Latino Immigration and Its Impact on Future Travel Behavior

Jesse Casas
Research Director and Principal
NuStats Partners, L.P.
3006 Bee Caves Rd., Suite A-300
Austin, Texas 78746
Telephone: 512-306-9065, extension 2226
E-mail: jcasas@nustats.com

Carlos Arce, PhD
Founding Partner
NuStats Partners, L.P.
3006 Bee Caves Rd., Suite A-300
Austin, Texas 78746
Telephone: 512-306-9065, extension 2222
E-mail: carce@nustats.com

Christopher Frye
Statistician
NuStats Partners, L.P.
3006 Bee Caves Rd., Suite A-300
Austin, Texas 78746
Telephone: 512-306-9065, extension 2236
cfrye@nustats.com

October 1, 2004

ABSTRACT
Over the past 30 years, the Latino population has grown faster than other ethnic groups and this trend is anticipated to continue over the next several decades. Hispanic households tend to be larger than the general population and therefore as they move through the life cycle, they will continue to increase their percentage of the total population. However, another major contributor to this growth is the increased immigration from Mexico, Central and South America.

The recent and future growth of the Latino population has drawn the attention of companies across the US - companies are building marketing strategies specifically targeted at Latinos to increase its share of this multi-billion dollar market. In addition to its impact on the product consumer market, the healthcare system, and schools, the future growth of this population will no doubt have an impact on the US transportation infrastructure as well.

Data from surveys and qualitative studies show a difference in travel behavior between recent immigrants and the general population such as vehicle occupancy, vehicle ownership, and others. Because used vehicles are more affordable than new vehicles, recent Latino immigrants tend to purchase used vehicles because they are less expensive, they don't require credit checks (which requires a social security number), or if the car is impounded or is damaged it can be easily and quickly replaced. With the growth of this population and the increase in the ownership of older vehicles, a negative impact on air quality can be expected even with new or more stringent laws governing vehicle emissions. Data from surveys also suggest that shared rides are more frequent among this population (higher vehicle occupancy) and that work trips lengths are longer.

This paper will first estimate future growth trends of recent immigrants based on historical Census data (linear regression projections will be used since future economic conditions of country of origin is unknown). Data from the 2001 NHTS and other travel surveys will then be analyzed to identify differences in demographics and travel behavior such as household size, trip generation, vehicle ownership, among others. Lastly, projections will be made based on these comparisons.

INTRODUCTION

As of the 2000 Census, Hispanics were documented as the largest minority group but had actually reached that size several years before they were forecast to do so. Immigration has been key to Latinos' population growth. Thirteen million first generation immigrants comprise forty percent (40%) of all Hispanics (*1*). By 2025, The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that the Latino population will grow from 35 million to 61 million – an increase in the overall Latino population of nearly 46 percent.

Today, there are almost as many Latinos in the U.S. as in Central America. Approximately one-third each is first, second, or third generation Latinos (*2*). It is expected that those born in the U.S will generate most of the future Latino population growth. This group will comprise 13 percent of the U.S. population while the share of Hispanic immigrants is expected to remain at five percent of the U.S. population. In late 2003, The Pew Hispanic Center found that Latino births in the United States are outpacing Latino immigration (*1*). This is an important statistic when also considering that Latino households overall, regardless of generational distance, are larger on average than their White non-Hispanic counterparts. Nearly one-third of Latino households have five or more people.

There has been much discussion in the media and among policy-makers on how this past and future growth has had and will have on the school systems, social service agencies, public transit agencies, and the healthcare system. Although, in a study conducted by the California Healthcare Foundation, it was found that the main reason why Latinos immigrate to the U.S. is to find work rather than to obtain healthcare or other social services. In fact, undocumented immigrants obtain fewer ambulatory physician visits than other Latinos and the general population (*3*). However, in a discussion by Myers regarding Latinos in California, he stated that:

> "Latinos also tend to ride public transit frequently, and in large numbers.
> As a large percentage of the increase in the state's population will be
> made up of groups that are frequent riders of public transit, it would
> appear that there will continue to be a strong demand for public transit.
> Recent immigrants made up 42% of all transit riders in 1990. Public
> transit use is falling among immigrants, who are beginning to catch up to
> other groups in terms of single occupant vehicle (SOV) use. While
> immigrants tend to be frequent transit riders when they arrive, over time
> they shift away from using public transit (*4*)."

It may not necessarily be the first generation Latinos that will have an impact on our society, but rather the second generation. About two-thirds of second generation Latinos, about ten million in 2003 and growing very quickly, is under 18 now. The number of second generation Latino workers will triple in the next 20 years. They're essentially the main source of new workers as the baby boom generation starts to retire (*5*). According to Meyers, recent immigrants are found to have very different commuting behavior than that of native-born workers – they are more likely to use public transit, are more likely to carpool and therefore have much less impact on the roads. However, this behavior becomes more similar to native-born Americans over time as non-native Latinos adapt themselves to society and improve their economic status (*6*).

We can be assured that there will be an effect on our nation's educational, social services, and healthcare system from growth in both the general population as well as Latino population – whether it be from newly arrived immigrants or those born in the U.S. It is well known that travel behavior varies by demographic characteristic. However, less known is to what degree the Latino population growth will have on future travel behavior characteristics and therefore the impacts on the transportation infrastructure and air quality.

This paper will provide some understanding what future impact the Latino population will have on travel behavior. This paper will first provide a discussion on the limitations of the NHTS with regard to the representation of Latinos in the dataset. It will then explore the recent and future Latino population growth trends, the travel behavior and demographic characteristics of this population subgroup, and the estimated impact on travel behavior Latinos will have in the future. Future changes in the demographic make-up of the U.S. population will have a major impact on travel behavior characteristics.

Throughout the paper, the terms Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably. Various literature sources use the term Latino, while Census uses the term Hispanic. In this paper, both terms refer to the same U.S. population segment.

ESTIMATING CURRENT AND PROJECTING FUTURE HISPANIC POPULATION
Due to historical patterns of immigration and settlement, the Latino population of the United States reflects considerable diversity. Some segments of this ethnic group are not substantially different from other Americans with roots in foreign countries going back two or three generations. These Latinos are U.S. born and frequently are the offspring of U.S. born Latinos. At the opposite extreme, the Latino population includes a substantial and growing number of very recent immigrants whose social lives, economic activity, residential patterns and primary identities place them in very different and separate worlds than the average American.

A valuable segmentation approach for classifying this diversity in the Latino/Hispanic population is through a three-category generational distance construct:

- U.S. Hispanics (born in this country),

- Settled Hispanics (immigrants who have been in the US more than 2/3 of their lives), and

- Newcomer Hispanics (immigrants who have been here less than 1/3 of their lives).

By using purely demographic variables rather than behavioral or cultural measure, this segmentation approach permits very objective estimating of the size of the respective Hispanic segment populations.

NHTS DATA LIMITATIONS
In the NHTS, the Hispanic origin and immigration status questions were asked of a primary person in the household. For purposes of our analysis, we selected an equivalent, independent data source for the Hispanic population that matches the year of the NHTS and provides an equivalent measure of primary person in the household. This data set is from the March 2001 Current Population Survey of the Bureau of the Census. According to this data set, there were 9,255,894 Hispanic households in 2001, with the generational distance of the primary householder distributed as follows:

- US Born, 40.0%;

- Settled Immigrant, 42.4%; and

- Newcomer Immigrant, 17.7%

There is very compelling evidence provided internally by the Census Bureau that the rates of undercounting vary substantially by demographic characteristics. Overall, Hispanics tend to be undercounted at approximately triple the rate of the non-Hispanic population (roughly 6% versus 2%). Immigrants tend to be undercounted more severely than U.S. born persons; specifically, immigrant Hispanics are more likely to be undercounted than Hispanics born in the U.S. An additional factor is recency of immigration which tends to exacerbate undercounting, especially if these newer immigrants also have undocumented status. Finally, there is an additional significant factor dealing with the non-

permanent undocumented immigrants. The most recent expert estimates suggest that in the early years of the present decade, the total number of undocumented immigrants passed the 6 million mark and has by 2004 approached or surpassed 9 million. Approximately 2/3 of this population is Hispanic.

TABLE 1 presents an approach to adjusting the official figures from the 2001 Census CPS, using a series of adjustments for undercounting and for the episodic, non-permanent estimates of undocumented Hispanic residents of the U.S. These adjustments increase the overall estimate of Hispanic primary householders (equivalent to the number of households) from just below 9.3 million to 11.2 million. The overall adjustment of 20% is comprised of approximately 7% for official undercounting and another 11% from the inclusion of very recent and highly episodic undocumented residents.

TABLE 2 provides a comparison of the distribution of Hispanics by generational distance for the published data from the 2001 CPS, our adjusted figures for 2001, the raw (unweighted) data from the NHTS, and the expanded (weighted) data from the NHTS. As shown in the table, there is a significant difference in the distributions among the three Hispanic sub-populations between the 2001 CPS and NHTS unweighted, particularly among U.S. born Hispanics and Settled Immigrants. NHTS shows an under-representation among Settled Immigrants and an over-representation among U.S. Hispanics.

TABLE 3 presents the estimated size of the Hispanic population (households as represented by a primary person per household) for the current year (2004) and a projection for five years from the present (2009). Over the next five years, the percentage of the U.S.-born Hispanics and Settled Immigrants are slightly lower while a slight increase of Newcomer Immigrant households will increase. This is an increase of 22% of Newcomer Immigrant households between 2004 and 2009. The current year estimate (2004) of total households is slightly less than 113 million households with 3.2% comprising of Newcomer Immigrant households. By 2009, it is estimated that this group will comprise of 4.1% of the total households.

The most significant conclusion from a comparison of the Hispanic data distribution in the NHTS is that immigrants and particularly Newcomers were severely underrepresented in the sample. Even with the adjustments achieved through weighting, there remains a significant discrepancy between the weighted results and the Census data. When the Census data is adjusted for the acknowledged differential undercounting rates and the well-documented size of the episodic undocumented Hispanic population, the differences between the real population and the Hispanic population in the NHTS are more severe.

The more serious limitation of the NHTS for looking at Hispanic travel behavior patterns, relative to the rest of the population is in the probable skew toward more assimilated individuals among the immigrant population. Among respondents classified as Newcomers, one would expect an overwhelming majority to be interviewed in Spanish.

CURRENT AND FUTURE HISPANIC TRAVEL BEHAVIOR
Travel behavior among sub-groups of Hispanics can be analyzed by segmenting the Hispanic population into sub-groups. The definition of these groups is based upon the level of acculturation or length of time they have spent in the United States. Myers (6) notes the correlation between changes in travel behavior and amount of time spent in the United States – most notably the high proportion of newcomers that use public transit and how that proportion declines over years of residence.

In order to segment the NHTS Hispanic population into sub-groups, three variables were used – place of birth, years in the U.S., and age. Since ethnicity was only collected from the household reference person (and "donated" to other members of the household), households (and the persons contained in the household) are classified as Hispanic and Non-Hispanic. Among household reference persons, the largest

group of Hispanics was U.S.-Born (representing 9.9 million households).   U.S.-Born includes all Hispanics born in the United States.

All other Hispanics (foreign-born) were segmented in the following manner. or each reference person, the years spent in the US were divided into age to determine of percentage of life spent in the US. Those respondents who have spent less than one-third of their life in the U.S. were categorized as Newcomer Immigrants; while those who have spent more than one-third of their life in the US were categorized as Settled Immigrants. This category also contains a small number of individuals who were born in the U.S. but for whom the language of the interview was conducted in Spanish.

To compare current and projected travel behavior characteristics, we have utilized the adjusted counts of the Hispanic population as described earlier in this paper. The NHTS data was also re-weighted slightly to account for under-representation among the different sub-groups of the Hispanic population. This results in a higher household count in the NHTS 2001 estimates. TABLE 4 indicates the adjusted household counts for 2001, 2004 (estimate), and 2009 (projection). For the Hispanic households, the counts are based on author's estimates. For Non-Hispanic households, 2001 counts are based on NHTS weighted and expanded counts, 2004 counts are based on Current Population Survey March 2004, and the 2009 counts are based on Census Bureau population projections (7).

The estimates and projections of the Hispanic household population assume a 12% growth rate between 2001 and 2004, and a 22% growth rate between 2004 and 2009. Non-Hispanic household growth is expected to be much slower (less than 2% between 2004 and 2001 and 3.9% between 2004 and 2009).

COMPARISONS BETWEEN HISPANIC AND NON-HISPANIC HOUSEHOLDS (2001)
An examination of differences between Hispanic and Non-Hispanic households reveals the following key points. In terms of geographic concentration, Hispanic households are more likely to settle in metropolitan areas (MSA) of 3 million or more, predominantly in the western portions of the United States. Nearly 60 percent of all Hispanic households are found in MSAs of 3 million or more (6.5 million), with nearly half (44 percent) found in the Western census region - predominantly in the Pacific Census Division – which includes the States of Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska and Hawaii.

Nevertheless, the NHTS data (corroborated by census estimates) points to a dispersion of Hispanic households to what we may term as second- or third-tier cities (8, 9). One of five Hispanic households can be found in these areas. As Kandel and Cromartie note, these areas include southeastern North Carolina, elsewhere in the South, the Midwest, and along the edges of traditional settlement areas, such as Colorado, Oklahoma, Utah and the Northwest (8). These changes are somewhat difficult to observe with the cross-sectional NHTS data, but they are changes that are likely to have an impact on future travel patterns and transportation infrastructure projecting forward.

Other differences in characteristics include the likelihood that Hispanic households earn less (43.3 percent earn less than $25,000 annually compared to 25.3 percent among Non-Hispanic households); educational attainment among Hispanic households is also lower as is the homeownership rate (40.4 percent among Hispanics vs. 68.0 percent among Non-Hispanics). Some of these differences are slightly larger than achieved using the original NHTS weighted and expanded counts; this is mainly due to our adjustment of undercounting Hispanics – in particularly newcomer immigrants.

In terms of differences with regard to travel-related indicators, TABLE 5 highlights some of the major differences. The counts in this table are based on NHTS Data, containing the author's adjusted Hispanic counts. The table highlights significant differences in terms of vehicles per household, household size, workers per household and trips per household. Household size may be explained by the household composition of Hispanic households – close to one-third (3.2 million) consist of two+ adults

and youngest child between the ages of 0 and 5. One other interesting indicator highlighted in TABLE 5 is the higher number of workers per household among Hispanic households. This is corroborated by findings produced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and other labor economists who have noted the higher labor force participation rates among Hispanics as well as the higher growth rates in labor force participation among Hispanic women. Should these trends continue, it is likely that Hispanics will become increasingly dependent on transportation (whether that is public or otherwise) over the next five to ten years. As noted in the following section, these trends and the continuing geographic dispersion of Hispanics newcomers forecasts continuing pressures on the transportation infrastructure.

COMPARISONS AMONG HISPANIC SUB-GROUPS (2001)
As noted earlier, the Hispanic population is not quite as monolithic as conventional wisdom might suggest. In our typology, the Hispanic population is segmented into three unique groups: Newcomer immigrants, Settled immigrants and US-Born Hispanics. Estimates for 2001 indicate that Hispanics can be segmented nearly equally among these three groups (27, 38, and 35 percent, respectively). TABLE 6 highlights key indicators among these three sub-groups. The numbers in this table are from the NHTS data and include author's adjusted counts for Hispanics.

The data points to a number of differences among the Hispanic sub-groups. As is noted in much of the transportation-related literature, time spent residing in the United States is directly correlated with changes in travel behavior. This can be observed most notably in the percentage of zero-vehicle households, numbers of vehicles per household and household size. For newcomer immigrants, the combination of a high percentage of zero-vehicle households, numbers of workers per household, numbers of vehicles per household and proportion of public transit trips highlights an important characteristic of this population. The higher labor force participation among this population and their lack of access to personal vehicles leads to their dependency upon public transit. While public transit is accessible in many urban areas, how is this affecting travel dependency among the faster-growing, less urban areas around the United States? Although Hispanics are in larger households and contain more workers per household, Polzin found that in 1995, Hispanic household income was only 75% of the national average. The lower income levels corresponded to fewer vehicles owned and a higher propensity to use transit (11). According to a report to the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA), the lack of car ownership and inadequate public transit service in many central cities and metropolitan regions with high proportion of "captive" transit dependents exacerbate social, economic, and racial isolation especially for low-income people of color residents who already have limited transportation options (12).

As noted by Myers, the NHTS data also shows the inverse linear relation between years spent in the United States and propensity to use pubic transit (6). Nevertheless, when examining the NHTS data, a separate pattern emerges. FIGURE 1 indicates the percentage of public transit trips (here defined as either public transit bus or subway, elevated train, and rail) among our Hispanic sub-groups. The data indicate that the use of public transit declines precipitously with years residing in the U.S. up to those who have resided 16-20 years. The bi-modal distribution of public transit use reveals some differences among the Hispanic foreign-born population according to what time they entered the United States. These results highlight the importance of understanding the effect of previous immigration flows have on Hispanic's aggregate travel patterns.

Bricka also found that in Pucher's analysis of the 1995 and 2001 NPTS/NHTS datasets, a higher use of public transit occurred among Hispanics and other minorities than the general population. These findings were more correlated to income rather than ethnicity since income determines vehicle ownership and therefore mode choice (10).

COMPARISONS AMONG HISPANIC SUB-GROUPS (2001, 2004, 2009)
TABLE 7 highlights key travel-related indicators for the Hispanic population for 2001, 2004, and 2009. The differences in these indicators are a direct effect of the change in the mix of each of our sub-groups between our three time periods under study. The numbers in this table are from the NHTS data and include author's adjusted counts for Hispanics.

Declines in the numbers of trips per household among the Hispanic population can be related to the increase in the percentage of newcomer immigrants between 2004 and 2009. The percentage of the Hispanic population among this sub-group is expected to grow from 29.0 percent to 31.8 percent between these two time periods.

As Hispanics become a larger portion of the total population in the U.S. and if the trends among Hispanic households of all types continue with regard to larger households, higher proportions of zero-vehicle ownership, more workers per household, and a higher propensity to own older vehicles than the general population, there will be implications on public transit use, vehicle fleet age, and travel behavior in general.

1. "U.S.-Born Hispanics Increasingly Drive Population Developments." Pew Hispanic Center (January 2002)

2. Robles, Barbara J. "Understanding a High Growth Community: Challenges for Public Service Providers*."* (LBJ School of Public Affairs) Undated.

3. Berk, Marc L., Claudia L. Schur, Leo R. Chavez, and Martin Frankel. "Health Care Use Among Undocumented Latino Immigrants." *Health Affairs*. July/August 2000.

4. Myers, Dowell, presentation at The 1998 Transportation, Land Use, Air Quality Connection Symposium, UCLA Extension. http://www.uclaextension.org/unex/departmentalPages/publicpolicy/proceedings98/text_files/proceedings98_topics.doc. Accessed September 4, 2004.

5. Suro, Robert, "Demographic Shift." Interview on The News Hour with Jim Lehrer, 10/14/2003. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/race_relations/july-dec03/shift_10-14.html. Accessed September 4, 2004.

6. Myers, Dowell. "Changes Over Time in Transportation Mode for Journey to Work: Effects of Aging and Immigration." *Volume 2: Case Studies of The Decennial Census Data for Transportation Planning.* Case Studies and Strategies for 2000. Conference proceedings. May 13, 1996.

7. Census Bureau population projections. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/usinterimproj/. Accessed September 4, 2004.

8. Kandel, William and John Cromartie. "New Patterns of Hispanic Settlement in Rural America*."* Washington, DC: United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *Rural Development Research Report Number 99*. May 2004.

9. Suro, Robert and Audrey Singer. "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations." Washington, DC: Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, The Brookings Institution, and The Pew Hispanic Center. 2002.

10. Bricka, Stacey. "Variations in Hispanic Travel Based on Urban Area Size." Paper Presentation at The Conference on Small and Medium Size Communities. September 2004.

11. Polzin, Steven E., Xuehao Chu, and Joel Rey. "Mobility and Mode Choice of People of Color for Non-Work Travel." *Transportation Research Circular E-C026: Personal Travel – the long and short of it* Conference Proceedings. March 2001, pp. 391-412.

12. Federal Highway Administration. "Travel Patterns of People of Color." June 2000.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1 Estimated Number of Hispanic Households, 2001, by Generational Distance

TABLE 2 Estimated Percent Distribution of Hispanic Households, 2001, by Generational Distance

TABLE 3 Projections of Hispanic Households, 2004 and 2009, by Generational Distance

TABLE 4 Household Counts: 2001, 2004, 2009 (000s)

TABLE 5 Household Differences (Travel-Related Indicators)

TABLE 6 Selected Indicators, Hispanic Households by Sub-Group

TABLE 7 Key Travel-Related Indicators Among Hispanic Households (2001, 2004, 2009)

FIGURE 1 Percent Distribution of Public Transit Trips (Travel Day)

TABLE 1 Estimated Number of Hispanic Households, 2001, by Generational Distance

Hispanic Group	2001 CPS ('000s)	Estimated Undercount	Estimated Short-term Undocumented ('000s)	Adjusted 2001 Count ('000s)
US Born	3,700	4%	0	3,854
Settled Immigrants	3,922	7%	0	4,217
Newcomer Immigrants	1,634	11%	1,500	3,136
TOTAL	9,256			11,207

TABLE 2 Estimated Percent Distribution of Hispanic Households, 2001, by Generational Distance

Hispanic Group	2001 CPS	2001 Adjusted	NHTS Unweighted	NHTS Weighted
US Born	40.0%	34.7%	58.6%	50.2%
Settled Immigrants	42.4%	38.0%	29.0%	33.6%
Newcomer Immigrants	17.7%	27.3%	12.4%	16.2%

TABLE 3 Projections of Hispanic Households, 2004 and 2009, by Generational Distance

Hispanic Group	2001 Adjusted	2004 Estimate	2009 Projected
US Born	34.7%	32.9%	30.4%
Settled Immigrants	38.0%	38.1%	37.9%
Newcomer Immigrants	27.3%	29.0%	31.8%
TOTAL ('000s)	11,107	12,449	15,238

TABLE 4 Household Counts: 2001, 2004, 2009 (000s)

Sub-Group	2001	2004	2009
Hispanics	11,107	12,449	15,238
Newcomer Immigrants	3,032	3,610	4,842
Settled Immigrants	4,221	4,743	5,769
US-Born	3,854	4,096	4,627
Non-Hispanics	98,975	100,415	104,293
Total	110,082	112,864	119,531

TABLE 5 Household Differences (Travel Related Indicators)

INDICATOR	HISPANIC	NON-HISPANIC	TOTAL
Zero Vehicle Households	12.5%	7.7%	8.1%
Vehicles per Household	1.64	1.90	1.87
Household Size	3.47	2.49	2.59
Workers per Household	1.66	1.29	1.32
Trips per Household (Travel Day)	10.36	9.14	9.27
Drivers per Household	1.73	1.74	1.74

TABLE 6 Selected Indicators, Hispanic Households by Sub-Groups

INDICATOR	HISPANIC	NEWCOMER IMMIGRANTS	SETTLED IMMIGRANTS	U.S.-BORN HISPANICS
Geographic Concentration (US Census Region):				
Northeast	17.1	20.2	18.6	12.9
Midwest	9.5	9.8	8.0	11.1
South	32.2	34.1	28.2	35.2
West	41.2	36.0	45.2	40.8
% Living in Urban Areas	91.3	94.8	92.2	87.5
% Homeowner	40.4	14.6	46.8	53.5
% College Graduate	8.9	8.4	8.4	9.8
% < $25,000 Annual Household Income	43.3	57.9	43.9	30.9
Travel Related Indicators:				
% Zero Vehicle Households	14.6	24.9	13.2	8.0
Vehicles Per Household	1.64	1.25	1.67	1.91
Household Size	3.47	3.62	3.71	3.09
Workers Per Household	1.66	1.87	1.59	1.57
Trips Per Household (Travel Day)	10.36	9.64	10.67	10.56
Drivers Per Household	1.73	1.54	1.73	1.89
% Vehicle Year 1996-2002	29.7	23.7	31.9	42.3
% Auto Trips		71.97	80.04	86.55
% Public Transit Trips		7.10	3.40	1.97

TABLE 7 Key Travel-Related Indicators Among Hispanic Households (2001, 2004, 2009)

INDICATOR	2001	2004	2009
Zero Vehicle Households	14.6%	14.9%	15.4%
Vehicles per Household	1.64	1.63	1.61
Household Size	3.47	3.48	3.49
Workers per Household	1.66	1.66	1.67
Trips per Household (Travel Day)	10.36	10.34	10.31
Drivers per Household	1.73	1.73	1.72

FIGURE 1 Percent Distribution of Public Transit Trips (Travel Day)

Years of Residence