

Benchmarks of Immigrant Civic Engagement

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Executive Summary

Immigrant civic engagement is an increasingly critical issue for the United States. Immigrant civic engagement may take various forms, but naturalization, voting registration and voter turnout are key measures or benchmarks.

This report examines immigrant civic participation in terms of immigrants' current engagement, the capacity of states to provide naturalization and voting registration, and the impact that immigrants are having on the adult citizen population in the U.S. Findings include the following:

Benchmarks of Need

Naturalization

The percent of immigrants without citizenship is falling.

The rate of naturalization has been increasing for nearly all groups over the last three Presidential election cycles. Some 62.5 percent of immigrant adults were not citizens in 1996 but by 2008 that percentage had fallen to 55.8 percent. The greatest percentage point improvement in naturalization was seen among Asian immigrant adults, whose noncitizen rate fell 13.2 percentage points during the 1996–2008 period.

Despite improvement in national citizenship rates, noncitizens are the great majority of adult immigrants in some states. Almost 71 percent of North Carolina immigrant adults are noncitizens, as are 68 percent of adult foreign born in Texas and 64 percent in Arizona.

Persons Eligible to Naturalize

About 8.2 million legal immigrants are estimated to be eligible to naturalize, according to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. The leading groups and their number estimated to be eligible for citizenship vary substantially by state. In California, the top three countries of origin are Mexico (1,301,000), Philippines (151,000) and El Salvador (112,000). In New York, the top countries are Dominican Republic (165,000), Jamaica (53,000) and China (50,000). These numbers highlight the fact that many different national-origin groups have substantial needs for naturalization.

Voter Registration

Recent years have seen a slight downward movement in naturalized immigrant registration rates. As a result, the registration gap between natives and immigrants has widened, and by 2008 the native-born registration rate exceeded that of naturalized immigrants by more than 11 points.

Voter Turnout

Naturalized immigrants who are registered to vote actually turn out to vote at about the same rate as natives. In 2008, voting rates were 89.2 percent for immigrants and 89.7 percent for natives. Naturalized Whites and naturalized Latinos vote at higher rates than native-born Whites. Improving immigrant civic engagement, then, is much more a matter of raising naturalization and voting registration rates than improving voter turnout.

Benchmarks of Capacity

Naturalization Capacity

The capacity of a state to naturalize its immigrant population may be gauged by whether naturalizations over the last five years nearly match legal immigration during that period. Among states where capacity comes closest to meeting inflow are California, New Jersey, Illinois and Massachusetts: all states where recent arrival numbers have diminished. In contrast, states toward which recent immigration has shifted, particularly Georgia and North Carolina, have seen their numbers of naturalized immigrants lag farther behind inflows of legal immigrants.

Voter Registration Capacity

In Georgia, Maryland and Virginia, the number of naturalized immigrants newly registered to vote meets or exceeds recent growth in naturalized citizens. In other words, capacity to register immigrants runs relatively high in these states.

Benchmarks of Impact

Immigrants and their children are making a dramatic contribution to the growth in new citizen adults and newly registered voters. First- and second-generation Americans (immigrants and their children) are only 16 percent of the adult citizen population in the U.S., but they are 44 percent of the growth in adult citizens between the last two Presidential elections. In California, the first and second generations are 84 percent of all additions to the adult citizen population. In New York, the first and second generations account for 100 percent of the increase in adult citizens.

Even more dramatically, first- and second-generation Americans are the majority, 54 percent, of the net growth in registered voters that took place between the 2004 and 2008 elections. In California, the first and second generation accounted for all growth in registered voters, as the number of third-or-later generation persons registered to vote declined. In Texas and Florida, the first and second generations were the great majority of the net increase in registered voters: 67 percent in Texas and 77 percent in Florida.

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Introduction

The United States has experienced several decades of substantial immigration levels, with as many as 1.2 million legal permanent immigrants being admitted to the country in a recent year (2006). These immigrants live in both traditional areas of settlement such as New York City, Los Angeles and Miami, but also in new destinations attracting large numbers of newcomers, such as the states of Georgia and North Carolina.

For a nation receiving large-scale and continuing immigration, questions of immigrant civic integration take on increasing urgency. The engagement of immigrants in civic life takes many forms such as interacting comfortably with local and state government, utilizing public services such as libraries and schools, and being aware of public policies and their meaning for all residents. Civic engagement also includes the involvement of legal permanent residents in naturalization, voter registration and in casting a ballot on Election Day.

Across the nation, not-for-profit organizations and leaders of the philanthropic sector have been working to encourage immigrants to take the steps into citizenship and voting. Groups such as the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles, the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, Mi Familia Vota (based in Arizona, Colorado and Texas) and others provide and advocate for English and civics classes for persons trying to naturalize. They also have conducted voter registration drives in immigrant communities. Foundations and funder-based initiatives including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Four Freedoms Fund and numerous locally based community and family foundations have invested in supporting immigrant civic engagement. Countless immigrants have come into contact with these campaigns, and many other immigrants have been moved to naturalize, register and vote out of their own commitment to participating in U.S. society.

Given the importance of immigrant civic engagement, it would be desirable to develop measures of the extent to which such engagement is taking place. Information on immigrant civic engagement would ideally provide information on the major immigrant groups involved with the integration process and on the states and localities where the move from migrant to settled resident is taking place. Facts would cover questions about naturalization, voting registration and voting rates, and this information would cover different time periods.

Fortunately, information from the Current Population Survey (CPS) and the American Community Survey (ACS), both conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, and from other government sources such as United States Citizenship and Immigration Services provide measures of the extent to which immigrants are engaging in naturalization, voting registration and voting. These sources of information have the benefit of being impartial and rigorously compiled.

This report attempts to provide a set of information with which to assess the rate and rhythm of immigrant civic engagement in the U.S. Using data from surveys conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau and administrative data from the USCIS, the report contains three types of benchmark measures:

• Benchmarks of Need

– How many immigrants have not yet naturalized, registered or voted? How many are eligible to naturalize?

• Benchmarks of Current Capacity

 Do current rates of naturalization and voting registration appear to meet the need created by the newest immigration?

• Benchmarks of Impact

– What does immigrant civic engagement mean for the evolving adult citizen population? Is the ongoing immigrant impact great or small?

Sources of Data This report uses the CPS for most measures because it covers voting and registration, has socioeconomic information, and is available for Presidential election years when registration and voting tend to be at their peak. When administrative data such as the actual numbers of persons acquiring U.S. citizenship are available from the USCIS, such data is provided here. Despite the fact that the CPS is invaluable because it covers each Presidential election year and includes information on registration and voting, the American Community Survey is based on a larger sample, and it is used in one instance of this report.

Geographic Focus The report attempts to provide both national-level and local data. To simplify the tables and charts while not losing focus on major trends, at the national level the report provides information on racial/ethnic groups although, where appropriate, there is information on individual source countries. At the level of states and metropolitan areas, the information focuses on the top 15 states and top 15 metro areas as measured by the size of the foreign-born population in 2008. The data in this report for states and metro areas mainly cover all immigrants rather than on individual groups. This simplifies the analysis and improves the quality of the data by avoiding estimates based on a small sample.

¹ Specifically, the source is the Current Population Survey conducted in November of election years, in which respondents are asked questions about registration and voting behavior.

Benchmarks of Need

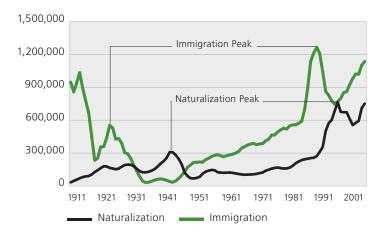
Need for Naturalization: A National View

Record immigration calls for record naturalization

Support for naturalization is critical at this point in U.S. history. As seen in the table below, the pattern in U.S. history over the past century has been one in which naturalization peaks follow peaks in immigration. The high numbers of naturalizations lag behind the high points of immigration in part due to the waiting period that most immigrants experience prior to becoming a citizen. But the goal of immigrant-receiving societies is to largely match immigration with subsequent naturalization. That is, ensure that most new residents become new citizens.

As seen in the graph, naturalizations are at historic highs. Some 1,046,539 persons were naturalized in 2008, which was the highest number in the nation's history. Yet legal immigration is also at historic levels, and the average annual number of persons admitted to legal residence in the 2005–2009 period — over 1.1 million — was the highest five-year period in the nation's history. All of this indicates steady demand for naturalization in the coming years.

Naturalization peaks follow immigration peaks



Data are five-year averages.

There are 19.4 million noncitizen adults

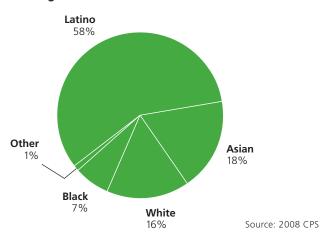
There are nearly 35 million adult immigrants in the United States as of 2008, and the clear majority—19.4 million or 56 percent — were noncitizens. Of the noncitizens, some 11.3 million or 58 percent were Latino immigrants. Asian immigrants were the next largest noncitizen population, including 3.5 million individuals who were about 18 percent of the noncitizen population.

Adult immigrant citizenship rate: 2008

	Number	Percent of Total
Total Foreign Born	34,816,545	100.0%
Noncitizens	19,426,831	55.8%
Naturalized	15,389,714	44.2%

Source: 2008 CPS

Latino immigrants are more than half of noncitizens



Immigrant populations vary in both their overall size and their rates of naturalization. As seen below, for example, about 42 percent of White non-Latino immigrants are not citizens, but among Latinos the rate is 69 percent, representing the great majority of adult Latino immigrants.

Noncitizens in U.S.

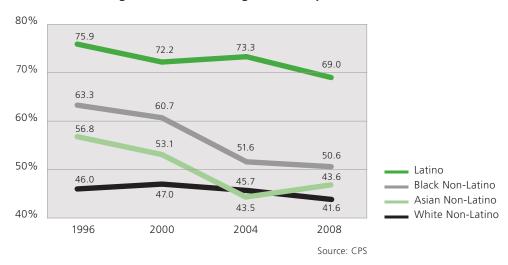
	Foreign Born	Percentage Naturalized Citizens	Percentage Noncitizens
Total	34,816,545	44.2%	55.8%
White non-Latino	7,566,666	58.4%	41.6%
Latino	16,391,661	31.0%	69.0%
Black non-Latino	2,688,765	49.4%	50.6%
Asian non-Latino	7,972,380	56.4%	43.6%
Other non-Latino	197,073	37.8%	62.2%

Source: 2008 CPS

Percent of immigrants without citizenship is falling

Despite the relative high percentage of immigrant adults who are not citizens, the rate of naturalization has been increasing for nearly all groups over the last three Presidential election cycles. Some 62.5 percent of immigrant adults were not citizens in 1996 but by 2008 that percentage had fallen to 55.8 percent. The greatest percentage point improvement in naturalization was seen among Asian immigrant adults, whose noncitizen rate fell 13.2 percentage points during the 1996–2008 period.

Percent of immigrant adults lacking citizenship is in decline



Mexico is the primary country of origin for noncitizen adults, but noncitizens come from many countries

Mexican adult noncitizens total almost 7.9 million persons and represent almost 41 percent of all noncitizen adults. As many as half of these Mexican noncitizens may be unauthorized residents, according to Pew Hispanic Center demographer Jeffrey S. Passel,² but that still leaves at least several million legal immigrant noncitizens from Mexico.

Although Mexicans are the largest noncitizen group by far, substantial noncitizen populations represent both hundreds of thousands of persons and a wide variety of countries of origin. As seen in the table below, ten countries have more than a quarter of a million noncitizen adults living in the U.S. These include India (972,000 noncitizens), El Salvador (790,000) and China (630,000).

Some areas of the U.S. have large populations of noncitizens who come from countries that are underrepresented at the national level. In New York State, for example, there are more than 104,000 noncitizen adults from Ecuador and 78,000 from Jamaica. In California there are 45,000 from Iran and 37,000 from Honduras.

The characteristics of noncitizens vary from group to group, and affect each group's ability to naturalize in different ways. For example, older persons (65 years or older) are a large portion of noncitizens from Germany (38 percent), from Cuba (12.6 percent) and from Poland (10.2 percent). These older persons may have transportation, health or other barriers to naturalization.

Other groups have relatively low levels of formal education. About 62 percent of Mexican noncitizens lack a high school degree as do 40 percent of Vietnamese noncitizens. Instruction in the English language and in American civics and history is critical for immigrants from these countries who want to become U.S. citizens.

² Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn. A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, April 2009

Country of origin of top 15 noncitizen immigrants

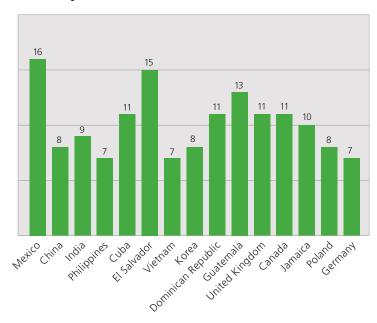
		Percent of Noncitizen
	Noncitizens	Population
Total	19,426,830	100.0%
Mexico	7,873,130	40.5%
India	971,708	5.0%
El Salvador	789,542	4.1%
China	630,175	3.2%
Guatemala	501,768	2.6%
Philippines	473,023	2.4%
Cuba	445,834	2.3%
Korea	350,982	1.8%
Dominican Republic	342,500	1.8%
United Kingdom	328,030	1.7%
Canada	323,393	1.7%
Jamaica	240,212	1.2%
Vietnam	238,307	1.2%
Poland	221,236	1.1%
Germany	154,768	0.8%
All other countries	5,542,222	28.5%

Some immigrant groups wait long periods to naturalize

Efforts to improve the civic engagement of immigrants must take into account the fact that some groups average long periods of legal residence prior to naturalization. This is especially true of several Latino groups — Mexicans, Salvadorans and Guatemalans — who together form a large portion of all persons needing to naturalize.

Mexican immigrants who naturalize, as seen in the graph below, have lived in the U.S. for a median 16 years prior to becoming a citizen. At the other extreme, immigrants from the Philippines, Vietnam and Germany have a median of seven years residence prior to becoming a citizen.

Median years to naturalize



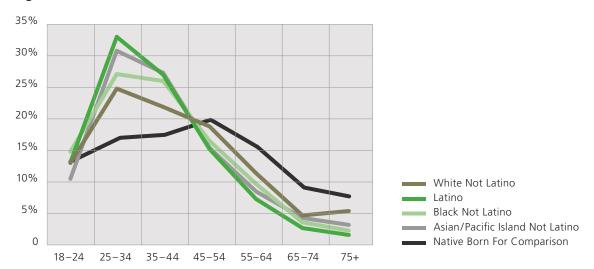
Source: 2008 American Community Survey. Countries ranked by total foreign-born population in 2008.

Younger immigrants naturalize more quickly, and most noncitizens are relatively young

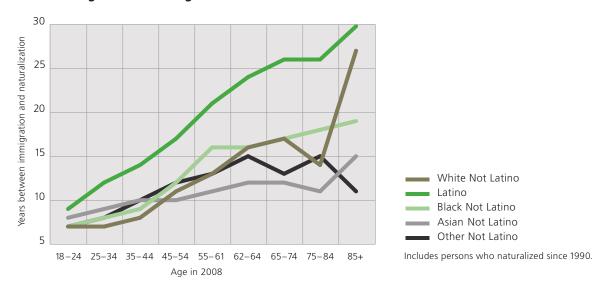
The median age of individuals varies among noncitizens and between noncitizens and the native-born population. As seen in the graph below, noncitizens are an extremely young population. The graph includes adults only, and it may be seen that roughly a third of Latinos and Asians, and about a quarter of other immigrants, are in the 25–34 years of age range, compared to only about 17 percent of natives.

Among the noncitizens, the younger immigrants tend to naturalize more rapidly. Among each of the major noncitizen groups, older persons had seen more time elapse than younger persons between immigration and naturalization. The increase in time-to-naturalize was especially pronounced among Latinos. Older Latino immigrants who had naturalized since 1990 had seen as much as 30 years pass between immigration and naturalization.

Age of noncitizens: 2008



Older immigrants take longer to naturalize

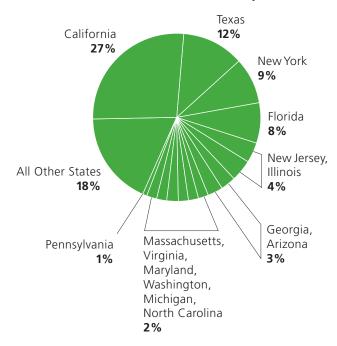


Need for Naturalization: State and Local Perspective

Of the 19.4 million adult noncitizens in the U.S., almost half, 48 percent, live in just three states: California, Texas and New York, which together are home to 9.2 million noncitizens aged 18 years or older. But a large number of other states have substantial noncitizen populations of at least several hundred thousand. These include states such as North Carolina (368,000 noncitizen adults), Georgia (503,000) and Arizona (519,000).

As noted earlier, noncitizens are a majority of immigrant adults at the national level (56 percent) and they also comprise a similarly large portion of immigrant populations in numerous states and localities. As seen in the accompanying table and map, noncitizens are 60 percent or more of the adult immigrant population in Texas (68.1 percent), Georgia (60.2 percent) and Arizona (64.0 percent). Among metropolitan areas, noncitizens are more than 60 percent of the adult immigrant population in metropolitan Dallas (71.1 percent), Houston (61.7 percent), Riverside, California (61.9 percent), Atlanta (60.8 percent) and Phoenix (63.3 percent).

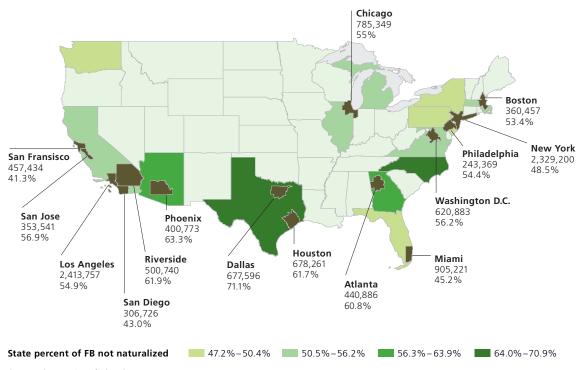
The 19 million adult noncitizens are spread across many states



Noncitizens are majority of immigrant adults in many states

	Foreign Born	Number of Noncitizens	Noncitizen Percentage of Foreign Born
U.S.	34,816,550	19,426,833	55.8%
California	9,587,073	5,177,20	54.0%
New York	3,744,492	1,816,427	48.5%
Texas	3,310,355	2,255,689	68.1%
Florida	3,300,783	1,607,277	48.7%
New Jersey	1,652,173	814,714	49.3%
Illinois	1,491,434	840,002	56.3%
Georgia	836,024	503,057	60.2%
Arizona	811,265	518,964	64.0%
Massachusetts	810,185	428,239	52.9%
Virginia	729,204	404,639	55.5%
Maryland	724,657	394,246	54.4%
Washington	661,630	312,540	47.2%
Michigan	598,492	311,276	52.0%
North Carolina	518,576	367,743	70.9%
Pennsylvania	481,890	243,416	50.5%
All other states	5,558,317	3,431,396	61.7%

Percent of adult immigrants who are not citizens: key states and metro areas in 2008



Source: Current Population Survey

National increase in naturalization also found in most states

The percent of adult immigrants who are not citizens has been on the decline in the U.S., as described earlier. This pattern is found in most but not all of the large immigrant states.

The sharpest fall in noncitizenship has been in California, where the percent of adult immigrants without citizenship fell from 69.5 percent in 1996 to 54.0 percent in 2008. Of the large immigrant states, the percent without citizenship rose in four locations: Virginia (+3.5 percentage points), Maryland (+1.8), Michigan (+2.8) and North Carolina (+9.9). Excepting Michigan, these latter states are associated with new immigration to "nontraditional" states, and the influx of newcomers could certainly increase the overall percent of immigrants who are noncitizens. California, on the other hand, is declining as a destination for migrants, and the slow-down in new arrivals means more of the state's immigrants are longer-term residents more likely to have had the opportunity to naturalize. ⁴

⁴ Myers, Dowell 2007 Immigrants and Boomers: Forging a New Social Contract for the Future of America. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Noncitizenship rates in top 15 states

				ı	Percentage Point Change:
	1996	2000	2004	2008	1996–2008
U.S.	62.5%	60.3%	58.7%	55.8%	-6.7
California	69.5%	60.5%	59.3%	54.0%	-15.5
New York	58.3%	55.9%	47.1%	48.5%	-9.8
Texas	71.0%	67.1%	67.5%	68.1%	-2.9
Florida	57.6%	57.5%	54.9%	48.7%	-8.9
New Jersey	52.7%	53.1%	56.4%	49.3%	-3.4
Illinois	60.9%	61.9%	53.4%	56.3%	-4.6
Georgia	63.9%	61.9%	67.8%	60.2%	-3.7
Arizona	75.0%	66.4%	76.1%	64.0%	-11.0
Massachusetts	57.2%	58.5%	48.7%	52.9%	-4.4
Virginia	52.0%	56.5%	63.1%	55.5%	3.5
Maryland	52.6%	66.2%	63.9%	54.4%	1.8
Washington	57.7%	54.7%	56.1%	47.2%	-10.4
Michigan	49.2%	57.2%	51.9%	52.0%	2.8
North Carolina	61.0%	77.1%	66.7%	70.9%	9.9
Pennsylvania	52.1%	53.0%	52.7%	50.5%	-1.6
All other States	57.0%	62.6%	63.0%	61.7%	4.7

Source: Current Population Survey

How Many Immigrants Are Eligible to Naturalize?

8.2 million legal immigrants are eligible to naturalize

There are 19.4 million noncitizen adults in the U.S. spread across many states and metropolitan areas, but a much lower number are actually eligible to naturalize. Acquiring U.S. citizen requires generally a five-year period of legal residence. The presence of a large undocumented population along with recent legal immigrants means that about 8.2 million immigrants are eligible to naturalize in the U.S., according to the most recent estimates available from U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS).

Among the 8.2 million immigrants eligible to naturalize in 2008, according to USCIS, were 2.7 million persons from Mexico, who represented almost a third of all the potential citizens. Apart from Mexico, the countries of the Philippines, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Canada all had at least 250,000 nationals eligible to obtain citizenship in the U.S.

Eligible to naturalize by country of origin: 2008

	Legal	
	Permanent	
	Residents	
	Eligible	Percentage
Country of Origin	to Naturalize	of Total
All Countries	8,160,000	100%
Mexico	2,720,000	33%
China	200,000	2%
India	220,000	3%
Philippines	300,000	4%
Cuba	220,000	3%
El Salvador	260,000	3%
Vietnam	200,000	2%
Korea	170,000	2%
Dominican Republic	290,000	4%
Guatemala	110,000	1%
United Kingdom	230,000	3%
Canada	260,000	3%
Jamaica	150,000	2%
Poland	100,000	1%
Germany	150,000	2%
Other Countries	2,580,000	32%

Source: DHS Office of Immigration Statistics

As with the general noncitizen population, persons eligible to naturalize were spread across the major immigrant-receiving states. Slightly more than half, 53 percent, were in California, New York and Texas, but populations of at least 100,000 were located in almost each of the 15 large immigrant states featured in this report.

Immigrants eligible to naturalize by state

	Legal Permanent Residents Eligible to Naturalize	Percentage of Total
U.S.	8,160,000	100%
California	2,460,000	30%
New York	950,000	12%
Texas	900,000	11%
Florida	690,000	8%
New Jersey	340,000	4%
Illinois	350,000	4%
Georgia	110,000	1%
Arizona	160,000	2%
Massachusetts	180,000	2%
Virginia	170,000	2%
Maryland	120,000	1%
Washington	140,000	2%
Michigan	120,000	1%
North Carolina	70,000	1%
Pennsylvania	120,000	1%
Other States	1,280,000	16%

Source: DHS Office of Immigration Statistics

Leading countries of origin vary by state

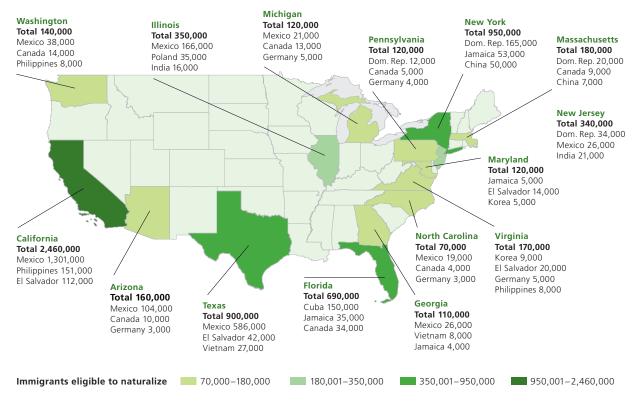
USCIS does not publish estimates by state of immigrants from specific countries who are eligible to naturalize. For this report we have developed such estimates using American Community Survey data on residential patterns of noncitizens who have been in the U.S. for at least five years.⁵

Our country-of-origin by state findings show Mexico being the leading country of origin of immigrants eligible to naturalize in eight of the fifteen large immigrant states. The Dominican Republic is the primary country of origin in four states. El Salvador is the leading country in two states, and Cuba is the leading country in one state, Florida.

The findings are displayed in the accompanying map and the detailed information is contained in an appendix. It can be observed in the map that Asian countries are among leading sources of immigrants eligible to naturalize in most of the featured states. Only one state, Illinois, includes immigrants from Asia, Europe and Latin America among the largest populations eligible to naturalize.

⁵ We use the state-by-state locations of these immigrants to allocate the national Department of Homeland Security estimates by country of origin, found at http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_lpr_pe_2008.pdf. Then, we adjust the initial state estimates to conform to DHS estimates by state. This second step is done by amending our initial state estimate upward or downward proportionally across the fifteen countries.

Leading source countries of immigrants eligible to naturalize in the large immigrant states



Source: Author's calculations, based on USCIS estimates

Need for Voter Registration: A National View

Recent years have seen a slight downward movement in naturalized immigrant registration rates

Some 60.5 percent of naturalized immigrants were registered to vote at the time of the November 2008 elections. This registration rate was 2.5 percentage points lower than in 1996, the earliest period for which data are available.

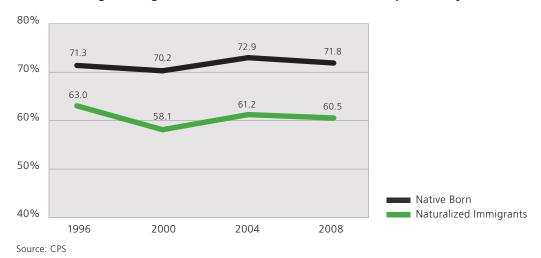
While immigrant registration rates declined somewhat, registration of natives increased slightly, widening the gap between the two groups' registration. In 2008, the native-born registration rate exceeded that of naturalized immigrants by more than 11 points.

Voter registration of naturalized immigrants

	Number	Percentage of Total
Naturalized Adult Citizens	15,389,714	100.0%
Registered to Vote	9,310,114	60.5%
Not Registered	6,079,600	39.5%

Source: Current Population Survey

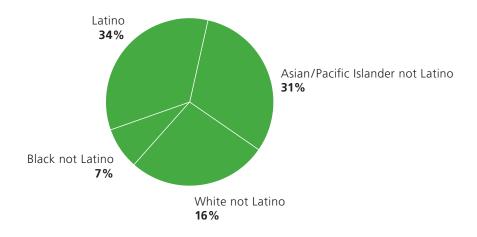
Recent immigrant registration rate is lower than in some previous years



Latinos and Asians are both a third of the unregistered, naturalized immigrants

Latinos and Asians together comprise about 70 percent of all foreign-born adults in the U.S. and this representation carries through into their portion of the unregistered naturalized population. The two groups account for 65 percent of unregistered naturalized immigrants. Among the unregistered, however, Asian immigrants have a disproportionate share of the population. Asian immigrants are 31 percent of the unregistered, citizen immigrants, while they are only 23 percent of all adult immigrants. The overrepresentation of Asians is due to relatively low rates of voter registration among the community, as will be seen in more detail.

Who are the unregistered naturalized immigrants?

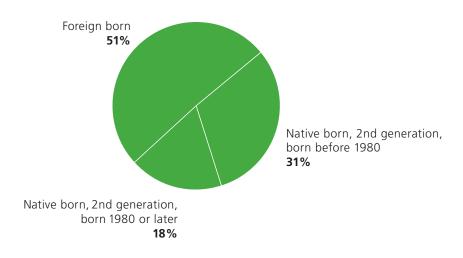


Children of immigrants are large potential pool of registered voters

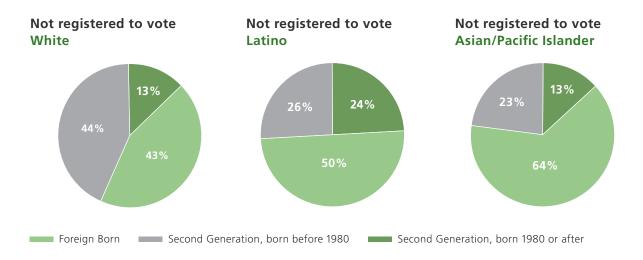
An analysis of voter registration as an indicator of immigrant civic engagement would fall short if it did not address the growing role of the second generation in the U.S. The nation has had substantial levels of immigration since the mid 1960s, and has accrued a large population of persons born to this modern immigration wave. For many second-generation immigrants, public policies and attitudes toward immigrants can be expected to be felt personally, as they are directed at a second-generation American's mother or father.

As seen in the chart below, a look at immigrants and their children reveals the large size and potential electoral influence of persons who are personally close to the immigrant experience, but not registered to vote. Among unregistered first and second generation American citizens, immigrants are only about half of the population. About 31 percent are relatively older, second generation adults, and a fifth or 18 percent are children of immigrants who are adults but who are relatively young, having been born since the 1980s.

Who are the unregistered among 1st and 2nd generation Americans?



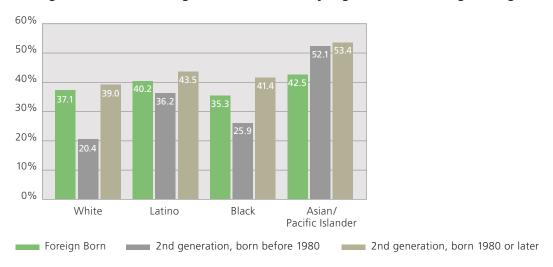
The following charts display the role of generations among the major immigrant-related populations. As may be seen, attempts to register voters among Whites who are close to the immigrant experience would involve a large number of older second-generation Americans. Among Latinos, however, the young second generation is a quarter of the population. Among Asians, unregistered immigrants are by far the largest portion of the immigrant-related population that is not registered to vote.



Lack of voting registration is higher among naturalized immigrants than among the native born, as has been discussed earlier, and the need for registration further varies according to immigrant groups and by age. There is more need for registration among younger members of the second generation and among younger naturalized immigrants.

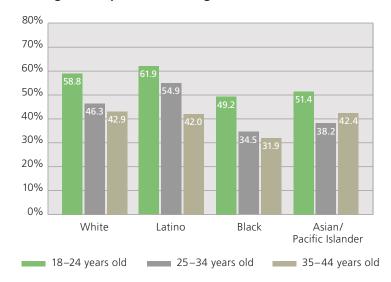
The lowest rates of voter registration are found among naturalized Asian immigrants, 43 percent of whom were not registered to vote in 2008, compared to 40 percent of Latino and 37 percent of White naturalized immigrants. Among Whites, Latinos and Blacks, older second-generation persons (i.e., born before 1980) are more likely to be registered than immigrants, but older second generation Asians are less likely to be registered than Asian immigrants. For all major naturalized groups, younger second-generation Americans are more likely to be not registered than either immigrants or older second-generation persons.

Younger children of immigrants have relatively high rates of not registering to vote



The chart below displays the powerful impact of age on registration rates, using foreign-born persons as an example. (Similar associations between age and registration are found among native-born populations.) Older naturalized immigrants are much more likely to be registered to vote. Among younger naturalized Americans, as many as 62 percent of Latinos aged 18–24 years are unregistered.

Foreign born percent not registered



Need for Voter Registration: State and Local Perspective

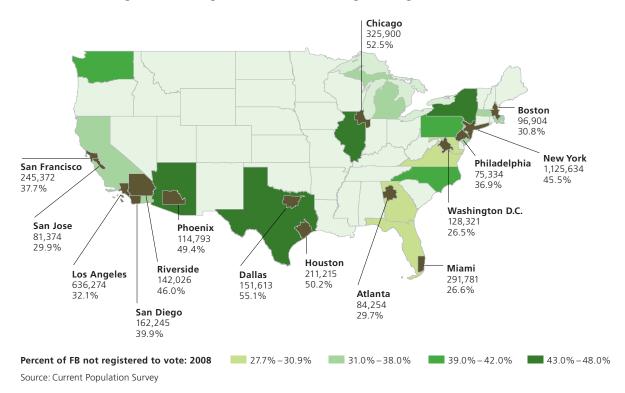
Voting registration among naturalized immigrants lags that of natives at the national level, and the same is true in most of the large immigrant states. The percent of naturalized immigrants who aren't registered is as many as 23 percentage points higher than the corresponding rate for natives in Illinois and 21 points in Arizona. On the other hand, naturalized immigrants are more likely than natives to be registered in Virginia, and the immigrant registration rate is close to that of natives in Florida and Georgia. In metropolitan areas, the highest percentages of naturalized immigrants who aren't registered are found in Dallas (55 percent), Chicago (53 percent) and Houston (50 percent).

Percent of naturalized adults who are not registered, native and foreign born: 2008

	Native Born Not Registered Rate	Foreign Born Not Registered Rate
U.S.	28.2%	39.5%
California	30.6%	36.4%
New York	31.8%	47.8%
Texas	31.5%	47.9%
Florida	29.4%	30.9%
New Jersey	27.8%	37.0%
Illinois	27.4%	50.8%
Georgia	28.9%	30.9%
Arizona	29.6%	50.6%
Massachusetts	26.7%	34.3%
Virginia	25.9%	22.7%
Maryland	25.6%	30.8%
Washington	27.1%	42.3%
Michigan	22.4%	34.3%
North Carolina	23.9%	41.6%
Pennsylvania	29.6%	41.7%
All other States	27.3%	43.2%

Source: Current Population Survey

Percent of immigrants not registered to vote in large immigrant states and metro areas: 2008

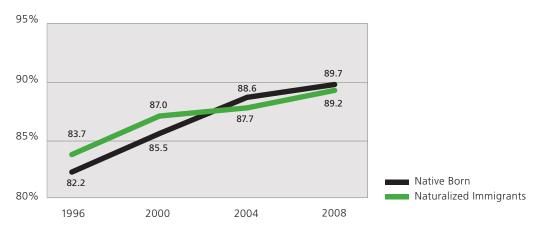


Need for Voter Turnout

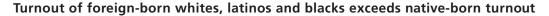
Immigrant voter turnout is relatively high

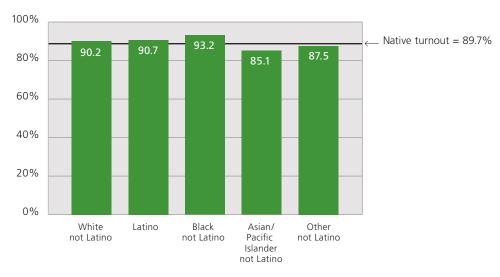
Registration rates of naturalized immigrants are more than ten percentage points below those of natives, but voting rates — the percent of registered voters who cast a ballot — are different story. As seen below, the percentages of naturalized immigrants and natives who vote track one another quite closely over the years. In 2008, the native voting rate was 89.7 percent and the rate for naturalized immigrants was 89.2 percent.

Immigrants turnout rates closely track those of natives



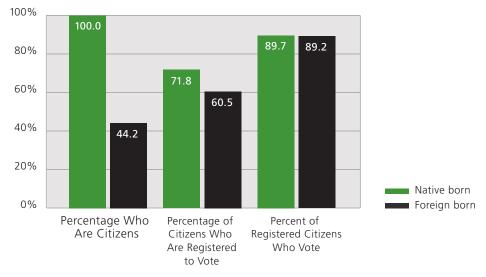
In fact, the turnout rate of several major immigrant groups exceeds that of natives. More than 90 percent of registered foreign-born Whites, Latinos and Blacks vote compared to 89.7 percent of natives.





Improving immigrant civic engagement, then, is much more a matter of raising naturalization and voting registration rates than improving voter turnout. The graph below illustrates the gaps between immigrants and natives in naturalization, registration and voting. The work of engagement lies primarily in naturalization and registration.

Citizenship and registration are keys to immigrant civic engagement



Source: 2008 Current Population Survey

Discussion

The increasing naturalization rates described in this report are a striking achievement for the U.S., for immigrant communities and for those organizations and individuals working to promote immigrant civic engagement. The progress in naturalization rates is impressive in part because it includes most major immigrant groups (rates are notably up among foreign-born Latinos) and because it has taken place in an era of increasing government fees for naturalization and frequently expressed, unwelcoming anti-immigrant sentiment.

There remain, however, more than 8 million legal immigrants eligible to naturalize. For philanthropic foundations and other supporters of citizenship for immigrants, the opportunities to improve civic participation in the U.S. via immigration naturalization are numerous, with substantial need for naturalization in every major metro area and state, and among every major national-origin group.

Voter registration among immigrants has fallen slightly in recent years at the national level and more extensive registration drives are undoubtedly needed. The registration fall-off is striking, compared to increases in naturalization, because in most states the bureaucratic barriers to registration are fewer than those associated with the citizenship process.

Asian immigrants are notable for their relatively low registration rates, and this includes their second-generation children, more than half of whom are not registered to vote. For supporters and promoters of voter registration, the task of increasing Asian registration requires addressing the great diversity of the population, which involves numerous countries of origin and cultural and linguistic heritages.

All major immigrant groups face a challenge in registering the second-generation children born in the U.S. since 1980. While this group should have affinity for public policies that are sensitive to immigrants, these second-generation Americans exhibit the low registration rates common to younger adults of all nativities and ancestries in the U.S.

The fact that registered immigrants vote at nearly the same rates as the native born is good news in terms of voting as a measure of engagement, and it merely serves to further highlight the need for naturalization and registration. Investment is needed in these earlier steps in the chain of civic engagement.

Benchmarks of Current Capacity

The previous section of this report described the need for citizenship, registration and voting turnout among the aggregate foreign-born population at the national, state and local levels. Such trends involve both individuals who arrived recently in the U.S. and persons who have been in the country for decades.

An alternative viewpoint on progress compares recent activity in naturalization and registration to *inflow* of persons potentially eligible for those services. It compares numbers of recent legal immigrants to recent naturalizations, and recent voter registrations to recent naturalizations.

These comparisons are done without regard to whether the naturalizations and registrations directly involve the newest immigrants and voters. Rather, the resulting ratios assess whether current rates of engagement might satisfy upcoming need.

Naturalization Capacity Measures

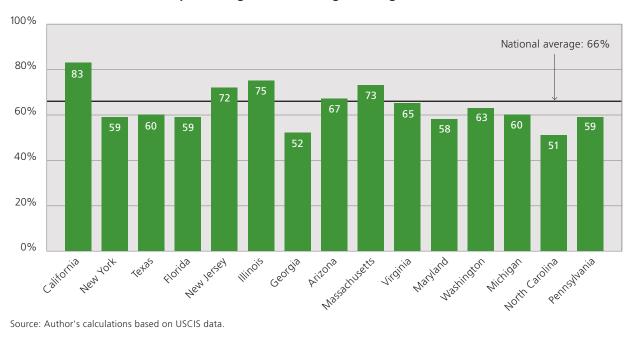
The chart and tables below compare the number of naturalizations over the last four years against the number of legal immigrants. A state where the number of naturalizations approximates the number of recent legal immigrants exhibits capacity to naturalize current inflows. A state where current naturalizations lag well below current immigration will need to grow its naturalization capacity if it seeks to eventually afford citizenship to the newest arrivals.

In assessing the ratio of naturalization to recent immigration, it is important to recognize factors that affect this rate. Among these are the amount of services available to immigrants who want to naturalize and the sheer numbers of the newest arrivals, whose size may or may not tax the capacity of a state. There are other factors such as the productivity of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services in processing naturalization applications.

The chart shows five states exceeding the national average in terms of recent naturalizations coming close to recent arrivals. The states are California, New Jersey, Illinois, Arizona and Massachusetts. With the exception of Arizona, these states are traditional ports of entry, having received large numbers of immigrants since the beginning of the modern wave of immigration dating to the 1960s and 1970s. These same states have received relatively less immigration in recent years as new immigration trends to states such as Georgia and North Carolina have become established. Their relatively high performance in terms of naturalizing numbers of persons that come close to the numbers of new arrivals may indeed reflect reduced immigration, in combination with relatively successful citizenship promotion campaigns by nonprofit organizations.

In contrast to the traditional immigration states, locations of the new immigration — such as Georgia, North Carolina and Maryland, are producing relatively few new citizens in comparison to their legal arrivals.

Recent naturalizations as percentage of recent legal immigration



Source: Author's calculations based on USCIS data.

Are naturalizations keeping up with the inflow?

	New Legal Permanent Residents: 2005–2008	New Naturalizations: 2005–2008	Naturalizations as Percentage of Recent Inflow
U.S.	4,523,634	2,972,868	66%
California	964,066	802,918	83%
New York	597,390	352,742	59%
Texas	352,067	211,549	60%
Florida	538,623	316,736	59%
New Jersey	231,938	168,146	72%
Illinois	189,561	141,854	75%
Georgia	118,851	62,286	52%
Arizona	78,681	52,638	67%
Massachusetts	130,714	95,297	73%
Virginia	125,517	82,174	65%
Maryland	104,384	60,923	58%
Washington	96,110	60,915	63%
Michigan	81,172	48,405	60%
North Carolina	66,340	33,569	51%
Pennsylvania	101,309	60,197	59%
All other states	746,911	422,519	57%

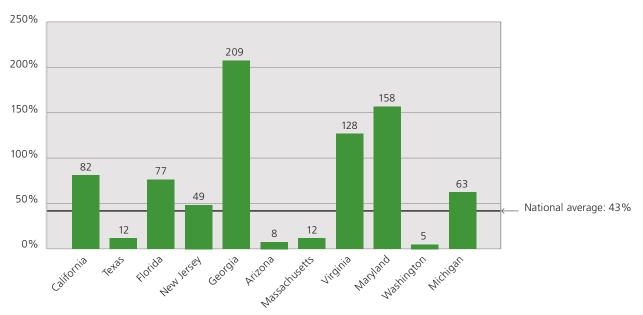
Source of immigration and naturalization: USCIS

Registration Capacity Measures

Recent registrations of naturalized citizens may be compared to recent naturalizations to gauge whether registration efforts are sufficient to meet developing needs. The comparison is based on the number of new naturalizations over the past four years and the number of foreign-born persons newly registered to vote in the same period.

Interestingly, Georgia and Maryland have the highest rates of registration as a percent of the number of newly naturalized citizens. This may reflect either low naturalizations, intense voter registration or some combination of the two, but the metric serves to show that registrations appear relatively high in those states. At the other extreme, Texas, Arizona, Massachusetts and Washington all had new immigrant registration numbers that were fairly low compared to the numbers of new foreign-born citizens entering the state.

Recent registrations as percentage of recent (2005–2008) naturalizations



Source: Author's calculations based on USCIS and Current Population Survey data. Includes only states with net increase in registered, naturalized citizens.

Are registrations keeping up with growth in naturalized citizens?

	New Naturalizations: 2005–2008	Net New Registrations: 2005–2008	Registrations as Percentage of Recent Naturalizations
U.S.	2,972,868	1,279,790	43%
California	802,918	656,568	82%
New York	352,742	-170,828	n/a
Texas	211,549	25,969	12%
Florida	316,736	243,238	77%
New Jersey	168,146	81,579	49%
Illinois	141,854	-2,258	n/a
Georgia	62,286	129,933	209%
Arizona	52,638	3,961	8%
Massachusetts	95,297	11,315	12%
Virginia	82,174	105,211	128%
Maryland	60,923	96,410	158%
Washington	60,915	3,091	5%
Michigan	48,405	30,509	63%
North Carolina	33,569	-805	n/a
Pennsylvania	60,197	-26,946	n/a
All other states	422,519	92,843	22%

Note: "n/a" denotes states with net declines in registered, naturalized citizens.

Sources: USCIS (Naturalizations), Current Population Survey (Registrations)

Discussion

The naturalization capacity described in this section involves several important actors. Some, such as the community and civic organizations that foundations support with their donations, can increase their productivity with direct investment. Others, mainly U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, but also local governments that support citizenship classes and naturalization drives, are perhaps less amenable to change from the outside. It should also be noted that the U.S. has never naturalized one hundred percent of all legal immigrants. Naturalization is voluntary and, indeed, has become costly in terms of fees. Nevertheless, naturalization levels would ideally approach legal immigration levels as a measure of civic engagement.

Declining and somewhat low (relative to natives) voter registration among immigrants is harder to explain in terms of bureaucratic bottlenecks. Voting registrars do not impose substantial hurdles upon applicants. This suggests that philanthropic investment in registration can potentially have significant and near-term impact.

Benchmarks of Impact

This section provides another perspective on immigrant civic engagement. The question addressed here is not how many immigrants are civically engaged but rather, of all new persons becoming engaged, how many are immigrants. Elected officials and observers of civic processes such as voter registration have an interest in knowing the composition of the newest members to join the electorate. Looking at the immigrant role within the newest American registered voters reveals the impact of immigration on what the nation is becoming.

A consideration of how immigrants affect the evolution of the American population calls for including the numbers of children of immigrants moving into adulthood. As noted earlier, these young people should be sympathetic to immigration-related public policies that affect their parents. The second generation is also large and growing. By 2008, almost one of five citizen teenagers had an immigrant parent in the U.S.

Second generation Americans are growing portion of citizen teens entering voting age

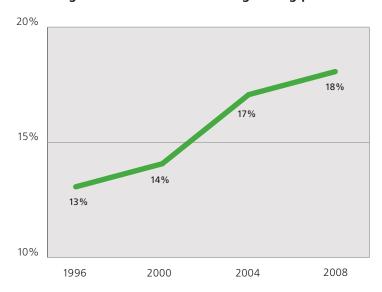


Chart excludes noncitizen teens who may naturalize by adulthood.

Line graph shows the portion of citizens aged 14–17 years who are immigrants or children of immigrants.

These young persons will become citizen adults eligible for voter registration in the Presidential election subsequent to each time period shown on the graph.

Immigration's Impact on Future Citizenship

1st and 2nd generation contribute disproportionately to adult citizen growth

The population of citizen adults grows in two ways, through naturalization and through the aging into adulthood of young persons. Immigrant naturalizations and the large portion of U.S. children who have immigrant parents mean that these two populations together are an outsized portion of the evolving adult citizenry.

The graphic below displays the importance of immigrants and their children among the growth of the adult citizen population between 2004 and 2008. The two groups together are 23 percent of the total U.S. adult population. They are a smaller, 16 percent of the adult citizen population because of the many immigrants who are not naturalized.

But naturalized immigrants and their children are an extremely large share of all new adult citizens added to the national population between 2004 and 2008. The outsized share of the 1st and 2nd generation Americans is due to their own size and growth but also to the relatively modest population growth among 3rd generation Americans.

100% 9 Immigrants and their children are 44% of the growth in 80% 8 adult citizens between 2004 and 2008 19 60% 40% 20% Foreign Born 2nd Generation 0% 3rd Generation or More Total Citizens **New Citizens Population**

1st and 2nd generation Americans are 44% of new adult citizens

Source: 2008 Current Population Survey

As seen in the table below, the contribution that 1st and 2nd generation U.S. citizens are making to the growth of the adult citizen population is impressively large in many states. In California, the major immigrant destination for several decades now, 1st and 2nd generation persons are 84 percent of the increase in the adult citizen population that occurred between the last two presidential elections. In New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Maryland, the overall adult citizen population fell during that period, and the 1st and 2nd generation account for all of the adult citizen growth.

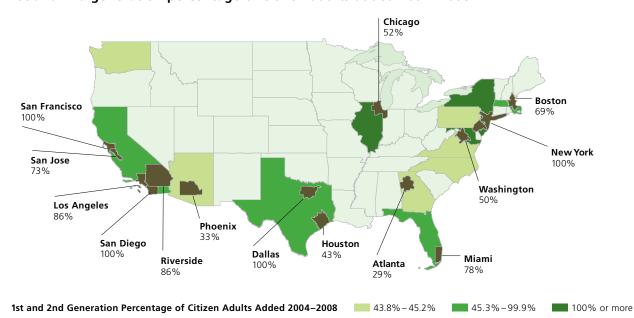
1st and 2nd generation Americans are large portion of citizen growth in 2004-2008 period

	1st and 2nd Generation Percentage of Total Population	1st and 2nd Generation Percentage of Citizens	1st and 2nd Generation Percentage of New Citizens
U.S.	23%	16%	44%
California	50%	38%	84%
New York	38%	30%	100%+
Texas	30%	19%	69%
Florida	33%	25%	58%
New Jersey	37%	28%	100%+
Illinois	24%	17%	100%+
Georgia	16%	9%	29%
Arizona	26%	17%	12%
Massachusetts	29%	22%	74%
Virginia	17%	11%	30%
Maryland	23%	15%	100%+
Washington	23%	18%	45%
Michigan	15%	11%	n/a
North Carolina	11%	6%	4%
Pennsylvania	12%	10%	16%
All other states	12%	8%	17%

Note: In New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Maryland, 3rd generation adults fell in number during between 2004 and 2008, and 1st and 2nd generation adult citizens made up for the loss. In Michigan, the adult citizen population fell during that same period, and growth among 1st and 2nd generation citizens did not offset the loss.

Source: 2004 and 2008 Current Population Surveys

1st and 2nd generation percentage of citizen adults added 2004-2008



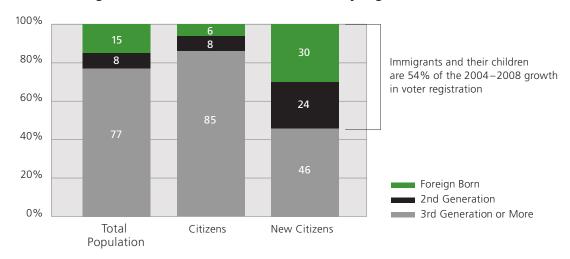
Note: 1st and 2nd Generation account for all growth in citizen population in states of New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Maryland, and in metro areas of New York, San Francisco, Dallas, and San Diego.

Immigration's Impact on Future Voter Registration

More than half of net registration growth comes from immigrants and their children

Immigrants and their children have an even greater impact upon the growth taking place among registered voters. While the two groups are about 14 percent of all registered adults, they are more than half, 54 percent, of the net gain in registered voters that took place nationally between 2004 and 2008.

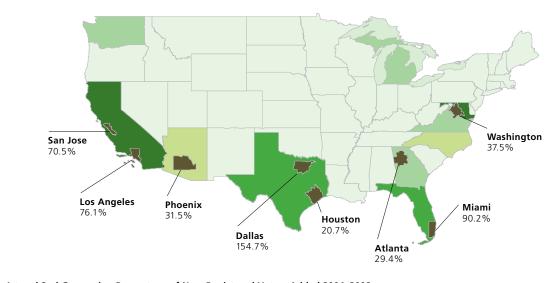
1st and 2nd generation Americans are 54% of newly registered voters



Source: 2008 Current Population Survey

In a set of large Midwest and Northeast states — New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania — overall registered voter populations fell between 2004 and 2008, including 1st and 2nd generation populations in some cases, making the calculation of immigrant impact on growth irrelevant. Among states where registrations increased, the role of the 1st and 2nd generation is high in California and Maryland; in those states, the 3rd generation adult population fell in number, and immigrants and their children made up all of the increase in registered adult citizens between 2004 and 2008. In Texas and Florida there were increases in registered adult citizens of all generations, but the 1st and 2nd generation were the great majority of the increase: 67 percent in Texas and 77 percent in Florida.

1st and 2nd generation percentage of new registered voters added 2004-2008



1st and 2nd Generation Percentage of New Registered Voters Added 2004–2008 4.0% – 8.4% **8.5%** – 30% **31%** – 99% **100%** +

Note: # of total registered voters declined in states of New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and in metro areas of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Riverside-San Bernardino, San Diego and Philadelphia.

Role of the 1st and 2nd generation in registered voter growth: 2004–2008

	New Registered Voters	New 1st & 2nd Generation Registered	1st & 2nd Generation Percentage of New Registered
U.S.	4,241,449	2,294,354	54%
California	692,211	959,659	100%+
New York	-166,703	-170,144	n/a
Texas	442,336	294,360	67%
Florida	555,490	428,214	77%
New Jersey	-63,229	87,171	100%+
Illinois	-285,721	-19,160	n/a
Georgia	675,882	197,322	29%
Arizona	389,179	15,716	4%
Massachusetts	-189,905	-48,533	n/a
Virginia	509,777	135,921	27%
Maryland	152,003	155,882	100%+
Washington	165,429	39,634	24%
Michigan	166,558	46,674	28%
North Carolina	609,944	51,829	8%
Pennsylvania	-30,112	-36,684	n/a
All other states	618,310	156,493	25%

Note: Net declines in registered voters occurred in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Source: 2004 and 2008 Current Population Surveys

Discussion

The information in this section describes incipient, incremental yet powerful change taking place in the makeup of the adult citizen and registered voter population in many large states in the U.S. Advocates for immigrant civic engagement should find encouragement in the fact that immigrants and their children are the majority or near majority of new adults and newly registered voters. These newest additions to the polity grow through accrual, and their impact undoubtedly will be felt in the future, provided that naturalization and registration efforts continue.

Recommendations for the Philanthropic Sector

This report discusses substantial needs and opportunities in the area of immigrant civic engagement in the U.S. Philanthropic foundations interested in promoting this engagement and maximizing their grantmaking impact should consider the following observations:

Remember that naturalization and voter registration are pillars of immigrant integration.

The incorporation of immigrants and refugees into the social fabric of the United States entails a multitude of services and public policies that include visa reform, refugee resettlement, adult learning, job placement, K–12 education, access to public benefits, community relations and others. These activities benefit different immigrants to different degrees, but a constant across all populations is the need to naturalize and to register to vote. Comprehensive immigration reform and its promise to regularize and legalize immigration rightfully attracts a great deal of attention from immigrant advocates and philanthropies, but we should not forget the critical, ongoing and ever-present need to invest in helping immigrants take the steps into naturalization and voting.

Support the many facets of civic integration campaigns.

English and civics classes are well-known requirements for many immigrants seeking to naturalize, and voter registration drives are clearly a key part of civic integration. But effective naturalization and voting engagement involve a variety of activities that deserve support. These include legal counsel for persons interested in citizenship; involvement of local governments and elected officials in outreach campaigns; public education on the meaning and benefits of increased immigrant civic engagement; and research into the numbers of eligible individuals, their particular needs and the places where they live.

Innovate to adjust to new immigration patterns.

Several powerful truths govern contemporary American immigration. These include the shift of immigrant communities from central cities to suburbs, the arrival of new kinds of immigrant populations, and the appearance of immigrants in "new destination" areas with little history of immigrant settlement. Immigrants throughout these dimensions need to naturalize and register to vote, but there may be a lack of nonprofit infrastructure to serve them. New projects and organizations need to open within the loci of new settlement, in suburbs on the fringes of metro New York or Atlanta, for example, and in small-town lowa and rural North Carolina. At the same time, newly appearing foreign-born populations from the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and other world regions need to develop ties to established service providers, or indeed would benefit from support to open their own indigenously directed organizations.

Investigate new modes of service.

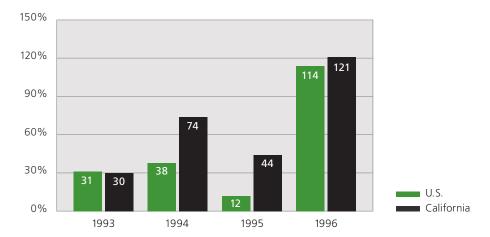
It's a commonplace to cite the advantages of new technologies for communication and learning, but implementation of modern technology in social service delivery is not only far from fully implemented, it unquestionably lags the private sector. Foundations should explore supporting distance learning and other technologies to expand the service net cast by non-profit organizations.

The adult education sector (e.g., community colleges) is quickly moving toward distance learning and computer-based network education, but it is unclear how well these technologies have infiltrated English and civics instruction for immigrants. Foundations may want to support investments in technology that let service organizations deliver education and training to greater numbers of noncitizens who want to naturalize. In terms of voter registration, new mapping technologies and access to public and private databases can allow non-profit groups to scale their activities upward, yet these groups need support for training and equipment.

Recognize that foundations can contribute to change.

As shown in this report, the rate at which immigrants naturalize and register to vote varies by group and location and can increase or decrease over time. Motivated communities will show measurably greater interest in civic engagement when they see how it can impact upon their lives and when they have the information and support to complete the bureaucratic processes. An example is the dramatic increase in immigrant naturalizations in California around the time that Propostion 187 — a proposal to dramatically restrict access to social services for undocumented immigrants and, by extension, their families — was passed. Prop 187 was voted on in the fall of 1994, and that year coincided with extremely large increases in naturalization in California that continued into subsequent years (see chart). Philanthropic foundations provide the critical infrastructure to help enable this kind of civic engagement.

Percentage increase in naturalizations around passage of Proposition 187



Proposition 187 passed November 1994

Choose the role best suited to a particular foundation.

National and locally based foundations can determine roles for themselves in civic engagement that best play to their individual strengths. National foundations may be well suited to support projects serving communities spread across state boundaries, that involve advocacy at the federal level, or that involve convening across a wide geographic area. Community and perhaps family foundations may choose to leverage their unique sensitivity to relationship building across communities within a city, a metro area or a state. They may be especially able to identify emerging populations, and have excellent vantage for opportunities to involve local governmental actors. Regardless of the geographic level at which they operate, national and local foundations will be called on to support the key elements of engagement described earlier: classes, legal services, public education, etc.

Along with service, support policy.

Staff, buildings and equipment to respond to, counsel and assist immigrants interested in naturalization and voter registration are obvious and indispensible parts of enabling immigrant civic engagement, and foundations may find these to be obvious targets for grantmaking. But naturalization and registration are made easier or harder depending on public policies that affect the rules governing these processes and the support provided by government to agencies that support civic engagement. To that end, foundations should invest in efforts of nongovernmental organizations to encourage reasonable federal and state policies that support access to citizenship and voting.

Appendix 1

Estimates of persons eligible to naturalize by country of origin and state of residence: 2008

	Mexico	China	India	Philippines	Cuba	El Salvador	Vietnam	Korea	Dominican Republic	Guatemala	United Kingdom	Canada	Jamaica	Poland	Germany	All other countries	Total
Total	2,720,000	200,000	220,000	300,000	220,000	260,000	200,000	170,000	290,000	110,000	230,000	260,000	150,000	100,000	150,000	2,580,000	8,160,000
California	1,301,000	62,000	52,000	151,000	7,000	112,000	72,000	68,000	1,000	54,000	48,000	45,000	3,000	4,000	27,000	455,000	2,460,000
New York	61,000	50,000	21,000	19,000	5,000	24,000	6,000	19,000	165,000	8,000	21,000	17,000	53,000	19,000	11,000	451,000	950,000
Texas	586,000	10,000	17,000	11,000	5,000	42,000	27,000	9,000	2,000	7,000	15,000	15,000	2,000	1,000	9,000	142,000	900,000
Florida	50,000	3,000	6,000	10,000	150,000	7,000	7,000	2,000	25,000	6,000	22,000	34,000	35,000	3,000	12,000	319,000	690,000
New Jersey	26,000	7,000	21,000	17,000	7,000	7,000	3,000	12,000	34,000	4,000	8,000	4,000	9,000	11,000	4,000	166,000	340,000
Illinois	166,000	7,000	16,000	14,000	1,000	2,000	4,000	6,000	1,000	3,000	6,000	6,000	2,000	35,000	6,000	77,000	350,000
Georgia	26,000	2,000	3,000	2,000	1,000	2,000	8,000	5,000	2,000	_	4,000	4,000	4,000	_	4,000	43,000	110,000
Arizona	104,000	1,000	2,000	3,000	1,000	2,000	3,000	1,000	_	1,000	5,000	10,000	_	1,000	3,000	22,000	160,000
Massachusetts	2,000	7,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	7,000	6,000	2,000	20,000	3,000	8,000	9,000	3,000	3,000	4,000	99,000	180,000
Virginia	13,000	4,000	8,000	8,000	1,000	20,000	5,000	9,000	1,000	4,000	7,000	3,000	2,000	1,000	5,000	80,000	170,000
Maryland	5,000	4,000	5,000	4,000	_	14,000	3,000	5,000	2,000	2,000	4,000	3,000	5,000	1,000	2,000	61,000	120,000
Washington	38,000	5,000	4,000	8,000	1,000	1,000	8,000	6,000	_	1,000	6,000	14,000	_	1,000	4,000	43,000	140,000
Michigan	21,000	4,000	8,000	4,000	1,000	_	3,000	2,000	1,000	1,000	6,000	13,000	1,000	2,000	5,000	46,000	120,000
North Carolina	19,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	1,000	2,000	3,000	1,000	1,000	_	4,000	4,000	1,000	_	3,000	25,000	70,000
Pennsylvania	8,000	6,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	1,000	6,000	3,000	12,000	1,000	7,000	5,000	3,000	2,000	4,000	51,000	120,000
Other States	294,000	27,000	41,000	44,000	37,000	17,000	36,000	20,000	23,000	15,000	59,000	74,000	27,000	16,000	47,000	500,000	1,280,000

Source: Author's estimates based on data from DHS Office of Immigration Statistics

Appendix 2

Adult Noncitizen Populations with 5+ Years Residence in the U.S.: 2006–2008

	Total	Mexico	China	India	Philippines	Cuba	El Salvador	Vietnam	Korea	Republic Dominican	Guatemala	Kingdom United	Canada	Jamaica	Poland	Germany	Colombia	Haiti	Honduras	Italy	Russia	Ecuador	Peru	Japan	Taiwan	Brazil	Iran	Ukraine	Hong Kong	All other countries
U.S.	14,863,146	6,583,172	386,652	474,610	360,400	273,508	594,754	191,278	274,149	294,446	372,366	269,763	325,493	185,658	138,787	165,375	223,267	198,259	216,196	85,094	85,105	172,807	153,601	136,124	62,553	146,585	58,696	67,461	30,086	2,336,901
California	4,118,092	2,519,331	99,414	91,885	161,265	7,502	207,719	62,296	94,004	944	134,451	50,149	49,849	3,837	4,375	26,368	10,866	884	30,863	7,385	15,384	6,870	25,791	44,726	28,732	12,147	30,851	10,737	10,706	368,761
New York	1,423,986	143,951	94,732	43,644	22,786	6,376	53,675	5,782	29,637	165,518	25,036	23,849	21,253	64,844	26,481	12,520	34,253	41,373	24,592	24,477	17,491	85,200	21,161	15,240	5,774	11,457	2,927	12,731	6,260	380,966
Texas	1,851,601	1,360,048	18,616	36,340	12,481	6,218	91,331	25,291	14,089	2,038	22,971	17,075	18,831	2,283	1,608	10,209	14,809	898	33,415	1,284	2,141	2,735	5,775	4,309	5,116	4,099	4,518	861	1,784	130,428
Florida	1,245,547	163,610	7,384	16,368	13,272	215,597	21,285	7,319	4,629	28,417	30,003	29,165	48,722	49,989	4,255	15,474	79,324	104,401	39,308	7,006	4,996	13,021	31,759	3,644	1,074	30,834	1,728	2,490	363	270,110
New Jersey	582,266	69,216	15,814	49,214	21,352	9,365	17,089	2,554	20,918	36,087	17,549	10,294	4,808	12,015	16,992	4,505	30,064	13,438	11,674	9,071	5,177	30,559	22,008	5,700	2,677	16,081	765	3,181	843	123,256
Illinois	693,232	406,132	13,905	34,865	16,744	1,213	4,811	3,405	9,752	668	10,011	6,622	7,371	2,010	49,411	6,526	4,461	901	4,019	5,263	3,121	6,088	3,033	4,707	1,308	1,893	1,161	3,696	1,006	79,129
Georgia	382,043	163,771	8,143	16,157	2,933	1,702	13,540	9,871	12,625	2,361	12,898	7,291	6,567	8,155	918	5,412	6,714	4,296	8,912	618	2,345	1,006	3,404	2,537	1,039	7,094	1,525	2,013	452	67,744
Arizona	445,882	345,004	3,613	6,921	4,764	1,776	4,780	3,418	2,250	159	6,854	6,235	13,991	439	948	4,009	1,505	293	1,917	577	1,242	343	1,130	1,605	694	531	1,145	391	93	29,255
Massachusett	ts 307,583	6,618	15,491	17,321	2,594	792	17,908	6,016	3,588	21,735	11,453	9,610	12,034	4,459	4,013	4,253	6,369	13,261	4,259	6,197	3,216	1,710	3,213	2,834	1,290	32,443	1,148	1,797	1,248	90,713
Virginia	275,978	30,417	7,598	16,764	8,876	792	42,971	4,646	13,541	730	11,439	8,151	4,159	2,199	823	5,257	2,743	771	10,517	1,215	1,654	898	8,516	2,896	1,422	1,619	1,686	923	620	82,135
Maryland	236,052	16,437	9,587	12,596	5,678	434	39,476	2,645	9,014	1,779	10,711	4,986	3,764	7,290	892	2,936	2,984	2,640	5,575	1,202	1,749	1,435	4,908	1,754	1,334	2,408	1,325	712	646	79,155
Washington	287,410	117,667	10,827	10,733	10,262	706	4,080	8,603	10,303	230	2,767	8,018	19,475	478	1,558	4,879	743	55	1,118	549	5,486	224	739	5,496	2,711	713	2,595	8,326	1,336	46,733
Michigan	192,117	48,506	7,405	16,718	4,600	1,606	697	2,538	3,563	667	3,891	7,246	15,795	1,654	3,184	5,046	388	89	1,148	2,105	1,106	29	285	3,678	651	906	395	867	558	56,796
North Carolin	a 278,876	141,491	4,940	9,925	2,390	1,581	11,817	4,090	3,503	2,064	6,683	6,961	7,512	2,011	757	4,815	4,351	609	9,329	641	1,227	2,272	2,251	1,761	374	1,411	335	1,455	245	42,075
Pennsylvania	198,244	21,774	12,371	16,792	2,857	975	1,734	6,214	6,009	13,073	2,050	8,917	6,767	4,514	3,295	5,122	3,259	4,285	1,162	5,328	2,540	3,776	1,288	1,404	606	2,456	423	2,675	513	56,065
35 other state	s 2,344,237	1,029,199	56,812	78,367	67,546	16,873	61,841	36,590	36,724	17,976	63,599	65,194	84,595	19,481	19,277	48,044	20,434	10,065	28,388	12,176	16,230	16,641	18,340	33,833	7,751	20,493	6,169	14,606	3,413	433,580

Source: 2006–2008 American Community Surveys

Rob Paral and Associates

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