



Latinos Online

Hispanics with lower levels of education and English proficiency remain largely disconnected from the internet.

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Summary of Findings

Fifty-six percent of Latinos in the U.S. use the internet.

Latinos comprise 14% of the U.S. adult population and about half of this growing group (56%) goes online. By comparison, 71% of non-Hispanic whites and 60% of non-Hispanic blacks use the internet. Several socio-economic characteristics that are often intertwined, such as low levels of education and limited English ability, largely explain the gap in internet use between Hispanics and non-Hispanics.

Just one in three Latinos who speak only Spanish go online.

- 78% of Latinos who are English-dominant and 76% of bilingual Latinos use the internet, compared with 32% of Spanish-dominant Hispanic adults.
- 76% of U.S.-born Latinos go online, compared with 43% of those born outside the U.S. Some of this is related to language, but analysis shows that being born outside of the 50 states is an independent factor that is associated with a decreased likelihood of going online.
- 80% of second-generation Latinos, the sons and daughters of immigrants, go online, as do 71% of third-generation Latinos.
- 89% of Latinos who have a college degree, 70% of Latinos who completed high school, and 31% of Latinos who did not complete high school go online.
- Mexicans are the largest national origin group in the U.S. Latino population and are among the least likely groups to go online: 52% of Latinos of Mexican descent use the internet. Even when age, income, language, generation, or nativity is held constant, being Mexican is associated with a decreased likelihood of going online.

Differences in levels of education and English proficiency explain much of the difference in internet usage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics.

Internet use is uniformly low for whites (32%), Hispanics (31%), and African Americans (25%) who have not completed high school. However, 41% of Latino adults have not finished high school, compared with about one in ten non-Hispanic whites and one in five African Americans. The same pattern is evident at the other end of the spectrum of educational attainment. College-educated adults all have equally high levels (about 90%) of internet use regardless of race or ethnicity, yet the college educated make up a smaller

This report is based on the findings of a series of telephone surveys conducted June through October 2006. Data related to Hispanics was gathered through telephone interviews conducted by International Communications Research between June 5 – July 3, 2006, and August 10 – October 4, 2006, among a sample of 6,016 Hispanic adults, aged 18 and older. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is +/-2.07%. Data related to non-Hispanics was gathered through telephone interviews conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates between August 1-31, 2006, among a sample of 2,928 adults, aged 18 and older.

Summary of Findings

share of the Latino population when compared with non-Hispanics.

Language is also a powerful factor, as internet use is much higher among Latinos who speak and read English fluently than among those who have limited English abilities or who only speak Spanish. Language is not an issue in the white and black populations as the shares of adults with limited English abilities is quite small.

A statistical analysis of the survey results shows education and language are each highly significant factors when other differences in group characteristics are taken into account. When the different levels of language or education are controlled statistically, Hispanics and non-Hispanics show similar levels of internet use.

Latinos are less likely than whites to have an internet connection at home.

Just 29% of Latino adults have a broadband connection at home, compared with 43% of white adults. This is mostly due to the fact that Latino internet users are less likely than non-Hispanic white internet users to have any type of internet connection at home (79%, compared to 92%). Among the 79% of Latinos who do have a home internet connection, 66% have a broadband connection, which is actually similar to the rate among non-Hispanic white internet users with a home connection (68%).

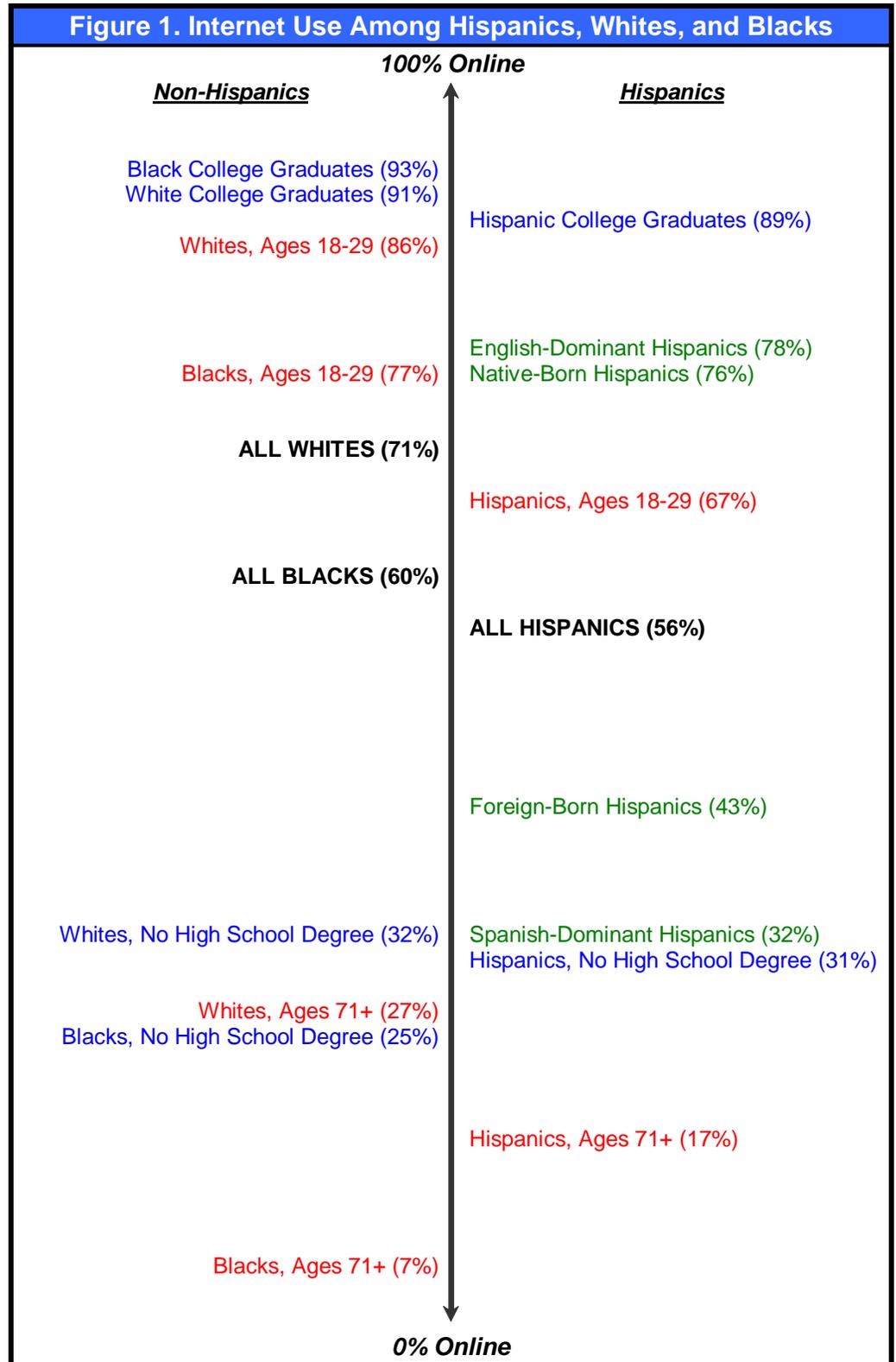
Some Latinos who do not use the internet are connecting to the communications revolution in a different way – via cell phone.

The communications revolution is not limited to the computer screen. Fully 59% of Latino adults have a cell phone and 49% of Latino cell phone users send and receive text messages on their phone. Looking at the numbers in a different way, 56% of Latino adults go online, 18% of Latino adults have a cell phone but do not go online, and 26% of Latino adults have neither a cell phone nor an internet connection.

Summary of Findings

Latinos Online: Summary of Findings at a Glance
Fifty-six percent of Latinos in the U.S. use the internet.
Just one in three Latinos who speak only Spanish go online.
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Latinos are less likely than whites to have an internet connection at home.
Some Latinos who do not use the internet are connecting to the communications revolution in a different way – via cell phone.
Source: Susannah Fox and Gretchen Livingston. <i>Latinos Online</i> . Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center/Pew Internet & American Life Project, March 14, 2007.

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About the projects:

The Pew Hispanic Center and the Pew Internet & American Life Project are non-profit initiatives of the Pew Research Center and are funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts. The Pew Hispanic Center's mission is to improve understanding of the U.S. Hispanic population and to chronicle Latinos' growing impact on the entire nation. The Pew Internet Project examines the social impact of the internet. Projects of the Pew Research Center (www.pewresearch.org) do not advocate for or take positions on policy issues. More information is available online at: www.pewhispanic.org and www.pewinternet.org.

About the survey firms:

International Communications Research: ICR conducted the survey of Latinos in the U.S. that is primarily covered in this report. It is located in Media, Pennsylvania.

Princeton Survey Research Associates: PSRA conducted the general population survey that is used as a comparison sample in this report. It has offices in Princeton, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C.

Part 1.

Latinos in the U.S.

Over the last decade, the internet has become woven into American life, just at the time that Hispanics have become the fastest growing component of the U.S. population. By working in partnership, the Pew Hispanic Center and Pew Internet Project provide a snapshot of the intersection of these two trends – the Latino internet user population.

“Latino” and “Hispanic” — the two terms are used interchangeably throughout the report and refer to adults, age 18 and older

To begin, we offer a summary view of the Latino population in the United States.

The Hispanic population is younger and less educated than the non-Hispanic population.

As of 2005, 14% of the U.S. adult population identifies as Hispanic or Latino.¹ Within this population:

- 63% are aged 18 to 41, compared with only 36% of whites and 46% of African Americans who are in that age group.²³
- 59% of Latino adults have graduated from high school, compared with 88% of whites and 79% of African Americans who have a high school degree.
- Among those reporting income, Latinos as a group are markedly poorer than whites and somewhat poorer than African Americans.

As it has increased in numbers, the U.S. Latino population has become more diverse.

Sixty percent of Latino adults were born outside the U.S. Among these immigrants, about two-thirds have lived in the country for 11 years or more. The remaining third of foreign-born Latinos are evenly split between those who have been in the States for five years or less and those who have been here for 6 to 10 years. About one-third of Hispanic immigrants are citizens of the U.S.

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.: 2007*, page 15; “From 200 to 300 Million: The Numbers Behind Population Growth” (Pew Hispanic Center, October 2006); “Hispanics at Mid-Decade” (Pew Hispanic Center, September 2006); “Hispanic Trends: A People in Motion” (Pew Hispanic Center, January 2005).

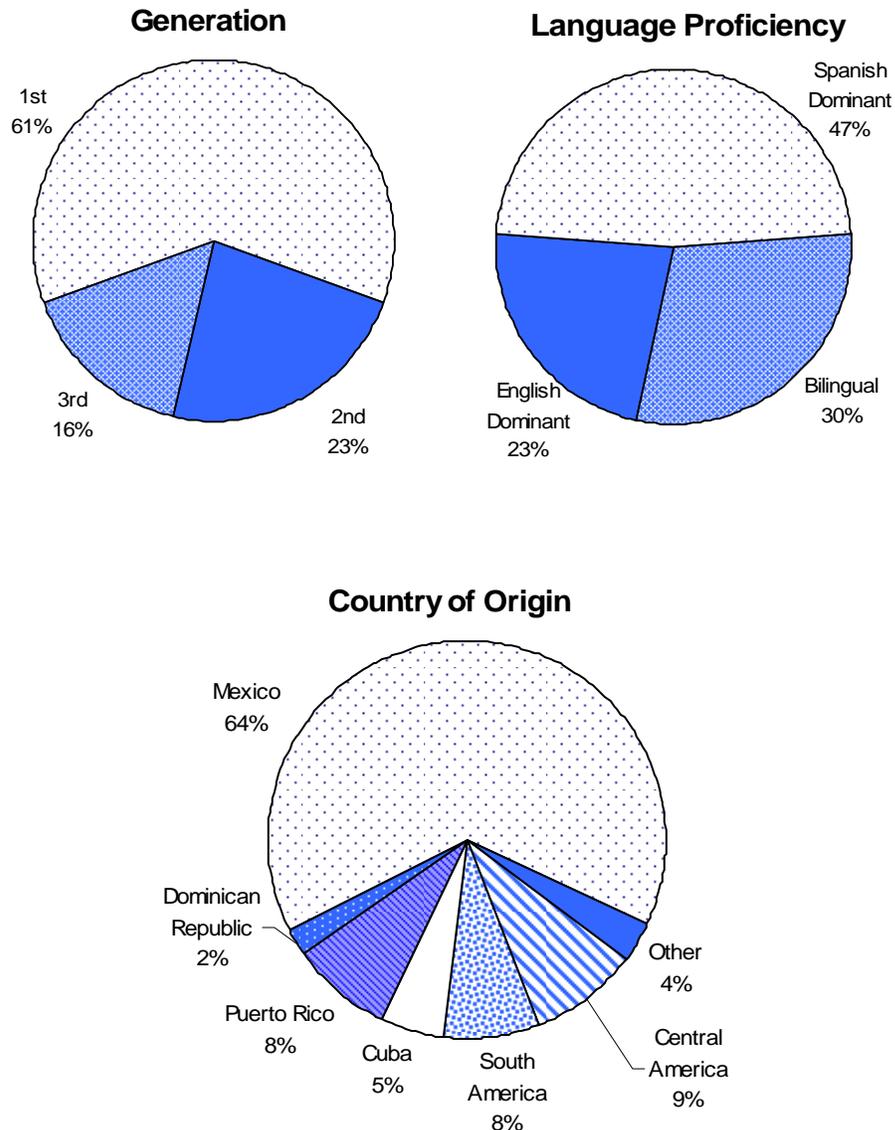
² Except where noted, data in this report is based on the following surveys: Pew Hispanic Center survey, June-October 2006. N=6,016. Pew Internet & American Life Project survey, August 2006. N=2,928 (whites=2,314; blacks=272). For more details on the Hispanic survey, please see the Methodology section.

³ Note: all references to “whites,” “African Americans” or “blacks” include only non-Hispanics.

Part 1. Latinos in the U.S.

One-quarter of Latino adults are second-generation Americans, meaning they were born in the U.S. but at least one of their parents was born outside of the U.S. Sixteen percent of Latino adults are third-generation Americans, meaning they were born in the U.S. and both parents were born in the U.S. While Mexican-origin persons comprise the majority of Latinos in the U.S., there are ever-growing numbers of Latinos from other countries who bring their own traditions and characteristics.

Figure 2. Selected Characteristics of U.S. Hispanics



Part 2.

Latinos Online

Previously, the Pew Internet & American Life Project conducted telephone surveys only in English and reported on the internet activities of English-speaking Hispanics.⁴ Building on this and research conducted by other organizations,⁵ the Pew Hispanic Center added basic internet penetration questions to telephone surveys conducted in the summer and fall of 2006 of over 6,000 Latino adults with landline telephones, which were conducted in Spanish and English. The large combined sample of the two surveys allows for detailed analysis of various Hispanic demographic groups.⁶

Just over half of Latinos go online, a figure well below the level of adoption for whites.

Fifty-six percent of Latinos in the U.S. use the internet. By comparison, 71% of non-Hispanic whites and 60% of non-Hispanic blacks use the internet.

<p>“Internet user” — defined by answering yes to at least one of the following questions: “Do you use the internet, at least occasionally?” and “Do you send or receive email, at least occasionally?”</p>
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Education and English proficiency are highly significant factors in explaining race differences in internet use.

Much of the difference in internet usage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics is explained by socio-economic differences in the composition of the groups. These characteristics are often intertwined, especially in the Hispanic foreign-born population and it is difficult to isolate one as more important than another. However, race differences in education and English abilities stand out as factors essential to explaining the gap in internet use between Hispanics and non-Hispanics.

⁴ “Hispanics and the Internet” (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2001).

⁵ “Latino National Survey: Toplines” (Woodrow Wilson Center, December 2006); “Trends and Impact of Broadband in the Latino Community” (Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, October 2005); “UCLA Internet Report: Year Three” (UCLA Internet Project, July 2003).

⁶ This report primarily presents the results of bivariate analyses which measure internet use according to several demographic characteristics such as age, nativity, and education. These analyses permit basic comparisons among various segments of the Hispanic population. In addition, we conducted a number of multivariate regression analyses to test whether the associations between levels of internet use and various demographic characteristics persist once other factors are controlled for. Specifically, we used logistic regressions where the dependent variable was internet use, and tested all associations controlling for: age, education, income, area of origin, language proficiency, nativity, generation, and, for immigrants, years in U.S. This more complex analysis allows us to zero in on the factors that are most powerfully associated with internet use in the diverse segments of the Hispanic population.

Part 2. Latinos Online

Individuals who have not graduated from high school are much less likely to use the internet regardless of their racial or ethnic background. Four in ten Hispanic adults have not completed high school, compared with about one in ten white adults. Therefore the low rate of high school completion among Hispanics contributes to their relatively low internet use. In a statistical analysis of the survey results, we neutralized the differences between Latinos and whites in their educational profiles and the result was that their overall rate of internet usage was the same.

Among the variables unique to the Latino population, language is highly significant in predicting a wide range of attitudes, behaviors and socio-economic outcomes, and, as this study demonstrates, internet use is among them. Fully 78% of English-dominant Latinos use the internet, compared with 32% of Spanish-dominant Latinos. Again, as a matter of statistical analysis, if one neutralizes the differences in English proficiency, then the differences in the rate of internet usage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics disappear.

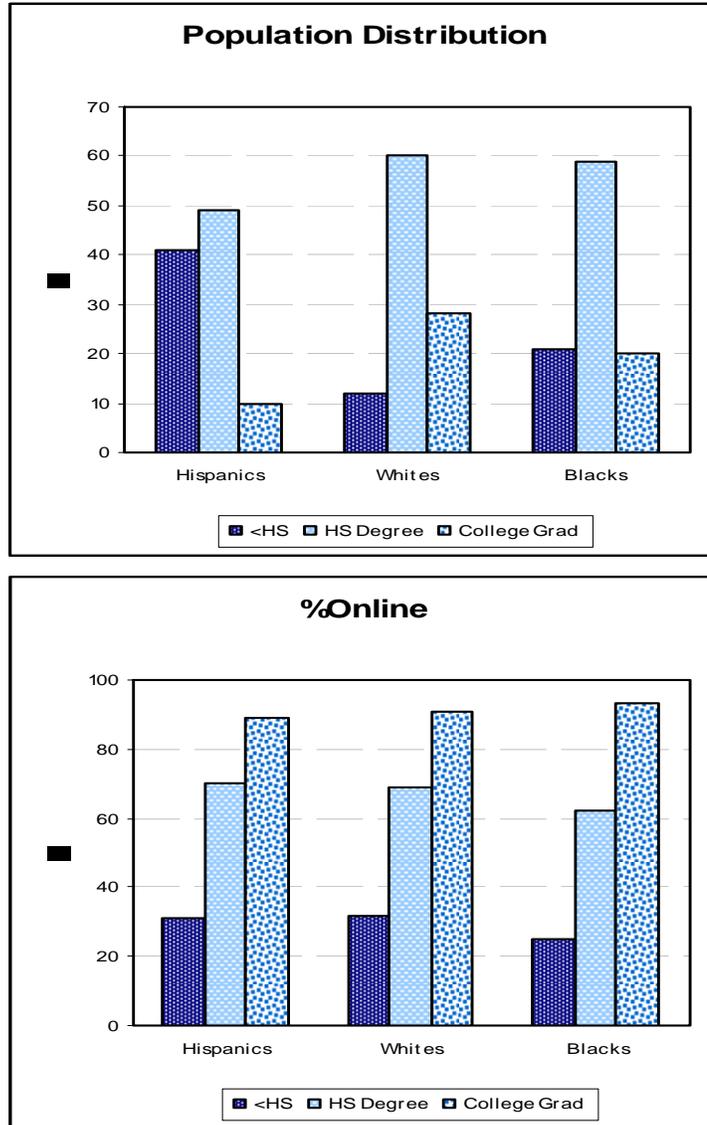
As in the general population, certain groups of Latinos are less likely than others to go online: those with less education, those with lower household incomes, and those who are over the age of 60.

Education

Ten percent of Latinos have a college degree, and of that small group, 89% go online. Half of Latinos (49%) have finished high school, and of those, 70% use the internet. Forty-one percent of Latinos have not finished high school, and of those, 31% use the internet. The strong connection between advanced education and internet use does not diminish when other factors (age, income, language, nativity, generation, country of origin and, for immigrants, years spent in the U.S.) are held constant.

By comparison, 28% of whites are college graduates, and of these 91% report using the internet. Twenty percent of African Americans are college graduates, and 93% report using the internet. About 60% of white and African American respondents are high school graduates, with 69% of the whites reporting internet usage, and 62% of the African Americans. Only 12% of whites and 21% of African Americans have not finished high school, and their rates of internet usage are 32% and 25% respectively.

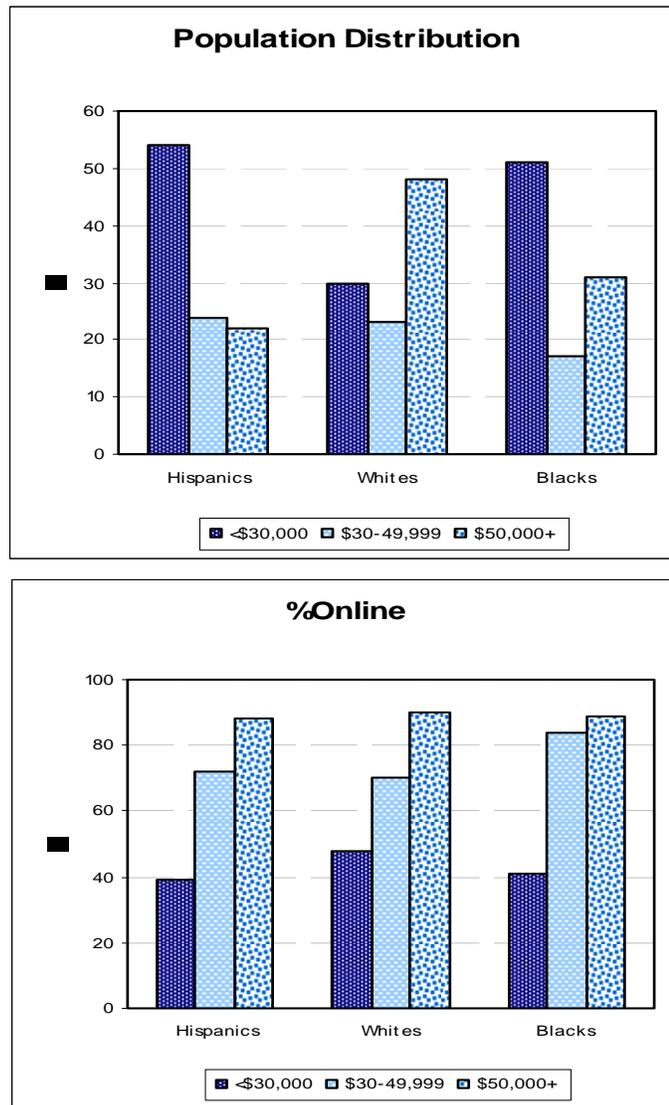
Figure 3. Population Distribution and % Online, by Education and Race/Ethnicity



Income

Seventy-seven percent of respondents provided information about their household income; 23% did not and are not included in the following analysis. Nine in ten Latinos (88%) with an annual household income above \$50,000 use the internet; 72% of Latinos with an annual household income between \$30,000 and 49,999 use the internet. Thirty-nine percent of Latinos with an annual household income less than \$30,000 go online. Higher income levels are associated with internet use, even controlling for age, education, language, nativity, generation, area of origin or, for immigrants, the number of years they have lived in the U.S.

Figure 4. Population Distribution and %Online, by Household Income and Race/Ethnicity



Both white and African American respondents have higher annual household incomes than the Latino sample and, as is the case with Latinos, the likelihood of internet use increases with higher income.

Age

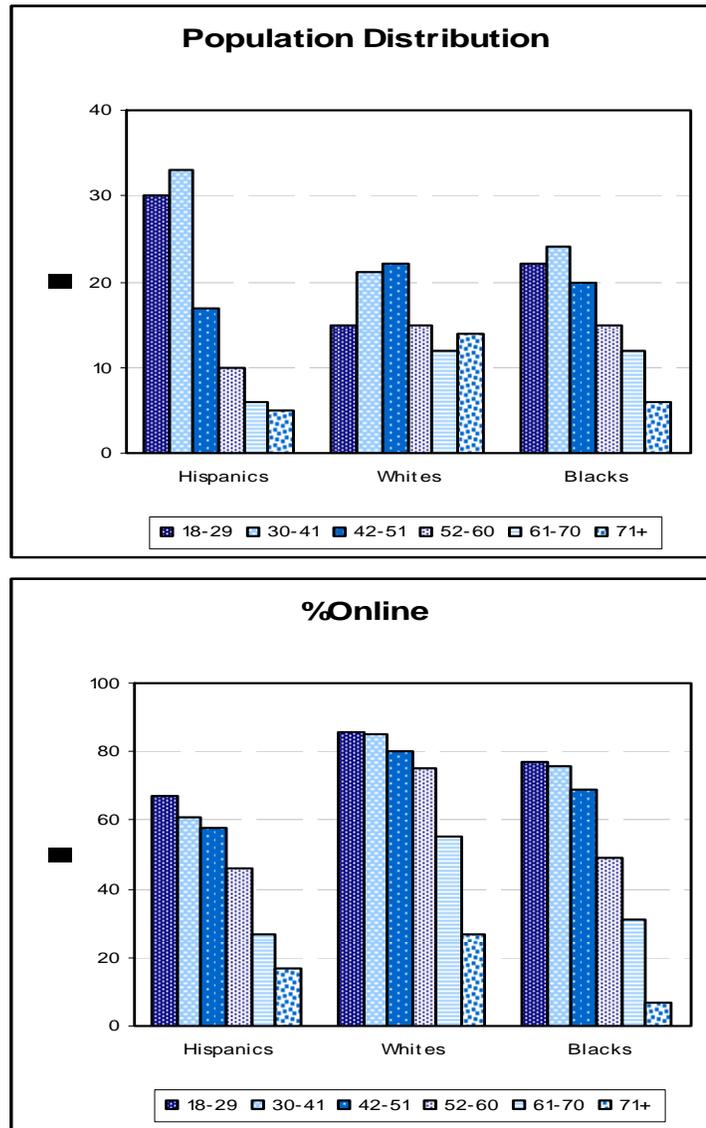
As noted above, Latinos are a young population with nearly twice as large a share of adults under 40 than among whites.⁷ Ongoing studies by the Pew Internet Project consistently show that younger Americans across all groups are more likely than their elders to use the internet. For example:

- 67% of Latinos, 77% of African Americans, and 86% of whites age 18-29 use the internet.
- 61% of Latinos, 77% of African Americans, and 85% of whites age 30-41 use the internet.
- 58% of Latinos, 69% of African Americans, and 80% of whites age 42-51 use the internet.
- 46% of Latinos, 49% of African Americans, and 75% of whites age 52-60 use the internet.
- 27% of Latinos, 31% of African Americans, and 55% of whites age 61-70 use the internet.
- 17% of Latinos, 7% of African Americans, and 27% of whites age 71 and older use the internet.

Statistical analysis indicates that age becomes a less significant characteristic in predicting internet use among Latinos when we take language, nativity, generation, or years in the U.S. (for immigrants) into account. Controlling for education or income has no effect on the association of age and internet use among Latinos.

⁷ 63% of Latinos, 46% of African Americans, and 36% of whites are aged 41 or younger.

Figure 5. Population Distribution and %Online, by Age and Race/Ethnicity



Immigrants and those who speak mostly Spanish are less likely than other groups to use the internet.

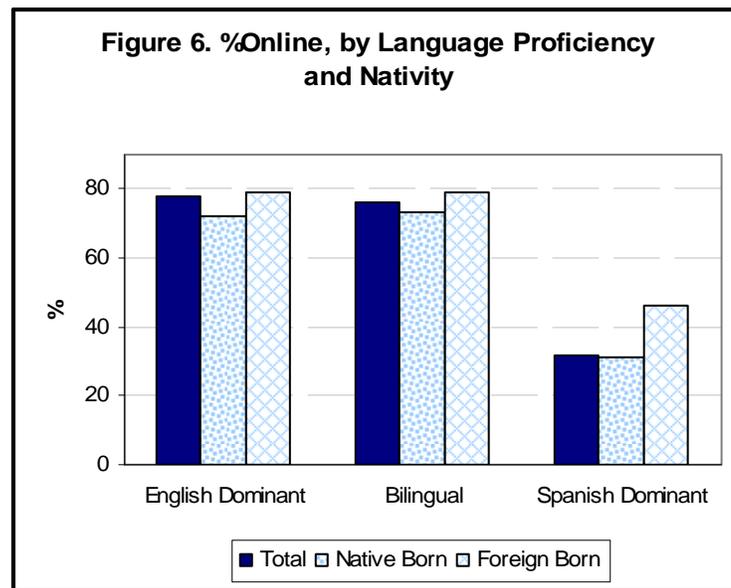
The Pew Hispanic Center has chronicled the effects of language on assimilation, as well as the differences between first-, second-, and third-generation Latinos.⁸ This survey extends that analysis into the digital realm, showing that speaking Spanish is a significant, independent factor in a Latino adult’s likelihood to go online.

⁸ “Latino Labor Report 2006” (Pew Hispanic Center, September 2006); “The Occupational Status and Mobility of Hispanics” (Pew Hispanic Center, December 2005); “Hispanics: A People in Motion” (Pew Hispanic Center, 2005); “Assimilation and Language” (Pew Hispanic Center, March 2004); “Generational Differences” (Pew Hispanic Center, March 2004).

Language

Fully 78% of Latinos who are English-dominant and 76% of bilingual Latinos use the internet, compared to 32% of Latinos who are Spanish-dominant. This connection does not diminish when other factors are held constant, such as age, education, income, or nativity. Spanish-dominant Latinos are less likely to use the internet at all income and education levels, for example. To illustrate the robustness of this association, Figure 6 displays the overall rates of internet use, as well as the rates of English proficiency for native-born and foreign-born Hispanics. It is very striking that the differences in internet use for each of the three language groups do not vary markedly by nativity.

“Spanish dominant,” “English dominant,” and “bilingual” — determined by inquiring about a respondent’s ability to speak or read Spanish and English.



Nativity and generation

Nativity refers to whether a respondent was born in the U.S., in which case they are considered “native born,” or whether they were born in Puerto Rico or another country, in which case we call them “foreign born” or “first generation.” Among the native born, we further differentiate into two categories: “second-generation” Latinos were born in the U.S. but have at least one parent born in Puerto Rico or another country; “third-generation” Latinos were born in the U.S. to parents also born in the U.S.

Seventy-six percent of U.S.-born Latinos use the internet versus 43% of foreign-born Latinos. Second-generation Latinos, the sons and daughters of immigrants, are the most likely group to go online. Fully 80% of second-generation Latinos use the internet, compared to 71% of third-generation Latinos. This is significant looking to the future

because the native-born segment of the Hispanic population is projected to grow more rapidly than the immigrant group.

The connection between nativity, generation, and internet use remains strong even when other factors are held constant, such as age, education, and income. Again, language seems to have an independent association with the propensity to use the internet; foreign-born Latinos who speak English are more likely to use the internet than foreign-born Latinos who are Spanish-dominant, for example.

Latinos from Mexico are less likely than those from the rest of Latin America to use the internet.

Diversity of national origins is a hallmark of Hispanics in the U.S.⁹ Each group has a unique socio-economic profile, history, and mix of native born and immigrants, making national origin an essential part of our analysis of Latinos online.

Mexico

Mexicans are the largest national-origin group by far in the U.S. Latino population and are among the least likely to go online: 52% of Latinos of Mexican descent use the internet. This continues to be the case when other factors are held constant, such as age, income, language, nativity, generation, or time in the U.S. Mexicans' low educational attainment largely explains this lower internet penetration rate.

Puerto Rico

Sixty-six percent of Latinos of Puerto Rican descent use the internet. Compared with other Hispanics, Puerto Ricans are generally more likely to speak English and to have been born in the U.S. and, compared to other Hispanic immigrants, island-born Puerto Ricans have spent a relatively long time living in the U.S. These factors contribute significantly to the relatively high Puerto Rican likelihood to use the internet; in fact, when any of these factors are held constant, the internet advantage among Puerto Ricans is erased. Controlling for age, income, or education has minimal effect on Puerto Rican internet use.

Central America

Latinos who trace their origins to Central America (which is comprised of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, Panama, and Costa Rica) are among the least likely to use the internet. Fifty percent of Latinos who trace their origins to Central

⁹ "The Foreign-Born at Mid-Decade" (Pew Hispanic Center, October 2006); "A Statistical Portrait of Hispanics at Mid-Decade" (Pew Hispanic Center, September 2006); "Cubans in the United States" (Pew Hispanic Center, August 2006); "2006 National Latino Survey: The Immigration Debate" (Pew Hispanic Center, July 2006); "Hispanic Trends: A People in Motion" (Pew Hispanic Center, January 2005); "Counting the 'Other Hispanics'" (Pew Hispanic Center, May 2002).

America use the internet. The relative disadvantage of Central Americans in the U.S. is largely responsible for this pattern: if Central Americans had the levels of education or English proficiency of their other Hispanic counterparts, their internet use would rise markedly. The fact that they are disproportionately foreign born also plays an important role in explaining their low internet use. Their age composition, income, and years spent in the U.S. do not have dramatic impacts on the relatively low levels of internet use among Central Americans.

Dominican Republic

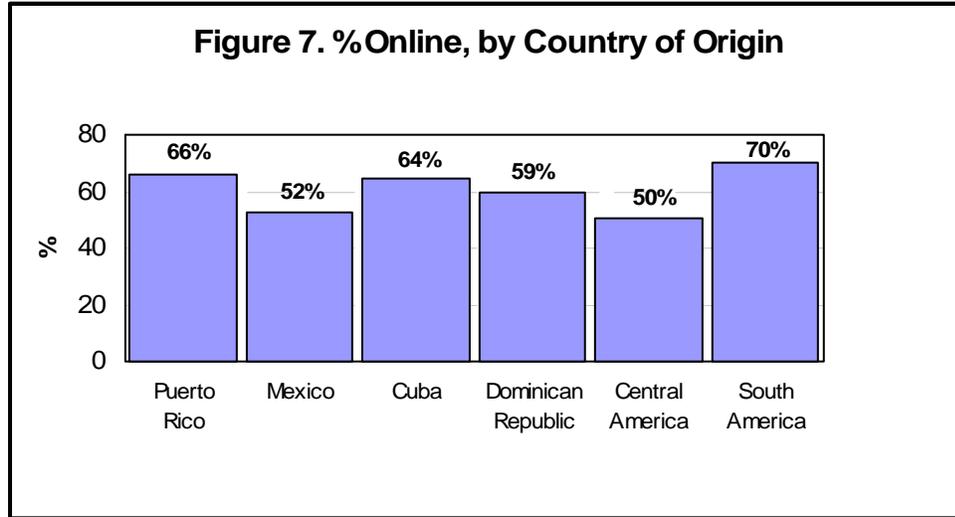
Dominicans are in line with the general Hispanic population when it comes to internet use: 59% of Latinos who trace their origins to the Dominican Republic go online. The fact that many Dominicans speak mostly Spanish, and are predominantly foreign born somewhat suppresses their rate of internet use. Controlling for age, education, income, or the number of years spent living in the U.S. has little effect on the relative internet use of Dominicans.

Cuba

The rate of internet use among Cubans (64%) is similar to the rates among other Latinos. One factor that suppresses internet usage among Cubans is the fact that they are relatively old; if Cubans had the age profile of other Latinos, their rate of internet use would be significantly higher. Conversely, the fact that they are very well educated on average helps to drive the Cuban rate of internet usage up; were it not for their high levels of education, Cuban internet use would likely be lower than among other Hispanics. The same is true of the Cuban income distribution, to a lesser extent. Language, nativity, generation, and time in country controls have minimal effects on the relative internet use of Cubans.

South America

Latinos who trace their origins to South America have relatively high rates of internet use compared to the general Hispanic population: 70% of Latinos from South American countries go online. If we control for the relatively high education rates among South Americans, this advantage declines somewhat, but still remains significant. The high rates of South American internet use do not change when age, income, language, nativity, generation, or, for immigrants, years in U.S., are held constant.

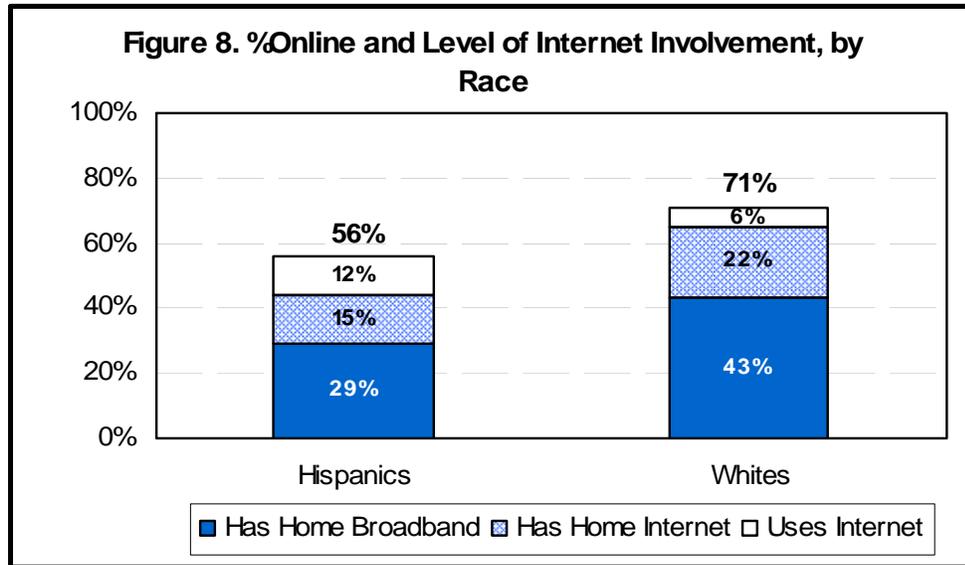


Less than one-third of Latino adults have a broadband internet connection at home.

The Pew Internet Project has found that a home broadband connection deepens an internet user’s relationship with the online world. Broadband users are more likely than dial-up users to shape their online environment, not just surf through it. For example, 32% of internet users with a home broadband connection have shared something online that they created themselves, such as artwork, photos, stories, or videos, compared with 20% of home dial-up users. Eleven percent of home broadband users keep a blog, compared with 4% of home dial-up users.¹⁰

Overall, 29% of Hispanic adults have home broadband connections, compared with 43% of white adults. This difference is driven primarily by the fact that Latino internet users are less likely than non-Hispanic white internet users to have any kind of internet connection at home (79%, compared to 92%). Two-thirds of Latinos with home internet access have a broadband connection (66%, compared to 68% of whites with home internet access).

¹⁰ “Home Broadband Adoption 2006” (Pew Internet & American Life Project, May 2006).



Part 3.

Latinos Offline

Latinos who do not go online are likely to say they simply do not have access to the internet.

Forty-four percent of Latino adults do not use the internet. The offline Latino population is characterized by lower educational attainment and a lower likelihood to speak English. Fully 69% of Hispanics who did not complete high school and 68% of Spanish-dominant Hispanics are offline.

Of Latinos who do not go online, 53% say they simply do not have access. In addition, 18% of non-user Latino adults say they are not interested in going online, 10% say going online is too difficult or frustrating, 6% say it is too expensive to get access, and 5% say they are too busy or do not have the time to go online.

By comparison, in a telephone survey conducted in May-June 2005, just 30% of white adults said they did not use the internet. Of those, 30% said the main reason they did not go online is that they did not have access. Thirty-one percent of non-user white adults said they are not interested in going online, 7% said it is too difficult or frustrating, 5% said it is too expensive, and 3% said they are too busy or do not have the time to go online.¹¹

Six in ten Latino adults have a cell phone and half send or receive text messages.

The communications revolution is not limited to the computer screen. A recent Pew Research Center survey found that Hispanics are more likely than non-Hispanics to consider the cell phone a necessity, rather than a luxury. Fully 59% of Hispanics consider them a necessity, compared with fewer than half of non-Hispanic whites (46%) and non-Hispanic blacks (46%).¹²

However, Hispanics are less likely than non-Hispanic whites to own a cell phone. Fully 75% of non-Hispanic white adults have a cell phone and 31% of white cell phone users send and receive text messages on their phone.¹³ By comparison, 59% of Latino adults have a cell phone and 49% of Latino cell phone users send and receive text messages on

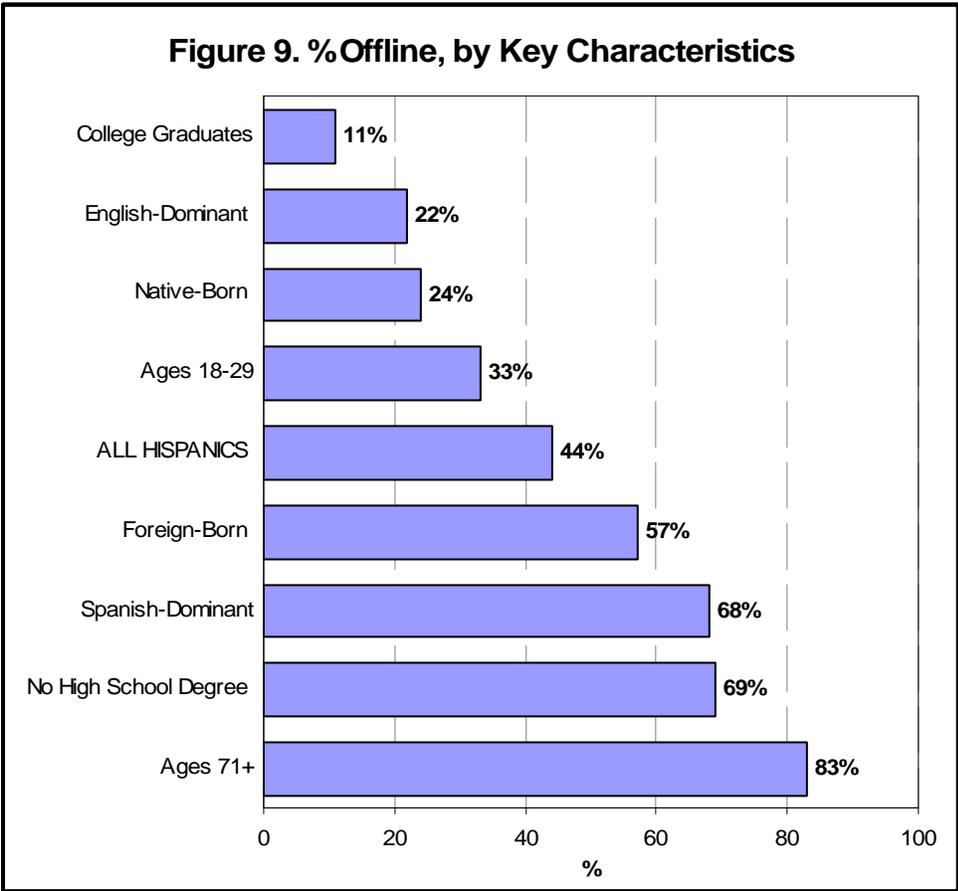
¹¹ “Digital Divisions” (Pew Internet & American Life Project, October 2005).

¹² “Luxury or Necessity? Things We Can’t Live Without: The List Has Grown in the Past Decade” (Pew Research Center, December 2006).

¹³ “Cell Phone Use” (Pew Internet & American Life Project, April 2006).

their phone. Looking at the numbers in a different way, 56% of Latino adults go online, 18% of Latino adults have a cell phone but do not go online, and 24% of Latino adults have neither a cell phone nor an internet connection.

Cell phone ownership is associated with essentially the same demographic characteristics as internet usage. For example, cell phone use is markedly lower for Spanish-speakers: 42% have a mobile phone, compared with 75% of English-dominant Latinos. Native-born Latinos are more likely than foreign-born Latinos to use a cell phone – 72% versus 50%. However, Latinos over age 60 are more likely to have a cell phone than an internet connection, which is also true in the non-Hispanic population.



Methodology

This analysis is based primarily upon the merging of data from two surveys—the 2006 National Survey of Latinos (NSL), and the 2006 Hispanic Religion Survey—both of which were conducted by International Communications Research (ICR) on behalf of Pew Research Center projects during the same time period, using analogous methodologies. The NSL was conducted from June 5, 2006 to July 3, 2006, and produced a sample of 2,000 Latino adults. The full sample has a margin of error of +/-3.8. The 2006 Hispanic Religion Survey was conducted from August 10, 2006 to October 4, 2006, and produced a sample of 4,016 Latino adults. The full sample has a margin of error of +/-2.44.

Both surveys were conducted by telephone, and targeted U.S. Latinos aged 18 and older, who had the option to respond in Spanish, English, or a combination of the two languages. The samples were each independently drawn using random digit dialing (RDD) methodology, and were stratified according to the density of Hispanic population and country of origin groups. In the case of both surveys, the sampling design produced over-samples of Latinos of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central and South American origins to allow for an analysis of differences in attitudes and experiences among these groups. As a result, each sample somewhat under-sampled Latinos of Mexican descent and, consequently, native-born Latinos. Nonetheless, the survey produced a robust number of respondents in both of these categories. All results in each sample were weighted to correct for the sampling design, controlling for age within sex, sex, education, area of origin, and nativity, using 2005 Current Population Survey data.

Like most telephone surveys, ours were based upon samples of landline telephones, as opposed to cell phones. As such, the sample is representative of Latinos living in households with landlines, but not of Latinos who only have access to cell phones. In its May 2006 Report, “The Cell Phone Challenge to Survey Research,” the Pew Research Center found that in the general population, cell-only respondents are more male, younger, more likely to be Hispanic, less wealthy, and less likely to be homeowners than their landline counterparts.

The resulting combined sample of 6,016 Latino adults has a margin of error of +/-2.07.

In addition to the bivariate analyses presented here, we also conducted a number of multivariate regression analyses to test whether the bivariate associations held once other factors were controlled for. Specifically, we used logistic regressions where the dependent variable was internet use, and tested all associations controlling for: age, education, income, area of origin, language proficiency, nativity, generation, and, for immigrants, years lived in the U.S. In many cases, we also tested the effect on the key independent variables of controlling for: sex, geographic region, urban versus suburban versus rural residence, marital status, parenthood status, and citizenship status (for immigrants only).