (de la Garza 1987). The more recent interest in the political attitudes and beliefs of Latinos has been driven by the rapid growth of this population, which has generated interest within both the political and marketing industries. This analysis is an effort to contribute to the growing knowledge of Latino public opinion by investigating the relationship between group consciousness and the public opinion of Latinos across both general and Latino salient issue areas. By including both general policy issues (death penalty, abortion) and those more salient to Latinos (immigration, bilingual education), I test the primary hypothesis that group consciousness has a greater impact on Latino political attitudes when the issues are directly tied to ethnicity. Group consciousness is a multi-dimensional concept developed when members of a group recognize their status as being part of a deprived group (Miller et al. 1981).

To investigate the relationship between group consciousness and Latino public opinion this investigation utilizes four separate empirical models, one for each issue area; abortion, death penalty, bilingual education, and immigration. The data used in this investigation originates from the 1999 survey of 2,417 Latinos conducted by the *Washington Post*, The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University. A review of the extant literature on the role of group consciousness in the formation of political attitudes will follow a discussion of the current literature of Latino public opinion to provide a theoretical foundation for this investigation of the impact of group consciousness on Latino policy preferences.

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LATINO PUBLIC OPINION

Our knowledge of Latino public opinion is much less developed than that of Anglo public opinion. In fact, the first survey focused on the political attitudes of Latinos was not conducted until 1979, and that data only included Latinos of Mexican origin (Arce 1979). Despite this obvious obstacle, scholars of Latino politics have generated some important insights in the area of Latino public opinion. Research has indicated that Latinos generally support an activist government that protects minority civil rights and provides opportunities for individual citizens and minority groups (Anne Martinez 2000). However, Latinos also tend to support the death penalty at higher rates than Whites or African Americans, and are also slightly more opposed to abortion than Whites (Uhlener and Garcia 2002). This trend suggests that the foundations of Latino public opinion are complex and diverse, motivating a desire to conduct more research in this area. I intend to shed some light on the complex nature of Latino public opinion by investigating Latino policy attitudes across several issue areas.

An issue often used as evidence of Latinos having a conservative stance on social issues is abortion, the first non-salient issue area used in the analysis. Latinos are about ten percentage points more likely than Anglos to oppose abortion (Leal 2004). However, multivariate analysis has indicated that there is no statistical difference between Whites and Latinos regarding attitudes directed toward abortion (Leal 2004; Bolks et al. 2000). We also know from previous work that religiosity increases pro-life attitudes, as do higher socioeconomic levels and being female (Bolks et al. 2000). Further, opposition to abortion is strongest among the Spanish dominant and Puerto Ricans (Leal 2004).

The second general policy area used in this analysis is the death penalty. The only extant work focused on Latino attitudes toward the death penalty has found that both Latinos and African Americans express greater opposition to the death penalty than do Whites, with opposition being greater

for women, the Spanish dominant, and non-citizens (Leal 2004). The lack of extant research exploring the attitudes of Latinos toward abortion and the death penalty motivates the inclusion of these issues in the analysis, as well as the decision to treat the death penalty and abortion as non-salient policy areas. This analysis will provide some insight into Latino attitudes in these areas as well as the factors that influence those attitudes.

LATINO SALIENT ISSUES (BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND IMMIGRATION)

The issue areas that generate the most divergence from the general population are those with a cultural or ethnic basis. Generally speaking, Latinos express a strong desire to protect their cultural traits and traditions, specifically the Spanish language. Although variation exists regarding form of bilingual education program, overall bilingual education helps Spanish-speaking individuals retain their native language, thus contributing greatly to the maintenance of Latino culture (Houvouras 2001). This is reflected by language policy being the issue area that has the highest level of consensus among Latinos and the issue that separates Latinos' political attitudes from that of other racial/ethnic groups (Uhlener and Garcia 2002).

Surveys of the Latino population consistently indicate that most Latinos support bilingual education, in sharp contrast to Whites and African Americans (Uhlener 1991; Hajnal and Baldassare 2001). For example, the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) (de la Garza et al. 1989-1990) indicated that 80 percent of Mexican Americans, 87 percent of Puerto Ricans, and 89 percent of Cuban Americans support bilingual education, with majorities in each sub-group reporting that they would be willing to pay more taxes to support the program. Although variation does exist based on national origin and citizenship status, over two thirds of the least favorable group (U.S. born Mexican American citizens) supported bilingual education in the LNPS (Uhlener and Garcia, 2002). Interestingly, despite similarities in language use patterns, Latinos display more enthusiasm for bilingual education than Asians (Cain and Kiewiet 1987).

Despite clear support for bilingual education, over 90 percent of Latinos in the LNPS agreed that all citizens and residents of the U.S. should learn English. Further, less than 10 percent of Latinos believe that the primary purpose of bilingual education should be to maintain Spanish language or culture (Schmidt 1997). Bilingualism appears to be the desired goal for Latinos, as over 70 percent of each sub-group indicated that learning two languages is the primary objective of bilingual education (*ibid.*).

In addition to bilingual education, immigration is included as a Latino salient policy. Despite the common perception that Latinos support a very liberal immigration policy, analysis of Latino public opinion suggest that support for a relaxed immigration policy is not widespread among the Latino population. In fact, a sizable percentage of

the Latino community believes that there are already too many immigrants coming to the U.S. annually. Actually, the percentage of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans who believe there are too many immigrants in the U.S. is greater than the percentage of Whites (de la Garza et al. 1990).¹ These general trends have been reinforced by other surveys of Latinos (Uhlener and Garcia 2002; Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkle 1997). For example, only 23 percent of Mexicans believe that more illegal immigrants should be allowed to enter the U.S., and 73 percent of Mexicans believe that immigration laws should be more strictly enforced (Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkle 1997). Further, Latinos are evenly divided on their opinions of the use of sanctions for employers who hire illegal immigrants (Cain and Kiewiet 1987).

Several factors have been found to influence the attitudes of Latinos toward immigration. For example, the native born are more likely to favor a more restrictive policy than are the foreign born (Binder, Polinard, Wrinkle 1997), as are wealthier, more educated, and older Latinos (Hood, Morris, and Shirkey 1997; Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkle 1997). Further, non-citizens are more concerned with immigration issues than citizens (Michelson 2001), and citizens and those who speak primarily English were more likely to support Proposition 187 in California (Newton 2000). Among sub-groups, Cuban Americans are most concerned with illegal immigration, and Mexican Americans are more likely to believe that the government is already doing too much to stop illegal immigration (Michelson 2001).

The most prominent explanation for these trends is that many Latinos are more concerned with the economic impact of immigration due to their overall lower socioeconomic status, which may place them in direct competition for jobs with immigrants (Rodriguez, and Nunez 1986; Gutierrez 1995; Polinard, Wrinkle, and de la Garza 1984; de la Garza, 1998). In line with this notion, Chicanos from Texas who were higher educated were often more sympathetic to the plight of illegal immigrants due to a lack of job threat (Rodriguez, and Nunez 1986). Contrary to the economic based explanation for immigration attitudes among Latinos, Newton (2000) found that ethnic identity measured by language use and citizenship status accounted for differences in support for Proposition 187 in California. Specifically, English speakers and citizens were more likely to support the anti-immigration proposition.

It is important to note however that despite concern over increased immigration, Latinos are generally supportive of recent immigrants once they have arrived into the U.S. (de la Garza et al. 1991). For example, Latinos are more likely than Whites, Africans Americans, or Asians to support amnesty for illegal immigrants (Cain and Kiewiet 1987). Further, Mexicans in general are more likely to support policies that facilitate the political and social integration of Mexican immigrants, such as bilingual education and immigrant

¹ The 73.8 percent of Anglos was lower than that of both Mexicans 75 percent and Puerto Ricans 79 percent in the Latino National Political Survey.

access to services and citizenship (de la Garza 1998). Clearly Latino public opinion is a complex phenomenon that has been understudied to this point in political science. It is my intention to clarify the role of group consciousness and other relevant factors in the formation of Latino political attitudes.

THE ROLE OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS IN MINORITY PUBLIC OPINION

Group consciousness is defined as instances when a group maintains a sense of affinity and group identification with other members of the group, which leads to a collective orientation to become more politically active (Garcia 2003). There is little work investigating the relationship between group consciousness and public opinion among minority groups. Further, this small body of research has focused almost exclusively on the African American population, motivating the necessity to draw from investigations of the role of group consciousness in African American public opinion to develop a driving theory for this analysis. The most direct test of the relationship between group consciousness and public opinion is Michael Dawson's (1994) work exploring the role of group interests in African American policy preferences. Dawson argues that both economic and racial policies have been tied historically to African American group interests. Group interests have a significant impact on African American views toward economic redistribution policies, as support for redistributive policies are greatest among those whose perceived link to other African Americans is high. Further, perceptions of linked fate, an indicator of group consciousness played the greatest role in predicting support for government racial policies in Dawson's (1994) analysis. Overall, group interests help counterbalance class divisions among African Americans in regard to policy preferences, particularly when the policy area is racially driven.

Katherine Tate (1993) suggests that the perception among African Americans that there are inequalities based on race in the U.S. motivates racial identity among African Americans, which leads to group interests dominating Black policy preferences. Tate finds that class influences this relationship, as African Americans who identify with the upper economic classes are less likely to have strong racial identities (Tate 1993). Finally, while there is little to draw from in this area specific to Latinos, cultural affinity has a significant influence on immigration policy, as the more "Mexican" a respondent is, the less likely they are to support restrictive immigration policies (Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkle 1997; de la Garza et al. 1991).

HYPOTHESES

The primary theory that drives this analysis is that group consciousness influences the political attitudes of Latinos, particularly when the policy area is directly tied to the Latino community. Group consciousness is a resource that generates political activity through an individual's attachment to a group. Therefore, I theorize that

H₁: if group consciousness is relevant for Latinos, its effects will be more pronounced in the context of policy areas salient to the Latino origin population.

H₂: the dimensions of group consciousness will be positively correlated with the pro-Latino stance on both Latino salient issue areas: support for bilingual education and increased immigration to the U.S..

Although this analysis is focused primarily on the relationship between group consciousness and Latino public opinion, there are other factors that are potentially related to the political attitudes of Latinos. Literature associated with Latino political behavior suggests that cultural factors are important contributing factors to Latino salient policy areas. It is therefore anticipated that

H₃: the foreign born, non-citizens, and those who have spent less time in the U.S. will support increased immigration to a greater extent than other Latinos due to recent arriving immigrants potentially having greater personal experiences with the current immigration policies in the U.S., and also being more likely to have friends and family who would benefit from a more relaxed U.S. immigration policy.

Similarly, it is hypothesized that

H₄: Latinos who are more recent arriving immigrants and are less proficient in English will express greater support for bilingual education due to the actual and/or perceived benefits this policy provides to Latinos with this background.

Among the two non-salient issue areas of the death penalty and abortion, the contributing factor expected to be most critical is Catholicism. Given the moral nature of both abortion and the death penalty, I hypothesize that

H₅: Catholics will be more likely than non-Catholics to have a pro-life stance in the context of both abortion and the death penalty.

TESTING STRATEGY/MODEL SPECIFICATION

As previously stated, the primary data source utilized in this analysis is the 1999 nationally representative survey of 2,417 Latinos conducted by the *Washington Post*, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University. This survey was conducted by telephone between June 30 and August 30, 1999, by the International Communications Research Firm. All interviews were conducted using the Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The CATI system ensured that questions followed logical skip patterns and that the listed attributes automatically rotated, eliminating "question position" bias. Survey respondents were selected at random, and the margin of sampling error for

respondents is 2 percent for Latino respondents. The survey includes 818 Mexicans, 318 Puerto Ricans, 312 Cubans, and 593 Central or South Americans. The final results were weighted to the national Latino population to ensure that nationality was representative of actual proportions.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE MEASUREMENT STRATEGY

This investigation of Latino public opinion utilizes four policy areas as dependent variables, two general issue areas (abortion and the death penalty), and two Latino salient issues (bilingual education and immigration). This strategy will allow me to determine whether or not group consciousness has a greater impact on policy areas that are directed primarily at Latinos. The abortion variable is based on the following survey item: *Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?* The categories of the abortion variable were recoded to represent whether or not individuals believe abortion should be: legal in all or most cases 0, illegal in most or all cases 1. The death penalty variable is derived from the following survey question: *Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?* This variable is dichotomous with 0 for favor and 1 for oppose as the two categories of the variable.

The two Latino salient issues of bilingual education and immigration are included due to their close connection to the Latino community and the fact that both issues are hot topics of debate generally in the U.S.. The bilingual education variable utilizes the following survey item: *Do you think all public school classes should be taught in English or do you think children of immigrants should be able to take some courses in their native language?* There are two responses to this question, taught in English 0, take courses in their native language 1. To measure the attitudes of Latinos toward immigration, the following survey question was used as an indicator: *Do you think the number of new immigrants allowed into the U.S. each year should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?* There are three categories for this variable; decreased 0, same 1, increased 2. Both Latino salient measures were re-coded to make pro-Latino responses (courses in native language, new immigrants increased) the high variable value.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE MEASUREMENT

My general discussion of the public opinion literature has identified several factors that may impact the political attitudes of Latinos. In addition to those factors identified by previous literature, there are several additional concepts that may have an impact on the public opinion of Latinos. This array of factors is grouped into six clusters representing the different perspectives attempting to explain partisan behavior. These clusters are (1) group consciousness (Latino commonality, shared political interests, perceived discrimination), (2) SES/Demographic factors (income, education, work status, gender, age, Catholicism), (3) political orienta-

tions (assimilation, political interest, ideology, partisanship), (4) political activities and experiences (Latino specific participation, discrimination experience), (5) cultural factors (nativity, citizenship status, English proficiency, length of time in U.S.), and (6) national origin—Cuban, Central/South American, Caribbean Latinos.

A discussion of the variable construction for the primary variable cluster of group consciousness will precede statistical analysis. The survey items utilized to construct the remaining independent variables are included in the Appendix. A correlation matrix was created to test for multicollinearity among all explanatory variables. The two explanatory variables with the greatest correlation in the analysis are citizenship status and nativity, with a Pearson coefficient of .61.²

Group Consciousness Cluster

The concept of group consciousness suggests that the effects of group affinity and collective orientations are felt within Latino sub-groups (Puerto Rican, Columbian, Mexican etc.), as well as the broader pan ethnic grouping of Latino. I agree with Miller et al. (1981) that proper conceptualization of group consciousness requires the employment of multiple measures to tap into the main dimensions of group consciousness. Past literature suggests that there are three dimensions of group consciousness; general identification with a group, an awareness of that group's relative position in society, and the desire to engage in collective activity that focuses on improving the situation of that group (Gurin Miller 1980; Padilla 1985; Garcia 2003). Fortunately, the *Post/Kaiser* survey provides the opportunity to capture all three aspects of group consciousness for Latinos. This attempt to account for the multidimensional nature of group consciousness advances previous research interested in the role of group consciousness in minority political behavior that has typically relied on only group identity to measure group consciousness (Olsen 1970; Verba and Nie 1972; Padilla 1985; Uhlener 1989).

To measure group identity in this analysis, a group commonality index was created using a battery of questions that asked respondents how much he or she felt in common with other Latino sub-groups.³ Respondents were given a score based on their response to the set of questions. For example, a response of a lot in common received +2 points, a fair amount in common +1, only a little in common -1, and nothing in common -2. These scores were used to construct an index that consists of seven values running from

² These measures were tested individually and collectively through the use of a scaled measure with no change in statistical significance or direction in any of the models. No other variable combinations approach .6.

³ The questions ask: *Do you feel (insert respondents nationality group) have a lot, a fair amount, or nothing in common with the following groups; Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Central/South Americans.* Cronbach's Alpha statistic of .876 indicates with great confidence that these survey questions can be scaled to create the Latino Commonality variable.

no sense of Latino commonality to a strong sense of commonality with all Latino sub-groups.⁴ In addition to general commonality, a measure of Latino political commonality is also included in the group consciousness cluster. The political commonality measure was based on responses from the following survey question: *Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Latinos in the Untied States share FEW political interests and goals?* The two values for this variable are: no commonality (agree) 0 and commonality (disagree) 1. The addition of the measure tapping into the extent of common political interest among the Latino population allows for the distinction to be made between social and political commonality, an advantage over other studies of group consciousness.

Beyond notions of commonality, group consciousness requires that individuals recognize that their group shares a disadvantaged position in society. I employ a measure of perceived discrimination to capture this component of group consciousness based on responses from the following survey questions: *Is discrimination against Latinos in our society today a problem or not? And, is it a big problem or not such a big problem?* A three point scale is used as a measure of discrimination with the following values 0 for those individuals who believe discrimination is not a problem, 1 for those who indicate that discrimination is a problem for Latinos but not a big problem, and 2 for those who believe that it is a big problem for Latinos.

The final component of group consciousness is the desire to improve the disadvantaged societal position of one's group through collective action. I use the following survey question as an indicator of one's belief that collective action can improve the groups position in society: *Do you think that if various Latino groups worked together politically Latinos would be better off, worse off, or wouldn't make much difference?* The values of this final component of group consciousness are 0 worse off, 1 no difference, 2 better off. The inclusion of these four measures effectively captures all dimensions of group consciousness.

THE IMPACT OF CONTRIBUTING FACTORS ON GENERAL POLICY AREAS

The first stage of this analysis is to assess the influence of group consciousness on general policy areas in order to investigate any potential variation across issue areas. The first model in this analysis utilizes a dichotomous variable to examine Latinos' attitudes toward the death penalty, and therefore logistic regression is used to estimate the model. The categories for this variable are: favor the death penalty for convicted murderers 0, and oppose the death penalty for convicted murderers 1. Consistent with H_1 , none of the group consciousness variables are significantly related to this non-Latino salient policy area.

Although neither income nor education had a significant impact here, both men and Democrats are more likely to oppose the death penalty. Catholicism is statistically significant and as expected contributes to greater opposition to the death penalty. The pro-life stance of the Catholic Church seems to contribute to this trend among Latinos who are Catholics. In addition, opposition to the death penalty is greater among individuals who have participated in multiple Latino specific activities.

Cultural factors play a meaningful role in Latino policy views, as nativity and English proficiency both have significant relationships with opposition to the death penalty. Latinos born in the U.S. oppose the death penalty with greater likelihood than the foreign-born segment of the Latino population, as do those who have greater proficiency with the English language. Finally, attitudes toward the death penalty vary across national origin groups, as opposition to the death penalty is greater among Cubans and Caribbean Latinos when compared to Mexican Americans and Central/South Americans.

The dependent variable for the second general policy area of the abortion model is also dichotomous, therefore logistic regression is utilized to estimate the model as well. Of primary importance to this study, consistent with H_1 , none of the group consciousness dimensions have any impact on Latinos' attitudes toward abortion. Therefore group consciousness has no impact on Latino attitudes that are not salient to the Latino community. Among SES and demographic variables, age and Catholicism are negatively correlated with abortion. Therefore, the odds of believing that abortion should be legal in all or most cases decrease as Latinos become older. Consistent with H_4 , Catholics are significantly less likely to support the legality of abortion relative to non-Catholics. Therefore the pro-life stance of the Catholic Church again has an impact on the attitudes of Latinos who identify themselves as Catholic, concerning abortion. In addition, the negative coefficient on the ideology variable indicates that Latinos who identify themselves as ideologically conservative are more likely to believe that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases.

Among political activities and experiences, participating in political activities directly tied to the Latino community increases perceptions that abortions should be illegal in all or most cases. Finally, the cultural factors of nativity and length of time spent in the U.S. are significant in this model. Latinos born outside of the U.S. are more likely to believe that abortion should be legal than Latinos born in the U.S. This is potentially the result of the near universal illegality of abortion throughout Latin America, a region where many women are prosecuted for having abortions annually. Foreign-born Latinos are potentially more likely to express support for the legality of abortion due to this hard-line approach of most Latin American countries. In addition, the odds of opposing the legality of abortion increase with time lived in the U.S., which implies that greater exposure to American society increases perceptions that abortion should be illegal.

⁴ There is significant variation in this measure, as just under 10 percent of respondents are in the two highest commonality categories, while approximately 30 percent are within the two lowest categories.

≡ TABLE 1
THE EFFECT OF THE FULL MODEL ON NON-SALIENT POLICIES (LOGISTIC REGRESSION)

	Death Penalty			Abortion		
	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
<i>Group Consciousness</i>						
Commonality	-.027	.040	.972	-.041	.040	.958
Political Commonality	.007	.129	1.00	-.003	.126	.996
Perceived Discrimination	-.033	.090	.967	.097	.087	1.10
Collective Action	-.121	.157	.885	-.215	.154	.806
<i>SES/Demographics</i>						
Income	-.002	.004	.997	-.005	.004	.994
Education	.027	.004	1.02	-.149	.039	.861
Work Status	-.072	.293	.929	-.008	.279	.991
Gender	.271**	.125	1.31	.008	.123	1.00
Age	.005	.007	1.00	-.014**	.007	.986
Catholicism	.594***	.151	1.81	.709***	.150	1.51
<i>Political Orientations</i>						
Assimilation	-.021	.066	.978	.061	.064	1.06
Political Interest	-.038	.080	.962	-.039	.079	.961
Ideology	.107	.082	1.11	-.359***	.081	.697
Partisanship	.473***	.144	1.37	-.095	.139	.909
<i>Political Activities/Experiences</i>						
Latino Specific Participation	-.099	.077	.905	.030***	.076	1.03
Discrimination Experience	-.028	.081	.972	-.063	.079	.938
<i>Cultural Factors</i>						
Nativity	.642**	.219	1.90	-.838***	.215	.432
Citizenship Status	-.039	.188	.961	-.261	.187	.769
English Proficiency	.181**	.096	1.19	.126	.095	.880
Length of Time in U.S.	.009	.008	1.00	.018**	.008	1.01
<i>National Origin</i>						
Cuban	.699***	.209	2.01	-.483**	.200	.616
Central/South American	.144	.166	1.15	.014	.168	1.01
Caribbean Latinos	.393**	.202	1.48	-.419**	.194	.657
N = 1193			N = 1230			
Log Likelihood = -750.35834			Log Likelihood = -773.214			
Pseudo R-square = .070			Pseudo R-square = .093			

Note: * p < .10 level; ** p < .05 level; *** p < .01 level in a two-tailed test.

Interestingly there is variation across national origin, as Cuban Americans and Central/South Americans are more likely to believe that abortions should be legal in all or most cases. This trend among Cubans is consistent with Leal's (2004) findings regarding national origin. Therefore, Latino attitudes toward abortion are spilt across several factors, including national origin, nativity, and religious preference.

THE IMPACT OF CONTRIBUTING FACTORS ON LATINO SALIENT POLICY AREAS

With the two Latino general models now specified, the next step in this analysis is to determine the role of group

consciousness and other factors on the Latino salient policy areas of immigration and bilingual education. The immigration variable has three categories: immigration should be decreased 0, kept the same 1, increased 2. Given the ordered and categorical nature of this variable, Generalized Ordered Logit (GOL) is used to estimate this model. GOL is preferred here due to its ability to handle the proportional odds assumption associated with the Ordered Logit Model.⁵ Much like Multinomial Logit, the GOL model provides

⁵ Generalized Ordinal Logit was employed after Ordinal Logit models failed Hausman tests for the proportional odds assumption.

≡ TABLE 2
THE EFFECT OF THE FULL MODEL ON IMMIGRATION (GENERALIZED ORDERED LOGIT)

	Immigration Unchanged			Increased Immigration		
	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
<i>Group Consciousness</i>						
Commonality	.076	.055	1.07	.044	.046	1.04
Political Commonality	-.047	.168	.953	.044	.147	1.04
Perceived Discrimination	.160	.112	1.17	.373***	.109	1.45
Collective Action	.344**	.186	1.41	-.042	.180	.958
<i>SES/Demographics</i>						
Income	.016*	.009	1.01	.003	.004	1.00
Education	.008	.055	.991	-.023	.046	.977
Work Status	.223	.338	1.25	.064	.324	1.06
Gender	.063	.164	1.06	.000	.144	1.00
Age	-.005	.011	.994	.019**	.007	1.02
Catholicism	.004	.191	1.00	-.163	.173	.849
<i>Political Orientations</i>						
Assimilation	-.119	.080	.887	-.043	.077	.957
Political Interest	-.064	.113	.937	-.009	.090	.990
Ideology	-.039	.109	.960	-.033	.093	.966
Partisanship	.161	.180	1.17	.254	.166	1.28
<i>Political Activities/Experiences</i>						
Latino Specific Participation	.402***	.110	1.49	.311***	.086	1.36
Discrimination Experience	-.127	.105	.880	.139	.091	1.14
<i>Cultural Factors</i>						
Nativity	-.525*	.307	.591	-.202	.257	.816
Citizenship Status	.003	.302	1.00	-.593**	.207	.552
English Proficiency	-.256*	.144	.773	-.051	.104	.950
Length of Time in U.S.	-.023*	.012	.977	-.025**	.009	.975
<i>National Origin</i>						
Cuban	.246	.283	1.27	.478**	.220	1.61
Central/South American	.336	.261	1.39	-.242	.188	.784
Caribbean Latinos	-.512**	.220	.598	-.200	.243	.818

N = 1204

Log Likelihood = -1045.5321

Pseudo R-square = .100

Note: * p < .10 level; ** p < .05 level; *** p < .01 level in a two-tailed test

results for each category in the dependent variable other than the base category, in this case immigration should be decreased. However, with GOL results are relative to all lower categories, not just the baseline. I will begin this section of the analysis with the variable category of immigration being unchanged, with results being interpreted relative to the baseline of immigration being unchanged.

In all, there are seven contributing factors that have a statistically significant relationship with the belief that immigration should remain unchanged. Most important to this study, the group consciousness dimension of collective action is significantly related to this category of the immigration variable. Therefore Latinos who perceive benefits to

Latino collective action support immigration numbers remaining the same versus being decreased. Among the SES cluster, Latinos with higher incomes are more likely to support immigration remaining the same, although the odds ratio suggests that this relationship is weak at best. Participating in Latino specific activities increases the odds that Latinos will support increased immigration to the U.S.. Working for a Latino organization or candidate potentially strengthens the bond to other Latinos, many of whom may be potential recent immigrants. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that if you are working for a Latino organization you will be involved in activities with Latino immigrants, as approximately 40 percent of the Latino

≡ TABLE 3
THE EFFECT OF THE FULL MODEL ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION
(LOGISTIC REGRESSION)

	B	SE	OR
<i>Group Consciousness</i>			
Commonality	.023	.040	1.02
Political Commonality	.015	.127	1.01
Perceived Discrimination	.379***	.086	1.46
Collective Action	.164	.147	1.17
<i>SES/Demographics</i>			
Income	-.001	.004	.998
Education	-.005	.040	.994
Work Status	-.296	.291	1.13
Gender	-.029	.124	.971
Age	.012*	.007	1.01
Catholicism	.157	.147	1.17
<i>Political Orientations</i>			
Assimilation	.017	.065	1.01
Political Interest	-.052	.080	.949
Ideology	.091	.081	1.09
Partisanship	.322**	.139	1.38
<i>Political Activities/Experiences</i>			
Latino Specific Participation	.248**	.077	1.28
Discrimination Experience	.032	.079	1.03
<i>Cultural Factors</i>			
Nativity	.480**	.218	1.61
Citizenship Status	.185*	.192	1.20
English Proficiency	-.348***	.097	.706
Length of Time in U.S.	-.036***	.009	.964
<i>National Origin</i>			
Cuban	-.052	.227	.949
Central/South American	-.519***	.168	.594
Caribbean Latinos	-.090	.195	.913
N = 1235			
Log Likelihood = -770.88			
Pseudo R-square = .090			

Note: * P < .10 level; ** P < .05 level; *** P < .01 level in a two tailed test

population is foreign born. In addition, given the tendency of Latino organizations and candidates to focus on making immigration more open, Latinos working in these areas may be more likely to support policies aimed at making immigrating to the U.S. easier.

Cultural factors are again important contributing factors to Latino public opinion. As hypothesized, Latinos who are foreign-born, less proficient in English, and who have spent less time in the U.S. are more likely to believe that immigration policies should remain the same relative to immigration being decreased. The role of cultural factors here suggests that Latinos who have immigrated to the U.S. more recently oppose the limitation of immigration opportunities

for other immigrants. Finally, Latinos of Caribbean origin are less likely to indicate that immigration should remain unchanged rather than being decreased. This is potentially a result of Puerto Rican and Dominicans supporting greater efforts to curtail immigration as a result of viewing recent arriving immigrants as economic competitors.

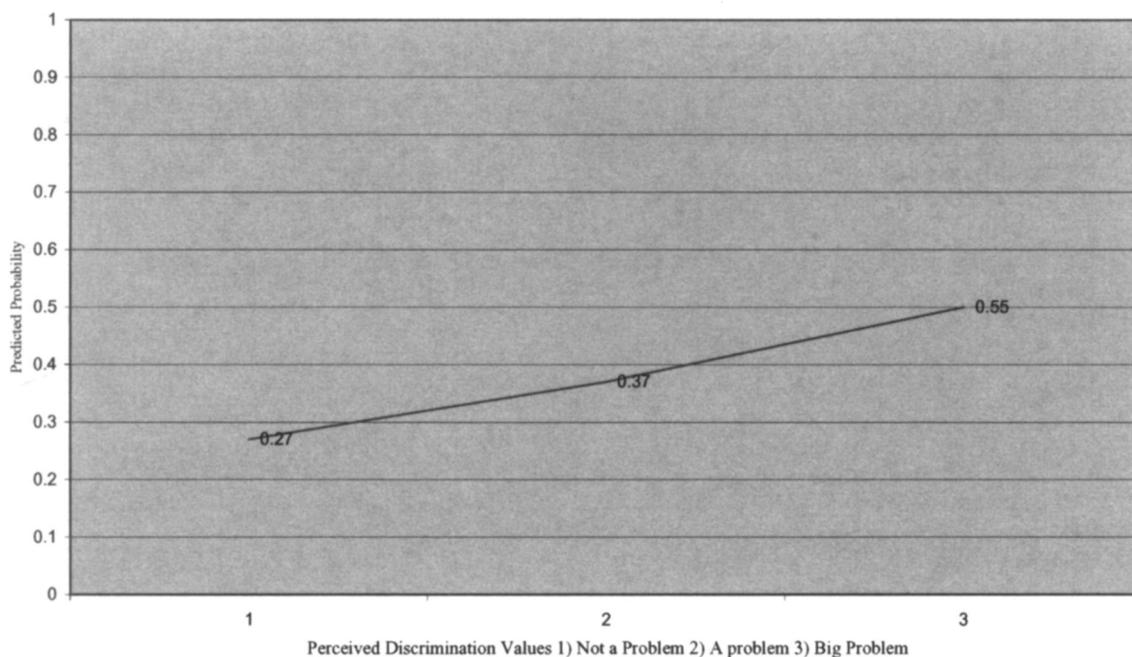
The second set of results report the impact of contributing factors on Latinos indicating that immigration should be increased. These statistics are taken relative to the two lower categories of the immigration variable, unchanged immigration to the U.S. and decreased immigration. Six contributing variables are significant in this context. Within the group consciousness cluster, perceived discrimination is positively correlated with increased immigration. Therefore individuals who believe discrimination is a big problem for Latinos in the U.S. are more likely to support the notion that more immigrants should be allowed to come to the United States. This trend along with the significance of collective action in the previous variable category provides support for the primary hypothesis that group consciousness is a contributing factor to Latino public opinion, particularly when the issues are salient to the Latino community.

Age also increases the odds that Latinos will support a more open immigration policy, as older Latinos are more likely to believe that the number of immigrants allowed to come to the U.S. should be increased. Further, participation in Latino specific political activities is again positively correlated with support for increased immigration. Among cultural factors, although nativity and English proficiency are no longer significant, Citizenship status is negatively correlated with support for increased immigration. Therefore, as hypothesized non-citizens are more likely to believe that more immigrants should be allowed to come to the U.S. Also supporting H₂, Latinos who have lived in the U.S. for a shorter period of time are again more likely to support increased immigration. These last two findings are consistent with previous research (Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkle 1997) and are interpreted as being a function of non-citizens and Latinos with limited residency in the U.S. being immigrants themselves.

Finally, consistent with Martinez (2000), Cuban Americans are more likely to support increased immigration to the U.S. Cubans, who have experienced a much different historical immigration experience as a result of being granted refugee status by the U.S. government, support a more relaxed immigration policy to a greater extent than other Latinos. This is potentially due to Cubans having less perceived or actual fear of economic competition with immigrants as a result of their general higher socioeconomic levels relative to other Latinos.

The next model utilized in this analysis focuses on the policy area of bilingual education. There are two categories in the bilingual education measure, students should be taught in English 0 or taught in their native language 1. Given the dichotomous nature of this measure, logistic regression is used to estimate this model. Among group consciousness variables, perceived discrimination is again the

≡ FIGURE 1
THE IMPACT OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION ON IMMIGRATION



only dimension to have an impact on bilingual education. As perceived discrimination increases, so do the odds that Latinos will believe children of immigrants should be taught in their native languages. Results from all four models indicate that perceived discrimination is the dimension of group consciousness that has the greatest influence on Latino political attitudes. In addition it is clear that group consciousness has a greater role in policy preferences of Latinos when the issues are directly tied to the Latino community.

In addition to perceived discrimination, both age and partisanship are significantly and positively correlated with support for bilingual education. Older Latinos and those who identify as Democrats are more likely to support the notion that children of immigrants should be taught in their native language. Among political activities and experiences, Latino specific participation is again a contributor to Latino salient policy support, as defense of bilingual education rises with more political activity directly tied to the Latino community.

Based on coefficients and odds ratios, cultural factors appear to be the most critical in determining support for bilingual education, as all four variables in the cultural factor cluster are statistically significant. Interestingly, both citizens and Latinos born in the U.S. are more likely to support bilingual education. This contradicts the theory promoted in H_3 that Latinos who stand to benefit from bilingual education would exhibit the greatest support for the policy. This is potentially the result of non-citizens and the foreign born having a strong desire to have their children learn English quickly due to the economic benefits of English proficiency in the U.S. This would motivate greater support for policies that attempt quickly to assimilate chil-

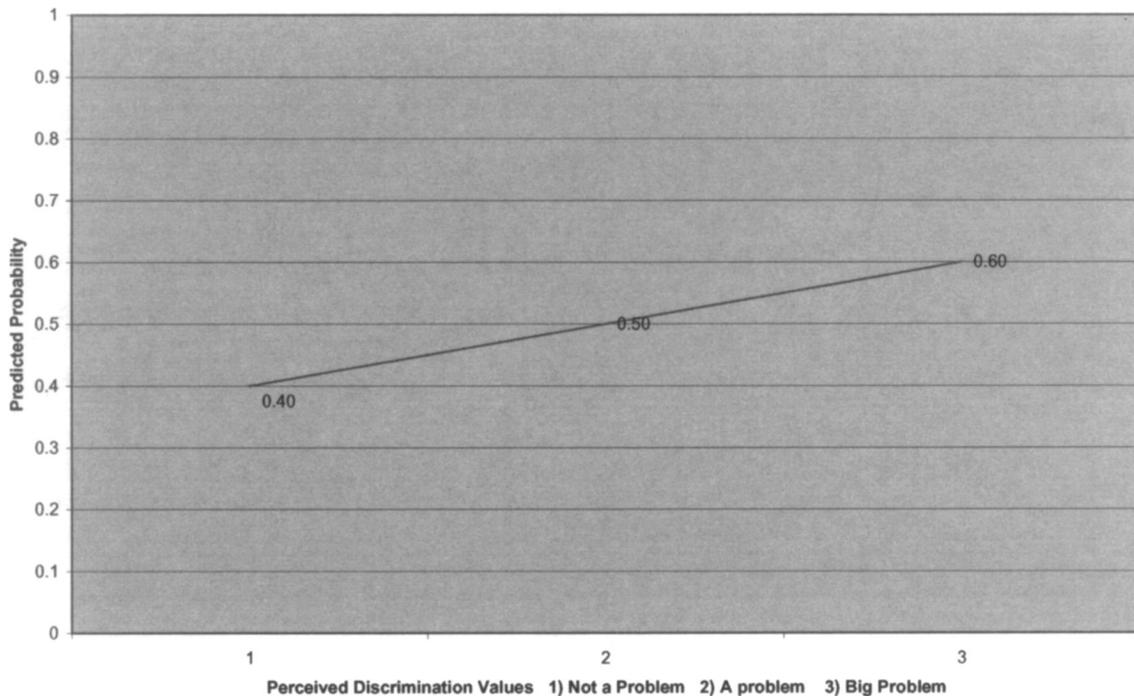
dren with language issues into English dominant classrooms. Conversely, citizens may support the use of Spanish for those with language barriers due to its perceived benefit to Latinos generally. More in line with H_2 , both English proficiency and length of time in the U.S. are negatively correlated with support for bilingual education. This indicates that Latinos who have lived in the U.S. for shorter periods of time and who are less proficient in English are more likely to believe it is better for children of immigrants to be taught in their native language than to be taught exclusively in English.

Among national origin variables, being Central or South American increases the odds of believing children of immigrants should be taught exclusively in English. This trend for Central and South Americans again supports the theory used to explain nativity and citizenship status that recent arriving immigrants may desire that their children learn English in school due to the economic benefits associated with English language proficiency. This suggests that economic concerns may be more critical to this segment of the Latino population than cultural maintenance. In addition, the desire to maintain English skills may be based on a desire to prevent their children from facing discrimination due to their inability to speak English well. This is an important finding, as Latino National Political Survey did not survey this segment of the Latino population.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This analysis has not only shed light on the relationship between group consciousness and Latino public opinion, but

≡ FIGURE 2
THE IMPACT OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION



has also defined the role of other contributing factors in Latino political attitude formation toward both Latino salient and more general policy areas. While the four policy areas used in this analysis (immigration, bilingual education, abortion, and the death penalty) are not exhaustive, they do provide a strong backdrop for this analysis. The primary question addressed in this investigation of Latinos attitudes is the role of group consciousness across various types of issue areas. Results suggest that perceived discrimination is the dimension of group consciousness that plays the greatest role in determining Latino public opinion. The impact of perceived discrimination on motivating support for increased immigration and bilingual education among Latino salient policies is displayed in Figures 1 and 2 which both provide the predicted probability increases associated with perceived discrimination. In both cases it is clear that the predicted probability of supporting the pro-Latino stance on the policy issue increases with greater perceived discrimination. This is consistent with previous research that has found that perceived discrimination is a key contributor to other aspects of Latino political behavior such as political participation (Stokes 2003; Sanchez 2006) and coalition formation with other groups (Kaufmann 2003; Garcia 2000; Uhlaner 1991). The inability of perceived discrimination or any other dimension of group consciousness to have an impact on both general policy areas suggests that the role of group consciousness in Latino public opinion is greater when the issue area is salient to the Latino community.

Relative to the other variable clusters, cultural factors proved to have the greatest influence on Latino public

opinion. Integration into American culture and society clearly influences Latino political attitudes, as demonstrated by the statistical significance of length of time spent in the U.S. across all four policy areas. In addition, Latinos born outside of the U.S. appear to think differently about policy issues than Latinos who were born in the U.S., as nativity was also significant across all four issue areas. Finally, as expected Catholicism played a meaningful role in shaping Latino political attitudes across the general issue areas of abortion and the death penalty. Catholics clearly support a pro-life stance in both policy areas, being more likely to oppose abortion and the death penalty for convicted murderers.

In conclusion, this analysis in no way closes the door on factors that influence Latino public opinion. It does however provide a very important look into the role of the various dimensions of group consciousness in formulating Latino political attitudes. It is clear from this analysis that while limited to policy areas that are directly related to ethnicity, group consciousness is meaningful to this aspect of Latino political behavior. This investigation also provides some valuable inferences about Latino public opinion more generally, in particular that cultural factors such as nativity and length of time in the U.S. are the primary causes of variation in public opinion within the Latino community. Yes, we still have much to learn regarding the various political attitudes of the Latino community, and how those attitudes are formulated. However, with the increasing availability of quality public opinion data focused on Latinos, the prospects for greater insights in this research area is very promising.

APPENDIX
PRESENTATION OF SURVEY ITEMS
AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLE MEASURES

Socioeconomic Status/Demographics

Household Income—*What is your total household income from all sources, before taxes?* The values of the income measure are a nine-point income scale ranging from < 20 thousand to >100 thousand.

Education—*What is the last grade that you completed in school?* The values of the education variable are; 0) <9th grade 1) some high school 2) high school graduate 3) vocational training 4) some college 5) college graduate 6) post graduate training.

Work Status—*What is your employment status?* The values of the work status variable are; 0) unemployed 1) employed.

Financial Situation—*In recent years, has your personal financial situation gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?* The values of the financial situation variable are; 1) worse 2) about the same 3) better.

Gender—*What is your gender?* The values of the gender variable are 0) female 1) male.

Age—*What is your age?* Age is continuous with the youngest respondent being 18 and the oldest being 90.

Catholicism—*What is your religious preference?* The values of Catholicism are 0) non-Catholic 1) Catholic.

Political Orientations

Assimilation—*How important is it for Latinos to change so that they blend into the larger society as in the idea of a melting pot?* The values of the assimilation variable are;

Political Interest—*How much attention would you say you pay to politics and government?* The values for the political interest variable are; 0) none 1) not much 2) a fair amount 3) a lot.

Ideology—*Would you say your views in most political matters are liberal, moderate, or conservative?* The values of the ideology variable are; 0) Liberal, 1) Moderate, 2) Conservative.

Partisanship—*In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?* The values of the partisanship variable are; 0) Republican, 1) Independent, 2) Democrat.

Political Activities and Experiences

Latino specific participation—*Please tell me whether or not you have done each of the following activities in the past ten years; worked as a volunteer or for pay for a Latino political candidate, attended a public meeting or demonstration regarding Latino concerns, contributed money to a Latino candidate or Latino political organization.* The values and distributions of the Latino specific participation variable are; 0) participation in none of these activities (1583), 1) participation in one activity (536), 2) participation in two activities (212), and 3) participation in all three activities (86).

Discrimination experience—*During the last 5 years, have you, a family member, or a close friend experienced discrimination because of your racial or ethnic background, or not? And, was that you personally or was that someone else?* The values of the discrimination experience variable are; 0) no experience 1) indirect experience 2) direct experience.

Cultural Factors

Nativity—*Were you born in the United States or another country?* The values of nativity are 0) foreign-born 1) native born.

Citizenship Status—*Now we would like to ask you about U.S. citizenship. Are you, a U.S. citizen, currently applying, planning to apply, or not planning to become a U.S. citizen?* The values of citizenship status are 0) non-citizen 1) citizen.

English proficiency—This measure was created from the following survey questions; *Would you say you can carry on a conversation in English? Would you say you can read a newspaper or book in English?* The English proficiency scale tunes from 0) non-proficient through 3) highly proficient

Time Spent in the United States—*How many years have you lived in the United States?* Time spent in the United States is continuous, with age being used to maintain non-citizens in the analysis.

National Origin

To account for national origin, dummy variables are constructed for Cubans, Central/South Americans, and Caribbean Latinos, with Mexicans serving as the comparison population. All variables were coded based on the following set of survey questions; *Earlier you said you were Hispanic or Latino, what country did your family of ancestors come from? Which country do you identify with more?* Each dummy variable utilizes the same coding strategy, 0) non-Cuban 1) Cuban, 0) non-Central/South American 1) Central/South American, 0) non-Caribbean 1) Caribbean. The Caribbean variable includes Latinos of both Puerto Rican and Dominican descent. The decision to combine these two populations is based on the proximity of those two countries, as well as the regional concentration of those two communities in the United States.

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