THE NEW NEIGHBORS:

A User's Guide to Data on Immigrants in U.S. Communities

Prepared by the Urban Institute for the Annie E. Casey Foundation

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Data on Immigrants in U.S. Communities

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The Urban Institute

I. Introduction

Immigrant integration is now a key issue for communities across the nation. States and communities that had seen few immigrants as recently as 1990 are now welcoming new arrivals in unprecedented numbers. Although new immigrants continue to settle in the traditional U.S. centers of immigration—including California, Florida, New York, and Texas—the states with the currently fastest growing immigrant populations have not seen similar inflows for almost a century, if ever. According to the 2000 Census, these new destination states include North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee (at the top of the list) and other states in the Southeast, as well as states across the Midwest and up into the Pacific Northwest.

This guidebook is designed to help local policy makers, program implementers, and advocates use U.S. Census and other data sources to identify immigrant populations in their local communities—their characteristics, their contributions, and their needs. More detailed data on immigrant characteristics are available than ever before, as well as newly accessible software to facilitate the necessary analysis. We list relevant data sources, the information contained in each, and where they can be located, as well as some software needed to use them effectively.

We are grateful to the Annie E. Casey Foundation for funding this guidebook as part of its initiative to educate *Making Connections* partner organizations and *Kids Count* grantees on how to use data to help their programs. The purpose of *Making Connections* is to "work with neighborhoods in 22 cities to connect families to the opportunities and supports they need to raise happy, healthy, and successful children." (http://www.aecf.org/initiatives) Since these organizations—and similar organizations across the country—work at state and local levels, we focus on sources that are suitable for analysis of small geographical areas.

Major Data Sources on Immigrants

The most comprehensive new data source on immigrants is the U.S. Census for 2000. Census data make it possible to map settlement patterns in great detail, and to analyze their implications for communities, at the national, state, and even local levels. Detail on numbers of immigrants, their countries of origin, the languages they speak, and their English proficiency is available down to the level of the Census tract—a geographic area no larger than many city neighborhoods. Mapping software now makes it possible to display this information in conjunction with other information about housing, schools, and social services. Additional Census data, to be released in Spring 2003, will make it

possible to analyze the detailed characteristics of immigrants and their families at the metropolitan level—including housing conditions, income sources and labor force participation.

Other sources can be of great use in supplementing these Census data, depending on the questions of interest. These sources include, among others: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service data on legal immigrant admissions; school district data on limited English proficient students and students born outside the United States; health department data on births to immigrant mothers; and data from social service agencies on immigrant participation in public benefit programs.

Organization of the Guidebook

The first section of the guidebook provides an overview of its purpose and uses. Section II describes recent trends in immigration at the national and state levels, based primarily on Census 2000 data, and identifies some of the largest immigrant populations and their characteristics.

Section III discusses ways in which the data may be used to address key questions about immigrants' short- and long-run adaptation to, and involvement in, the local economy and social institutions. Previous Urban Institute research has found that the design and effectiveness of immigrant settlement policies—such as enhancing English language skills, improving school performance and increasing access to public benefits and services—vary greatly depending on the characteristics of immigrants and the communities in which they settle.

Section IV provides the nuts and bolts of accessing and analyzing relevant data. It gives a list of data sources—including several different Census data sets—and describes their strengths and weaknesses in terms of geographic detail, population coverage, accuracy and timeliness. We also describe how to obtain additional data, identify immigrant populations within them, and perform analyses that provide answers to key policy research questions.

The relative ease of accessing these data and manipulating them provides opportunities for many at the local level, even with very limited research budgets, to use them effectively. While analysis involves some degree of technical capacity—most notably data manipulation, database storage, and mapping software—most forms of data are available over the Internet, on CD-ROM, or via other methods that are reasonably easy to obtain. And software programs such as ArcView—a leading mapping software package—operate easily on today's personal computers.

Section IV also tackles a key challenge: how to identify immigrant populations of interest and the data that pertain to them. Such tasks may be challenging because data on immigrants are often incomplete. Most sources include information on immigrants' country of birth and year of admission to the United States. But information on the legal status of immigrants—a key policy and analytic variable—is more difficult to obtain.

Section V uses a profile of immigrants in Providence, Rhode Island—a city participating in the Annie E. Casey Foundation's *Making Connections* project—to demonstrate ways in which the data can be used. Section V was developed in consultation with the Foundation and with the Providence Plan, one of the Foundation's *Making Connections* partners.

Section VI summarizes what the data-based profile of Rhode Island tells us about immigrant settlement patterns there and discusses how high immigrant concentrations within the city of Providence facilitate drawing conclusions about immigrant neighborhoods there. Also discussed are implications for analysis of data on immigrants in other areas of the country where such high concentrations do not exist.

II. National Trends in Immigration

Immigrant settlement patterns at the local level should be viewed in the context of rapidly increasing immigration nationwide. During the 1990s, more than 13 million people moved to the United States, averaging well over a million immigrants per year. By 2000, the foreign-born population, as measured by the Census, exceeded 31 million,[1] or about 11 percent of the total U.S. population. While lower than the historical high of 15 percent around 1900, the foreign-born share of the population has more than doubled since 1970, when it reached a low of 5 percent. If the immigration policies and trends of the 1990s continue—with 700,000 to 900,000 legal immigrants and at least 300,000 to 500,000 undocumented immigrants arriving each year—the foreign-born population is projected to have doubled by 2050, when it will again account for about 15 percent of the total U.S. population. Figures from the early 2000s give no indication of a slowdown in immigration: by March 2002, the foreign-born population had grown to an estimated 32.5 million, according to the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS).

Immigrant Dispersal

In 1990, according to Census figures, about three-quarters of all immigrants lived in just six states: California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois and New Jersey. These six states, and the major cities within them, have experienced substantial immigration for decades. Immigrant communities there are well-established, and both state and local governments have developed initiatives that promote integration, including public support for health insurance for non-citizens, English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, or translation and interpreter services.

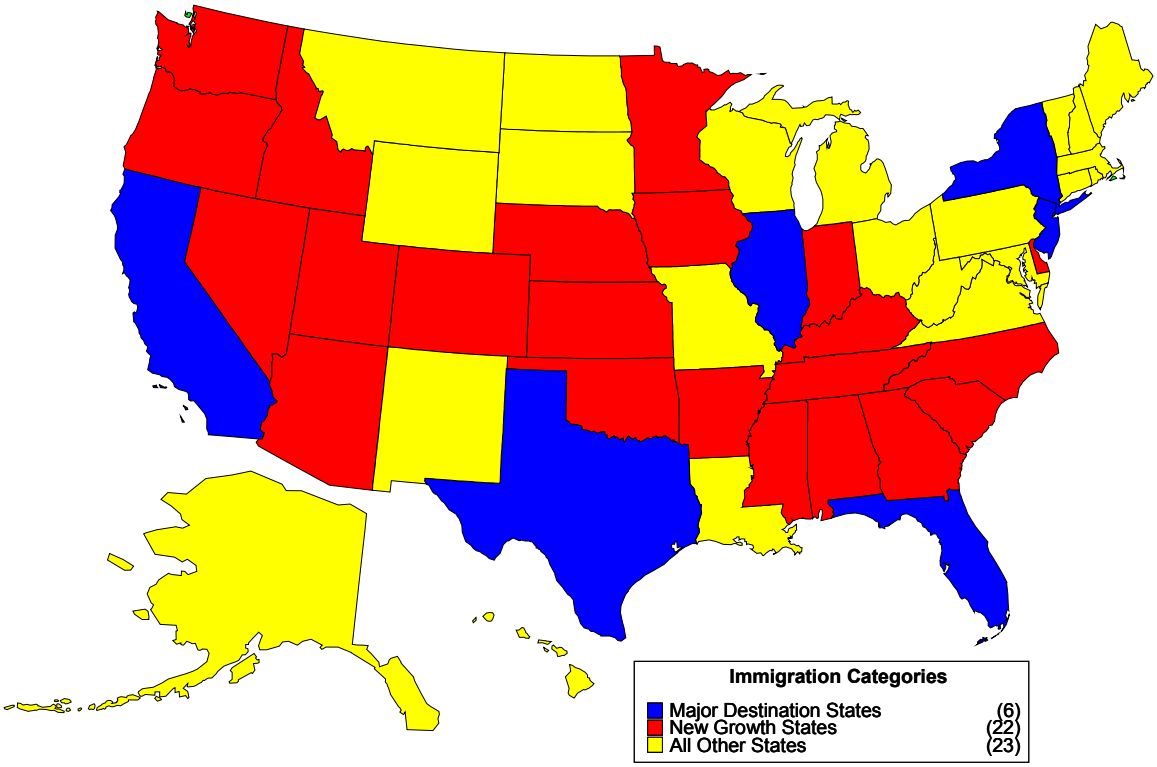
These major destination states saw their immigrant populations continue to increase during the 1990s, but their share of all immigrants dropped from three quarters to about two thirds. A substantial slowdown in migration to California, as well as significant outflows of secondary migrants to other states, occurred following California's severe economic recession during the early 1990s (Passel and Zimmermann 2001). Nonetheless, California remained the principal first destination for immigrants. Although flows to Texas, Florida and other major destination states also remained relatively high by national standards, none of these six states was among the group of states experiencing the fastest growth rate in their foreign-born populations between 1990 and 2000.

The crucial point for integration policy is that 22 other states with relatively low immigrant levels before 1990 saw their foreign-born populations grow by over 90 percent during the decade of the 1990s, due both to direct immigration and secondary migration from traditional receiving states such as California. Most of these "new growth" states

[1] As we note below, Census data include both legal and undocumented immigrants.

form a broad band from the Pacific Northwest, through the Mountain states, across the Midwest, to most of the Southeast (Figure 1). In 19 of them, the foreign-born population more than doubled over the period. The ten states with the fastest growing immigrant populations were: North Carolina (274 percent), Georgia (233 percent), Nevada (202 percent), Arkansas (196 percent), Utah (171 percent), Tennessee (169 percent), Nebraska (165 percent), Colorado (160 percent), Arizona (136 percent), and Kentucky (135 percent).

Figure 1: Immigrants Disperse to New Growth States



NOTE: Major destination states together comprised 67% of the U.S. foreign-born population in 2000. New growth states are those states where the foreign-born population grew by more than 90% between 1990 and 2000.

SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000 and 1990 U.S. Census, Demographic Profiles, Table DP-2.

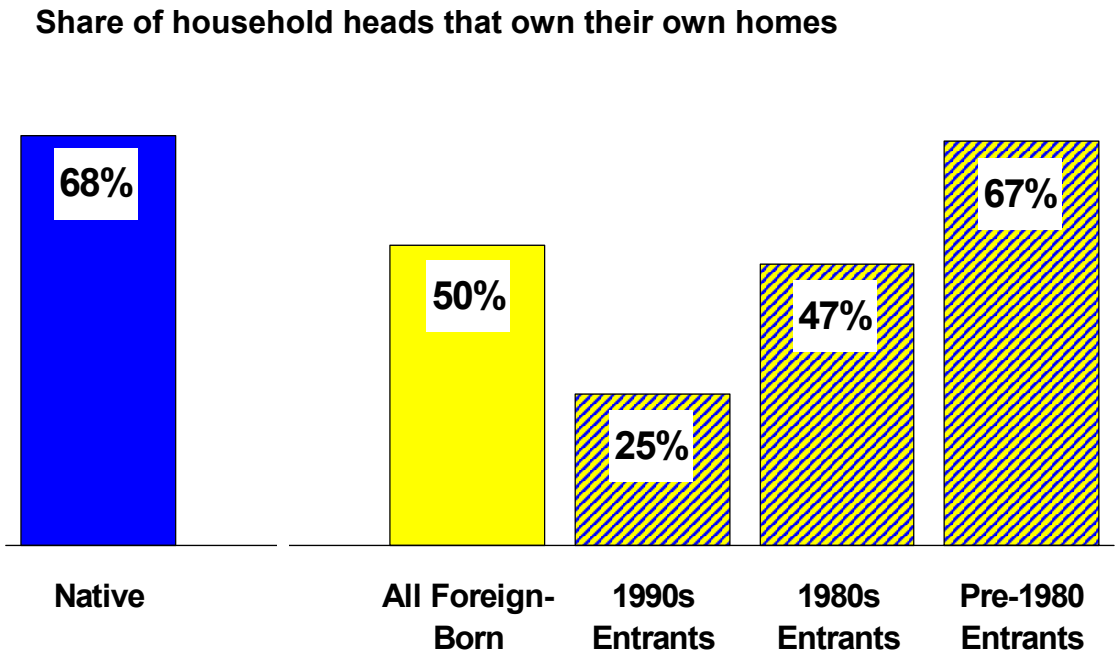
As a consequence of these dispersal patterns, state and local leaders in the majority of states are now facing new issues with respect to immigrant integration—with the salience of particular issues depending on local immigrants' countries of origin, English language ability, and legal status, among other factors. State and local leaders must also consider the dispersal of immigrants *within* their jurisdictions—i.e., whether newcomers tend to settle in inner cities, suburbs or rural areas. In Rhode Island, for example, immigrants are highly concentrated in the city of Providence and nearby suburbs (see Section V for discussion). But in the Atlanta, Georgia metropolitan area—

where we have also done preliminary mapping—immigrant communities are located mostly in the outer suburbs and nearby rural areas. Census data are useful to address questions related to dispersal because they allow precise mapping of immigrant settlement patterns, including identification of the particular local areas where the most recent immigrants have settled.[2]

Location of the Most Recent Arrivals

Since the share of an area's foreign-born population that has arrived in the past 10 years depends on the growth rate of the foreign-born population over that period, the states with the fastest recent growth rates, by definition, have the highest shares of most recent arrivals. Information on this group of immigrants is particularly useful for policy, because they are more likely than less recent arrivals to be undocumented, to have relatively low incomes, and to speak a language other than English at home. They are also *less* likely to be citizens, homeowners, or proficient in English.

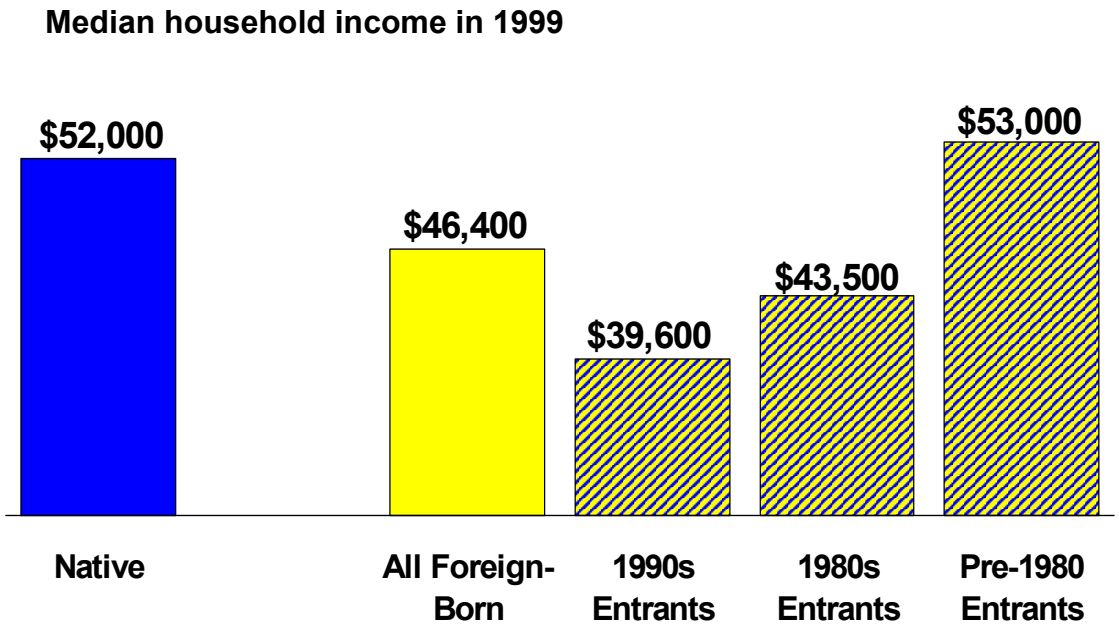
Figure 2: Homeownership Increases with Time in U.S.



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000 Supplementary Survey, Public Use Microdata Set.

[2] Census data are particularly valuable now because we are early in the decade. With the passage of time, continued mobility and population growth limit the utility of the Census and make it necessary to develop other data sources. The Census Bureau has developed the American Community Survey (ACS), which is planned to provide data on an annual basis through the decade. We will discuss this data source in detail later in this report.

Figure 3: Family Income Also Rises with Time in U.S.



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000 Supplementary Survey, Public Use Microdata Set.

As immigrants live longer in the United States, they tend to become more fully integrated, in other words they grow increasingly similar to the native-born population in social and economic status. Only 25 percent of the most recent arrivals own their own homes, for example, but immigrant homeownership matches that of natives (67 percent) after 20 years of residence in the United States (Figure 2). Median family income also rises over time for immigrants, and is now as high as that of natives for immigrants who entered the country before 1980 (Figure 3). Even when the effect of aging is taken into account,[3] these trends do not disappear, showing that immigrant integration is a process that occurs gradually over time, and that the amount of time spent in the United States is key to analyzing immigrant populations' characteristics, contributions, and needs.

[3] Middle-aged adults tend to earn more and be more likely to be able to afford their own homes than young adults, irrespective of country of origin.

Legal Status

Immigrants can be divided into those who have become U.S. citizens and those who remain non-citizens. More than half of all *legal* immigrants eventually become naturalized citizens. Non-citizens fall into one of four major legal status groups shown in Figure 4:

1. legal permanent residents, who have permanent resident visas ("green cards");
2. refugees (who fit the official definition of fleeing persecution) and other humanitarian admissions;
3. temporary residents (mostly with visas for employment or education); and
4. undocumented immigrants, who do not have authorization to be living or working in the United States (see Figure 4 for details).

Movement among these categories is substantial. Some immigrants who enter without authorization eventually obtain legal status, and some temporary residents overstay their visas or otherwise violate the terms of their admission and become undocumented.

Different groups of immigrants come to the United States with different levels of education, job skills and other human capital assets. Beyond their human capital, the legal status of immigrants also strongly affects their social and economic characteristics—and therefore the trajectory or their integration into U.S. communities. For instance, refugees have access to some social benefit programs unavailable to other legal immigrants. In contrast, immigrants without legal status generally have restricted access to jobs, are ineligible for most social programs, and cannot become citizens. This differential access makes it important for policy makers to understand the implications of legal status as they develop policies to help respond to immigrants' needs.

Official government data on the numbers *arriving* in the United States are available for most legal immigrant groups, but there are no comprehensive statistics by legal status on the numbers of immigrants *living* in the United States. Further, most government data sources that identify immigrants living in the United States based on country of birth generally do not collect information on legal status. Estimates based on data from Census 2000, the Current Population Survey, and U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service legal immigrant admissions indicate that during the average year in the 1990s the following numbers of immigrants entered the country:

- 700,000-900,000 legal permanent residents;
- 70,000-125,000 refugees and asylees; and
- 300,000-500,000 or more undocumented immigrants.

Figure 4: Definitions of Citizenship and Legal Status Categories

Non-citizens

- *Legal (or lawful) permanent residents (LPRs)*. These are foreign-born people who are legally admitted to live permanently in the United States through qualifying for immigrant visas abroad or adjustment to permanent resident status in the United States. LPRs are issued documentation commonly referred to as "green cards," although the cards have not been green for many years. Almost all LPRs are "sponsored" (i.e., brought to the United States) by close family members or employers and are eligible to naturalize 3 or 5 years after receiving a green card. This is the largest group of non-citizen immigrants.

- *Refugees and asylees*. These are foreign-born people granted legal status due to a "well-founded fear" of persecution in their home countries. Refugee status is granted before entry to the United States. Refugee status may be granted to a group of persons, although each individual must also qualify for the status. Asylees must meet the same criteria regarding fear of persecution. Unlike refugees, asylees usually arrive in the country without authorization (or overstay a valid visa), later claim asylum, and are granted their legal status while in the United States. After one year, refugees and asylees are generally eligible for permanent residency. Almost all "adjust" their status and become LPRs, although they retain certain rights—for instance eligibility for major federal benefit programs—by virtue of their designation as refugees or asylees.

- *Temporary residents*. Diverse sets of foreign-born U.S. residents have been admitted to the United States for a temporary or indefinite period, but have not attained permanent residency. Most are people who have entered for a temporary period, for work, as students or because of political disruption or natural disasters in their home countries. Some seek to stay for a permanent or indefinite period and have a "pending" status that allows them to remain in the country and often to work but does not carry the same rights as legal permanent residency.

- *Undocumented aliens (illegal immigrants)*. These are foreign-born people who do not possess a valid visa or other immigration document (because they entered the United States clandestinely or "without inspection," stayed longer than their temporary visas permitted, or otherwise violated the terms under which they were admitted). Some eventually adjust their status and attain legal residency after a sponsorship petition has been filed by a relative, spouse or employer.

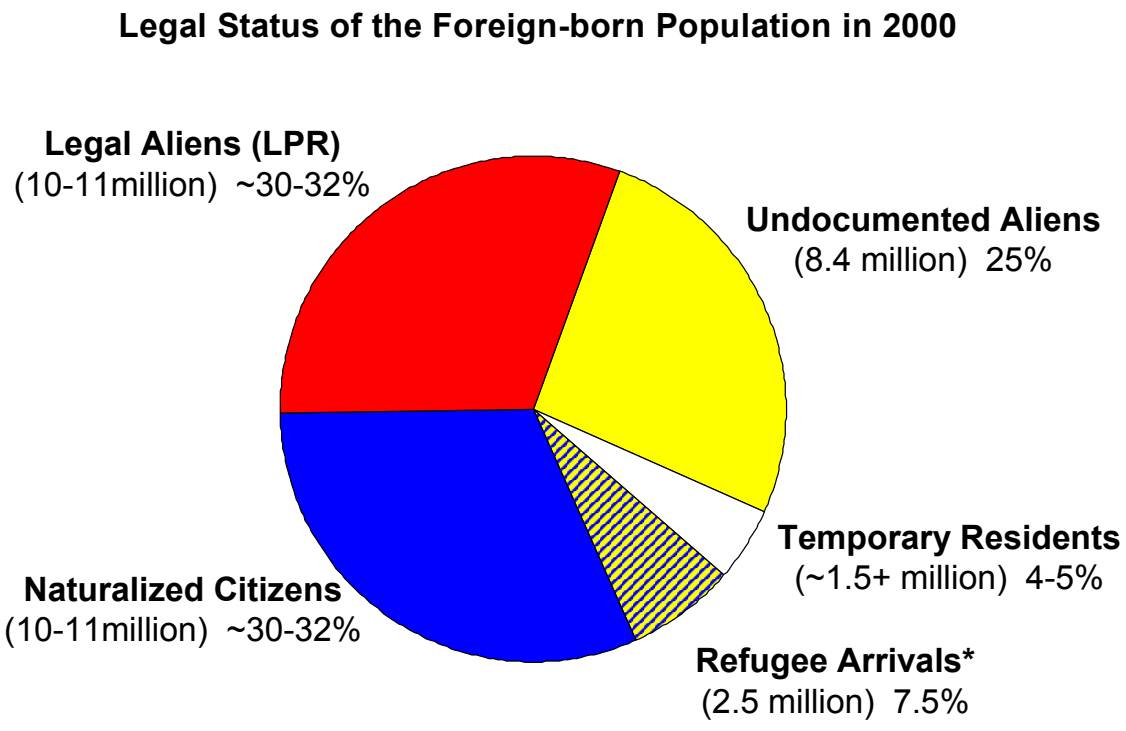
Citizens

- *Naturalized citizens*. LPRs may become U.S. citizens through the naturalization process. Typically, they must be in the United States for five or more years to qualify for naturalization, although immigrants who marry citizens can qualify in three years, and some small categories qualify even sooner. LPRs must take a citizenship test—in English—and pass background checks before qualifying to naturalize. Many LPRs take English language and civics instruction to help them qualify for citizenship.

- *Native-born citizens*. All people born in the United States are granted birthright citizenship, regardless of their parents' birthplace or legal status. Native-born citizens also include people born in Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, other U.S. territories and possessions, and those born in foreign countries to a U.S. citizen parent.

Legal Permanent Residents. Most legal permanent residents (LPRs) achieve their status based on family reunification provisions in U.S. law allowing citizens and LPRs to apply for their spouses, parents, siblings and children to immigrate. The next largest share of LPRs are admitted because employers apply for visas on their behalf. In federal fiscal year 2000, for example, 850,000 immigrants achieved permanent residency—about 100,000 of them for employment, and most of the remainder under family reunification provisions. Of the total of 850,000 LPRs, about half were admitted directly from foreign countries, while the other half had been living in the United States for some time with temporary visas and were able to "adjust their status" (i.e., receive green cards) in that year (Immigration and Naturalization Service 2001). According to our estimates (based primarily on data from the U.S. Current Population Survey and the Immigration and Naturalization Service), there were 10-11 million LPRs nationwide in 2000, about one third of all immigrants (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Undocumented Immigrants Are a Large Share of the Foreign-Born



* Entered 1980 or later. Includes refugees who are LPRs and naturalized citizens.

SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, March 2000 Current Population Survey, and Immigration and Naturalization Service data (Passel 2002).

Refugees and Asylees. Refugees and asylees are immigrants admitted for humanitarian purposes, because they are fleeing persecution in their home countries. Refugees are screened by the U.S. Department of State and international organizations overseas before admission. Following their admission, refugees are usually resettled by family members or by resettlement agencies, which are often faith-based organizations. The federal government provides support for a variety of social services upon a refugee's arrival and distributes these to resettlement agencies through the Office of Refugee Resettlement at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. This type of federal support for social services is generally unavailable to other newly arrived immigrants who are not refugees.

Immigrants who fled persecution but arrived without authorization from the U.S. government can apply for asylum, but they generally have to prove their case in an immigration court before they obtain the legal right to remain in the country and receive the same social services offered to refugees. Some undocumented immigrants from Cuba and Haiti qualify for admission on terms similar to those of refugees. Refugees, asylees and Cuban-Haitian entrants are eligible to become LPRs and receive their green cards after one year in the country. In 2000 there were about 2.5 million immigrants in the United States (about 8 percent of the total) who had entered since 1980 as refugees or Cuban-Haitian entrants, or who had received asylum (Figure 5); most of this group had already obtained legal permanent residency and many had become citizens.

Temporary residents. More than 20-25 million persons are admitted as temporary visitors to the United States each year. The vast majority of these are tourists or business travelers who leave the United States after a relatively short visit. Because they are in the country for a short period of time, these visitors do not fit the definition of a U.S. resident or show up as "immigrants" in official data sources such as the Census. As of 2000, however, there were an estimated 1.5 million temporary *residents*—mainly students, temporary workers, and their spouses and children—who stay in the country for relatively longer periods of time and are enumerated as U.S. residents in the Census and other official data.

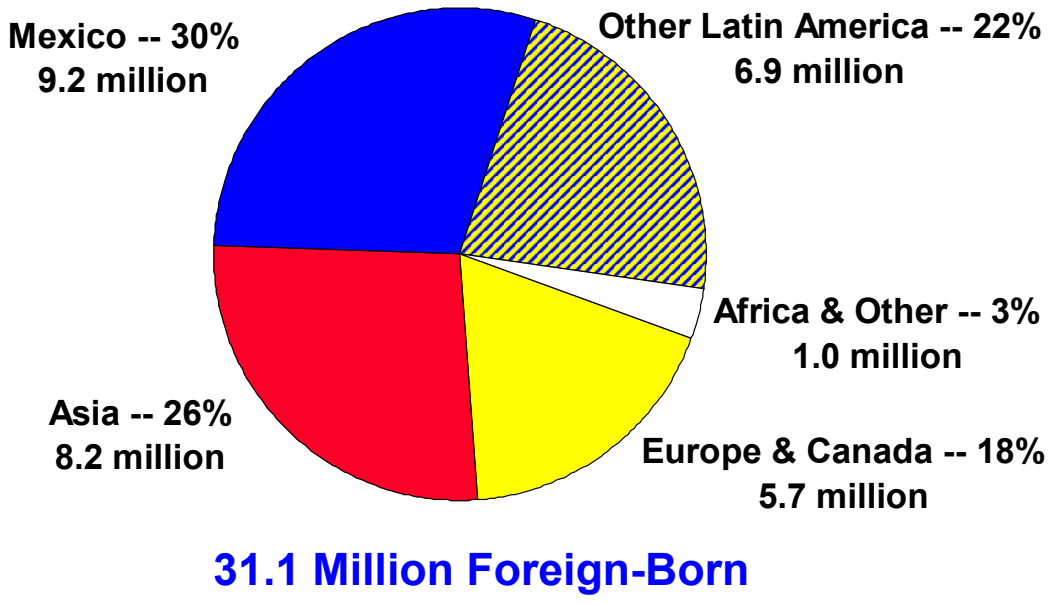
Undocumented Aliens. A large and growing group of immigrants are undocumented, with estimates running between 7 and 11 million (about one quarter of the total, see Figure 5 and Warren 2003). During the late 1980s and early 1990s, 2.7 million undocumented immigrants became LPRs under the legalization provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. This group is sometimes referred to as the "legalized" population. A smaller number of immigrants were legalized during the late 1990s, but under current law only a small fraction of immigrants are eligible to legalize—those who have been in the United States since 1972. Most will remain undocumented as long as they remain in the country, unless there are major changes in U.S. immigration policy (i.e., another legalization program). According to most estimates, the undocumented population more than doubled during the 1990s, from somewhat less than 4 million to more than 8 million (while the overall foreign-born population grew by 57 percent from 19.8 million to 31.1 million).

Naturalized immigrants. Immigrants with green cards are generally eligible to apply to become U.S. citizens after five years as LPRs. (Those who marry U.S. citizens are eligible after 3 years.) Not all who are eligible for citizenship apply, and some who apply fail the citizenship test, particularly if they have difficulty reading and writing English. Yet most LPRs do eventually naturalize, once they have been in the country long enough to qualify. By 2000, more than 10 million immigrants (about one third of the total foreign-born population) had naturalized and become U.S. citizens (Figure 5).

Diverse Countries of Origin

Nearly 100 countries are represented on the list of countries of origin for today's foreign-born population, according to Census 2000.[4] A 1999-2000 Urban Institute survey of immigrant families found 75 countries of origin for Los Angeles County and 109 for New York City (Capps et al. 2002). These two metropolitan areas are home to the largest and most diverse immigrant populations in the country. But smaller cities and even rural areas are also experiencing increasing diversity among their growing foreign-born populations.

Figure 6: Latin Americans and Asians Predominate among the Foreign-Born



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

[4] The actual number of countries is even larger, but some countries are grouped together on the list.

Within this wide diversity, Mexico stands out as by far the most common country of origin as we begin the new century. Mexico accounts for 9 million (30 percent) of the total foreign-born population in 2000, a larger share than from the whole continent of Asia (the next most common source, at 8 million or 26 percent). The rest of Latin America follows, accounting for 7 million (22 percent). Europe and Canada, the dominant regions of 100 years ago, have together dropped to 18 percent of the total (6 million). African and other countries (including Australia, New Zealand, and Pacific islands) account for only about one million foreign-born persons, 3 percent of the total. The share from Africa and these other countries is rising, albeit from a very small base, and may become substantial in the future.

It is not unprecedented for a single country such as Mexico to account for such a high share of immigrants. In the middle and late 19th century, for example, either the Irish or the Germans accounted for over 30 percent of the immigrant population; in some decades, both exceeded 30 percent. Immigrants from Europe continued to dominate until the mid-1960s, when the current system of employment and family reunification preferences was put into place. The dominance of Latin American and Asian countries in today's immigration flows is primarily the result of this system and of the admission of large numbers of refugees from Asian countries over the past four decades.

The extent to which the current immigrant flows are undocumented differs by region of origin. Many Mexicans, for example, have entered the United States without authorization. Although about 2 million became LPRs under the 1986 IRCA legalization provisions, several million more are undocumented due to ongoing large-scale migration from Mexico.

A large share of Central American immigrants are also undocumented, although many have been granted Temporary Protected Status[5] as they fled war, hurricanes and earthquakes in the region. Other Central Americans and a large number of Cubans have been admitted permanently as refugees or asylees. Still other Latin Americans have been admitted for permanent residency under employment and family reunification provisions. Most Asians, by contrast, have been admitted as permanent residents or as refugees. Southeast Asians constituted over half of all refugees during most of the 1980s, and at least a third until the mid-to-late 1990s. Most European and Canadian immigrants were admitted as permanent residents, although a large number of immigrants from Russia and other former Soviet republics entered as refugees during the 1990s.

The predominant country of origin also differs by the region of settlement within the United States. By and large, Mexican immigrants are the most populous group in

[5] The U.S. Attorney General grants citizens of another country Temporary Protected Status with a finding that conditions in that country pose a danger to personal safety due to ongoing armed conflict or an environmental disaster. Grants of TPS are initially made for periods of 6 to 18 months and may be extended depending on the situation. Thousands of Central Americans have been granted TPS—in some cases, extended for years—following civil wars during the 1980s and earthquakes and hurricanes during the 1990s.

states in the West, Midwest and South, accounting for 40-70 percent of all immigrants in many states. Asian immigrants are heavily concentrated on the West Coast. In most Northeastern states, no single country of origin predominates. Rhode Island, for example, which we probe in detail in Section V, has a particularly diverse foreign-born population. The Dominican Republic is the most common country of origin there, accounting for 14 percent of all Rhode Island immigrants; no other country represents more than 10 percent. In general, Northeastern cities tend to have relatively large numbers of immigrants from Caribbean and Central American countries.

Language Diversity and Limited English Proficiency

Nationwide, 47 million people—18 percent of the population ages 5 and older—speak a language other than English at home. The Census 2000 Summary File 3 lists 40 specific languages other than English. Twenty-eight million (11 percent of the population ages 5 and over) speak Spanish, and 10 million (4 percent) speak other Indo-European languages. About seven million (3 percent) speak Asian and Pacific Island languages, including two million Chinese-speakers.[6]

The key policy challenge is that many of these people have only limited proficiency in English.[7] Proficiency in English is one of the key measures of immigrant integration used by Urban Institute and other researchers, because limited English proficient (LEP) immigrants tend to hold less desirable jobs, earn lower incomes, and generally fare worse on most indicators of well-being. For instance, in our 1999-2000 survey of immigrants in Los Angeles and New York, we found that families with LEP immigrant adults were much more likely to be poor and to be food insecure (to experience hunger or have difficulty affording food on a regular basis). In Los Angeles the rate of food insecurity was twice as high among families where no adults spoke English very well as among more English-proficient immigrant families. About half of immigrant families where adults spoke no English at all were food insecure in both New York and Los Angeles. Food insecurity and other hardship measures were more closely associated with limited English proficiency than with either legal status or length of residency in the United States (Capps et al. 2002).

The degree of English proficiency tends to increase as immigrants live longer in the United States. Data from the Census 2000 Supplementary Survey (C2SS) show that 60 percent of immigrants who arrived during the 1990s were LEP in 2000. By

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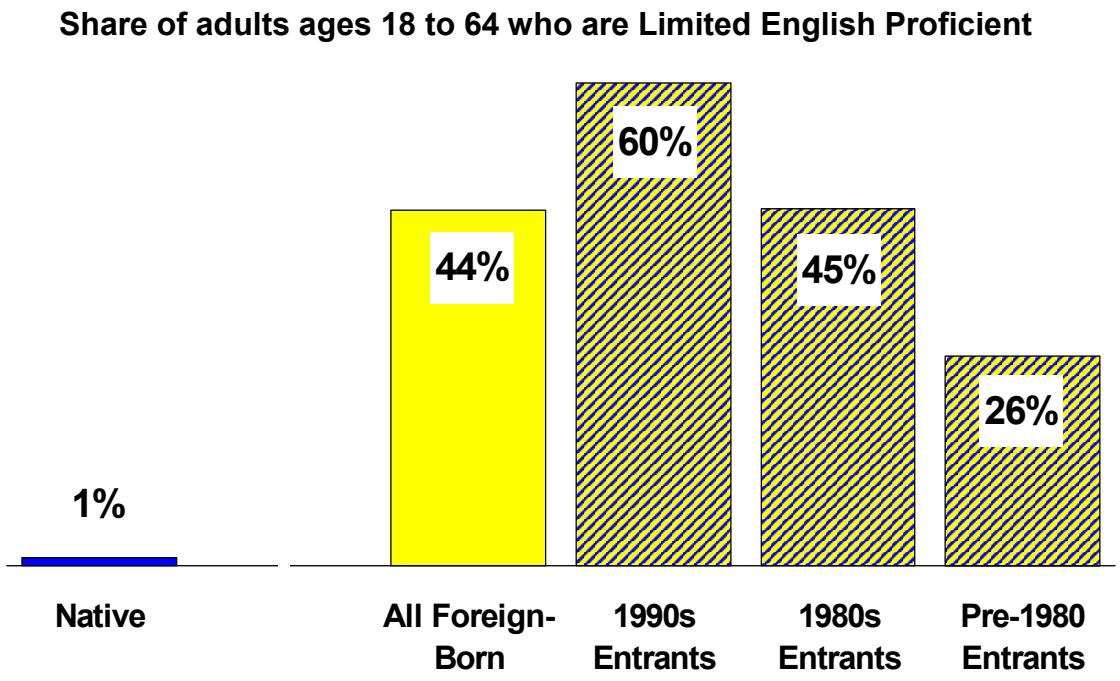
[6] The Census Bureau defines "Asian and Pacific Island" languages based on geography, while "Indo-European" is a language family that includes some languages spoken in large parts of Asia, for instance Russia, India (Hindi), Pakistan (Urdu) and Iran (Persian).

[7] The Census and some other data sources provide information not only on languages spoken by immigrants, but also on their ability to speak English. To do this, respondents who report speaking a language other than English at home are then asked whether they speak English "very well", "well", "not well" or "not at all." Typically, people speaking only English or English very well are categorized as proficient, while those speaking English well, not well or not at all are considered limited English proficient (LEP).

comparison, only 26 percent of those who had arrived before 1980 were still LEP in 2000 (Figure 7).

Figure 7: More than Half of Recent Arrivals Are Limited English Proficient



NOTE: Limited English Proficient adults are those who do not speak English at home and who speak English less than "very well" (i.e., "well", "not well" or "not at all").

SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000 Supplementary Survey, Public Use Microdata Set.

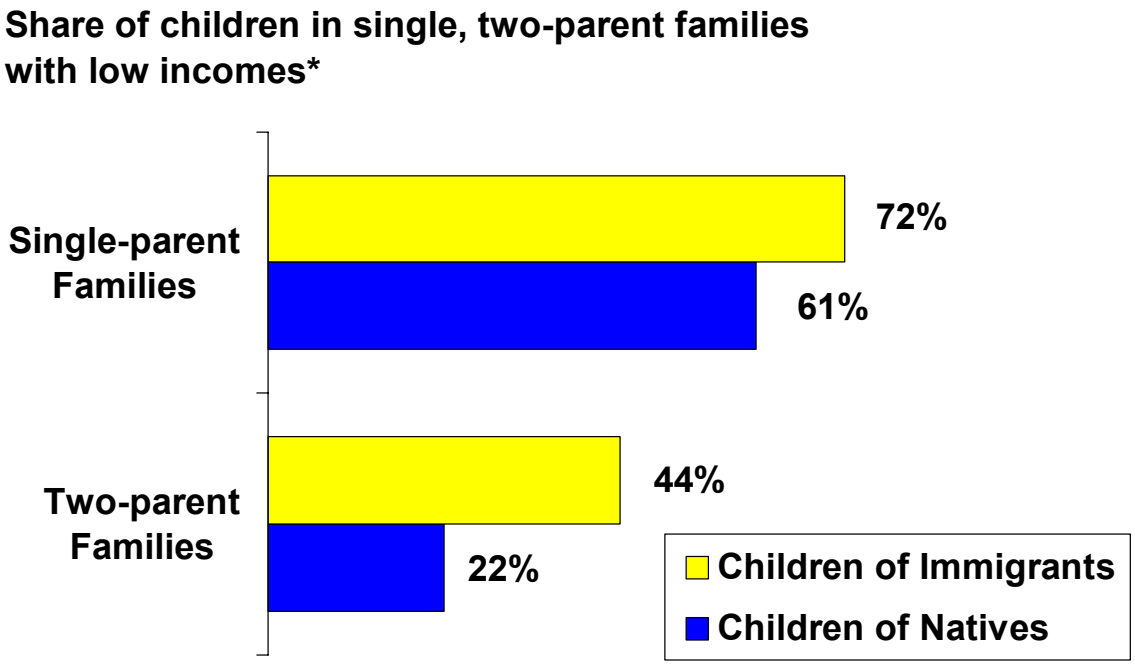
Immigrant Families and Children

Immigrant families represent an increasing share of the nation's low-income population. One in five children in the United States—and one in four low-income children—lives in an immigrant family. Three quarters of these children are born in the United States, and 80 percent are U.S. citizens (Fix and Zimmermann 2001).

Immigrant families exhibit certain strengths. According to estimates from the Urban Institute's 1999 National Survey of America's Families (NSAF), children of immigrants are significantly more likely to have two parents at home than are children of

natives (80 versus 70 percent).[8] Children of immigrants fare as well as or better than children of natives on measures of school engagement, including the extent to which they do their homework, the degree to which they care about school, and the frequency with which they are suspended or expelled. Their parents are no more likely to report being aggravated or in poor mental health than are native parents (Reardon-Anderson, Capps and Fix 2002).

Figure 8: Immigrant Families More Often Have Two Parents, But Are Poorer.

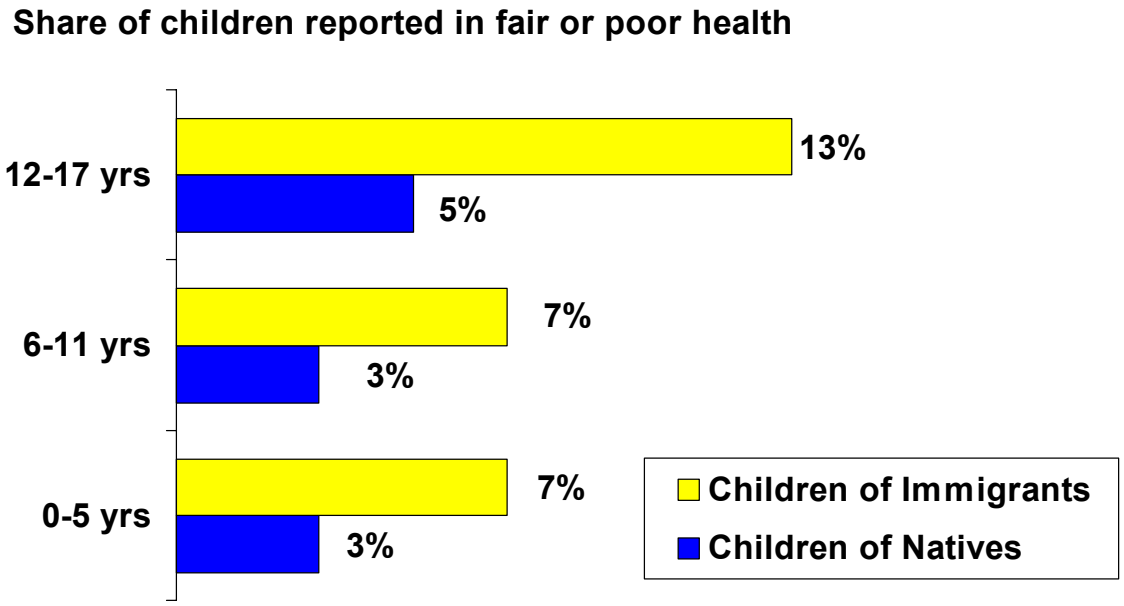


* Incomes below 200 percent of the federal poverty level.
SOURCE: Urban Institute, National Survey of America's Families, 1999.

Nonetheless, children in immigrant families are generally poorer, in worse health and more likely to experience hardship such as food security and crowded housing conditions. These vulnerabilities—or risk factors regarding healthy development—owe in large part to the lower wages paid to immigrant workers. According to the NSAF, children in two-parent immigrant families are nearly twice as likely as those in two-parent native families to have low incomes (Figure 8). Immigrants report more often that their children are in "fair or poor health," and the share in fair or poor health rises to 13 percent among teenagers in immigrant families, versus 5 percent among teenage children of natives (Figure 9). Children in immigrant families are less likely to participate in after-school activities such as sports and clubs, and their parents are less likely to volunteer in the community. (Reardon-Anderson, Capps and Fix 2002).

[8] We define "children of immigrants" as those with at least one parent born outside the United States. This includes some families in which one parent is foreign-born and the other is native-born. "Children of natives" are those with a single parent or both parents born in the United States.

Figure 9: Children in Immigrant Families More Often in Fair or Poor Health



SOURCE: Urban Institute, National Survey of America's Families, 1999.

Hardship rates are higher for children of immigrants than for children of natives at the national level, although there is a great degree of variation across states.[9] Nationally, children of immigrants are twice as likely as children of natives to lack health insurance (22 versus 10 percent). Forty percent of children of immigrants in Texas have no health insurance, while only 6 percent of their counterparts in Massachusetts are uninsured (Figure 10). Children of immigrants nationally are four times as likely as children of natives to live in crowded housing.[10] Crowding rates range from a high of 38 percent in Texas to a low of 13 percent in Massachusetts (Figure 11). Immigrant families are also relatively more likely than native families to worry about or experience difficulties affording food (37 versus 27 percent nationally), with hardship highest in Texas (40 percent) and lowest in New Jersey (27 percent, see Figure 12).

[9] The Urban Institute's 1999 NSAF includes a national sample and samples large enough for separate analysis of 13 different states. There are sufficient samples of immigrant families to conduct analysis for the eight states shown in Figures 10, 11 and 12.

[10] When analyzing the NSAF we define crowded housing as more than two people per *bedroom*. When using Census data, the comparable definition is more than one person per *room*.

Figure 10: Share of Children with No Health Insurance, by State

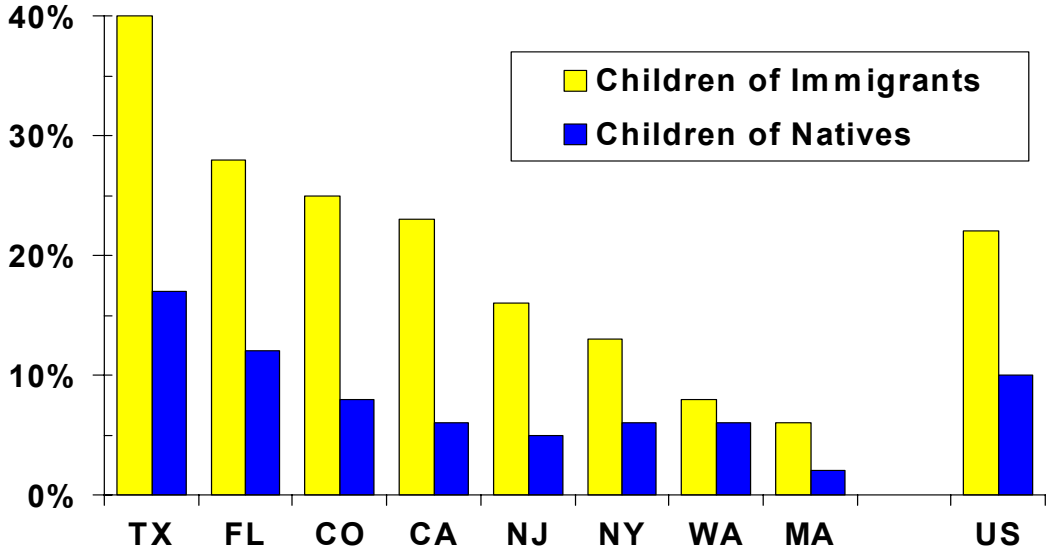
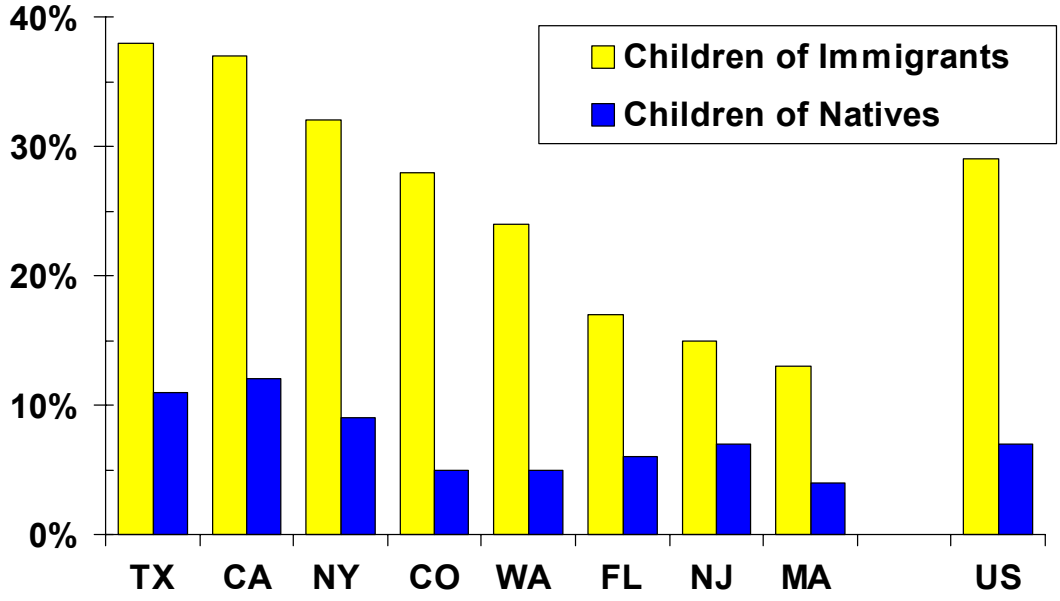
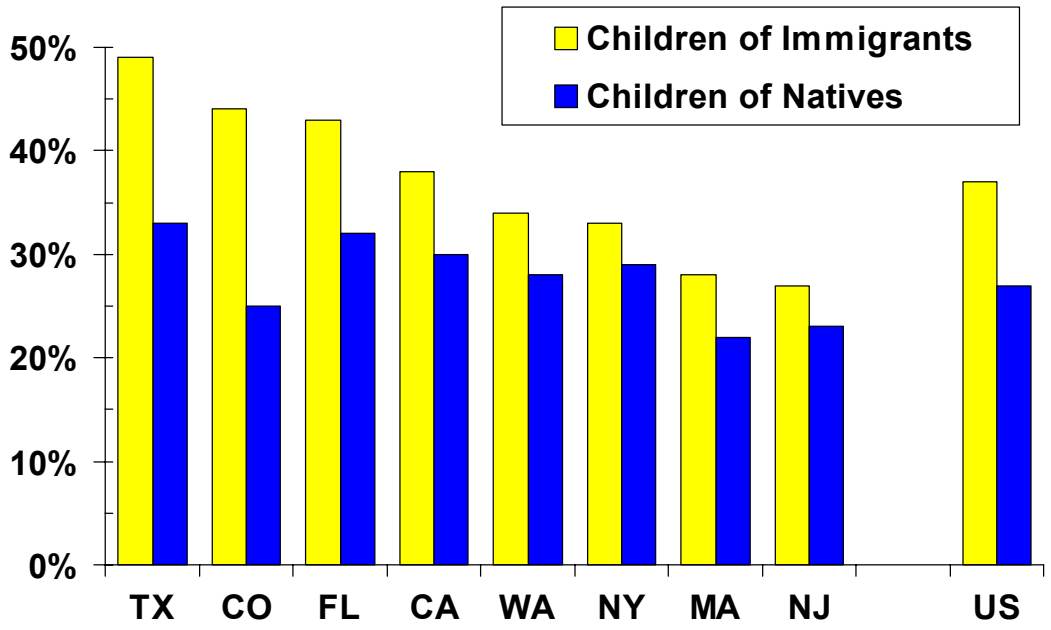


Figure 11: Share of Children Living in Crowded Housing, by State



NOTE: Crowded housing is defined as more than two people per bedroom.
SOURCE: Urban Institute, National Survey of America's Families, 1999

Figure 12: Share of Children Living in Families with Difficulty Affording Food, by State



SOURCE: Urban Institute, National Survey of America's Families, 1999

III. Addressing Public Policy Questions with Data on Immigrants

Census 2000—when combined with other data sources—offers policy makers, planners, community leaders, and other users the ability to map immigrant populations in ways that highlight their needs and potential contributions to the community. These data may also be used to validate assumed knowledge about immigrants at the local level—for instance, to verify service population estimates made by community-based organizations—as well as to dispel rumors or myths that may be circulating, for example, about immigrants' characteristics and their costs to the community.

Uses for the Data

While many immigrants are low income, some are among the wealthiest and best-educated residents of the communities in which they live. Analysis of immigrant populations should therefore map immigrant assets, including home ownership, immigrant-owned businesses, and stock and dividend income. Prosperous immigrant communities represent untapped markets for a wide range of businesses, including banks and retail stores, and underutilized sources of voluntarism or other forms of civic engagement. Many immigrants also have relatively high human capital, in the form of advanced degrees or bilingual skills.

At the same time, immigrants may be among the poorer and needier residents of some communities. Our research shows that low-income immigrant families frequently need workforce development services, adult education, English as a Second Language classes, food assistance, housing assistance, and translation and interpreter services. It stands to reason, then, that mapping of immigrant populations across jurisdictions and neighborhoods can help target services to communities most in need.

An important potential use for local area data is in community-building efforts. Geographic settlement patterns may reveal segregation of immigrants into poorer neighborhoods, or may depict dispersal across communities. Census data measures such as language ability, income and homeownership can be analyzed to address the integration of immigrants over time. And information about the relative sizes and characteristics of different immigrant populations living in a given community can help lay the groundwork for building economic, social and political coalitions. Some data correspond with political jurisdictions, allowing mapping of the racial, ethnic and nativity composition of eligible voters.

Predicting future immigrant population growth and residential settlement patterns is yet another crucial use for immigrant population statistics. Housing data can be used, on the one hand, to identify where housing costs are low and, thus, where future immigrant cohorts are likely to settle. They can be used, on the other hand, to identify areas where housing costs have escalated, which are likely to see declining immigrant settlement and/or out-migration to more affordable communities. It is also useful to

identify housing by type: immigrants are less likely to live in public housing (because of restrictions on their eligibility) and more likely to live in lower-cost rental housing, than natives. Immigrants thus tend to concentrate in areas with large supplies of low-cost market rental housing.

School district data on recent immigrants can be used as a barometer (or a leading indicator) of where immigrants are settling, which populations are growing the fastest, and which immigrant populations are stabilizing and likely to grow more slowly in the future. Since immigration is a major component of population growth across the country, data on immigrant settlement patterns are vital indicators of future community health and economic development. Additionally, immigrants have more children than natives because they tend to be younger and have higher fertility. As a result, children of immigrants—including those born in the United States—account for much of the increase in the school-age population in many communities. Those communities experiencing rapid immigrant population growth may find certain community resources—housing, schools, social services—strained in the future, but with that growth comes expansion in their local workforces, tax bases, and markets for goods and services.

Key Planning and Impact Questions

Key questions policy makers and community leaders will want to answer using the Census and other local area data cover a wide range of topics depending on the region and populations being studied. Here we provide a list of questions—derived from our experience and conversations with demographers about their experiences analyzing immigrant populations in local areas—to illustrate the types of issues that can be addressed using the data sources and techniques described in this guidebook.

(1) How many immigrants live in the metropolitan area? Where do they come from? How recently did they arrive?

(2) What is their pattern of distribution across the metropolitan area? Are they located primarily in inner city neighborhoods or in the suburbs? Are large numbers of new immigrants moving to areas with a good supply of market-rate rental housing? In which school districts do most immigrants live, and how are immigrant children distributed across grade levels?

(3) Which groups of immigrants are middle class and which are high- and low-income? What assets and resources do they bring to the area (for instance, workforce, businesses and homeownership)? What are their needs for services such as health care, housing and public benefits?

(4) What are immigrants' impacts on local schools, hospitals, social services and other public resources? Do immigrant schoolchildren require bilingual education or English language instruction? Are translation and interpreter services needed at health care and social service providers? Is there demand for English and civics instruction at community colleges and other adult education providers?

(5) How have recent immigrants contributed to overall population growth? Where do they tend to locate, and why? Do they tend to own homes or rent? Do they live in areas with higher or lower housing costs? Do they concentrate near certain kinds of jobs?

(6) How can future patterns of migration and community impact be predicted? Are there small, new groups of immigrants that are growing rapidly and likely to continue to grow in the future?

(7) What languages do immigrants speak, and how well do they speak English? How are immigrants with limited English proficiency distributed across the area? What challenges might be faced by public institutions (such as health care and public safety agencies) in providing services to immigrants speaking a variety of languages? What opportunities do multilingual populations provide for economic development (e.g., supplying a labor pool for translation and interpretation services or reducing transaction costs for international trade and commerce)?

Place-Based versus Population-Based Comparisons

Answering such questions includes making both place-based and population-based comparisons. Place-based comparisons provide descriptions of the neighborhoods or other units of geography in which immigrants (or immigrant subgroups) tend to live, or where programs for immigrants operate, relative to other units of geography. Population-based comparisons compare different immigrant subgroups and immigrants as a whole with other populations. The first step in any analysis of immigrant data, therefore, is to disentangle the nature of the comparisons needed.

Place-Based Comparisons. The geographic flexibility of certain Census products—particularly Census 2000 Summary Files 3 and 4, described in Section IV below—makes place-based analysis possible on a number of levels (i.e., states, metropolitan areas, counties, cities, towns and Census tracts). Place-based comparisons may also be made using data from other sources with geographic specificity, such as data from local school districts or planning departments. Following are some examples of comparisons possible using place-based data:

- *Descriptions of particular neighborhoods of interest*. At the smallest geographic level block groups, Census tracts or combinations of tracts can be used to represent neighborhoods or clusters of neighborhoods within cities (see Section IV for definition of Census tracts). The *Making Connections* initiative, already noted, has combined four Census tracts in South Providence as a *Making Connections* site (see Section V below for details).

- *Comparisons between neighborhoods of interest and other neighborhoods, or between neighborhoods and city or metropolitan area averages*. Once neighborhoods or clusters of neighborhoods have been defined, they can be compared with other parts of cities using Census data. One of the key uses of

data here is to compare targeted neighborhoods along variables of interest (such as poverty). If the goal of the *Making Connections* project in Providence is to build family and community assets in inner city neighborhoods, for example, Census data can be used to explore whether or not these neighborhoods are in fact among the neighborhoods with the fewest economic and social assets. Such data can also be used to explore the extent to which a project is addressing poverty among immigrants versus poverty among the native-born population in these neighborhoods.

- *Comparisons of immigrant neighborhoods to non-immigrant neighborhoods*. Where immigrants are heavily concentrated in certain neighborhoods, as is true in Providence (see Section V), there may be stark contrasts between immigrant and non-immigrant neighborhoods in important characteristics such as housing, educational attainment and poverty levels. Understanding these differences may permit better targeting of community resources. Where immigrants are more dispersed, however—as is the case for Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; Portland, Oregon; and many other Southern and Western cities—identifying "immigrant neighborhoods" is less possible. For areas with similar dispersal patterns, place-based comparisons may be more effective among counties or other large units of geography than among individual neighborhoods and Census tracts. Even when immigrant neighborhoods can be identified, it is important not to confuse the characteristics of the average resident with the characteristics of immigrants in such neighborhoods. In general, it is best to rely on population-based data for direct comparisons between immigrants and natives.

- *Comparisons of central cities and inner city neighborhoods to suburbs*. Census data are available for neighborhoods in suburbs as well as central cities, allowing central city/suburban comparisons. In some metropolitan areas, especially the older cities in the Northeast, immigrants tend to live in central cities, while in others they are often more highly concentrated in the suburbs. The two largest cities—New York and Los Angeles—alone include about 20 percent of all the nation's immigrants, exemplifying urban immigrant concentration on a huge scale. But many smaller cities also have large immigrant concentrations at their cores. Providence, for example, contains 37 percent of all of Rhode Island's immigrants (see Section V). In the greater Washington, D.C. area, in contrast, immigrants are more heavily concentrated in the suburbs (of Maryland and Virginia) than in the central city, the District of Columbia (Singer et al. 2001). Our analyses of the Atlanta, Nashville, and Portland, Oregon, metropolitan areas show similar patterns of immigrant settlement and dispersal across suburbs. Where immigrants are more dispersed, their impact (both positive and negative) will be felt across a greater range of jurisdictions, or may even be difficult to perceive at all through place-based data mapping. [11]

[11] Many of the newer metropolitan areas in the South and West also have less municipal fragmentation than the older cities in the Midwest and Northeast, making it relatively easier to coordinate planning, economic development, and social service delivery across jurisdictions.

- *Descriptions of cities and other civil jurisdictions (e.g., counties, school districts).* Census data can usually be generated to correspond with civil jurisdictions, including most cities and urban counties. In cases where school districts correspond with municipal or county boundaries, the data can be used to model characteristics of these districts as well. Mapping data by jurisdiction is another way of helping users gauge the impact of immigrants on their communities and assess the level of resources needed to deal with this impact (for instance, the potential cost of providing English language instruction in public schools). Mapping data to civil jurisdictions also allows analysis of civic participation and can help efforts to mobilize political constituencies.

- *Comparisons to state and national averages*. Census data also allow comparison of cities, counties and other jurisdictions to state and national averages. These comparisons allow users to view experiences with immigration in their communities in the context of state and national trends and patterns.

Population-based Comparisons. The best data for making direct comparisons among subgroups of immigrants and between immigrants and natives can be found in the Census 2000 PUMS, which is described in detail in Section IV of this report. The Census 2000 Summary File 3 and 4 data are not generally useful for direct comparisons, although they provide more geographic detail. Examples of population-based comparisons include:

- *Race, ethnicity and country of birth*. Comparisons between immigrant subpopulations and different racial and ethnic groups can be as useful as comparisons between immigrants and the native-born population as a whole. This approach allows identification of which immigrant groups are most in need of services and most underserved within a given geographic community. Examples include: European and Canadian immigrants versus native-born whites; Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans; Asian immigrants and native-born Asians; and African immigrants versus African Americans.

- *Language spoken at home, limited English proficiency and linguistic isolation.* Census data and local school district data identify LEP populations. In general, comparisons between LEP and English-proficient immigrants show that LEP children have more academic difficulties in school, especially on standardized tests, and LEP adults have more difficulty finding better-paying jobs. Linguistically isolated households—those in which no adults speak English very well—tend to be poorer and in greater need of social services.

- *Time spent in the U.S*. The Census and most other data sets include information on the time immigrants have lived in this country. Immigrants tend to fare better on most measures of integration—for instance income, poverty and home ownership—the longer their period of settlement. In addition, non-citizens' eligibility for certain public benefits and services—for instance welfare, food

stamps and Medicaid—often depends on their length of residency in the country.[12]

- *Citizenship and legal status*. Legal status is an important indicator of integration, and hence, poverty, income and labor market opportunity. For instance, undocumented immigrants are often concentrated in less-skilled and lower-paying jobs than legal immigrants. Legal permanent residents and refugees, in turn, usually have lower incomes than naturalized citizens. While the Census and many other data sets include information on the citizenship of respondents, they seldom include information about the legal status of non-citizens. This is among the most difficult information to obtain, and usually analysts must look for smaller-scale, more localized surveys or collect their own data to find out characteristics of immigrants by legal status.

- *Income and poverty*.[13] Census and Current Population Survey (CPS) data include many measures of income, including total earnings, wage and salary income, income from self-employment, income from interest and dividends, public assistance income and Social Security income. Both Census and CPS data classify families by income relative to the federal poverty level, a commonly accepted guideline for identifying needy families. The federal poverty level is based on the total income a family or household receives and the total number of members in that family or household.[14] The federal poverty level is updated each year to reflect cost-of-living adjustments but does not reflect geographic differences in living costs. The Urban Institute often uses 200 percent of the poverty level to define "low-income" families and as a broader indication of family need, because this cutoff approximates income-eligibility thresholds for many public benefit programs.[15] Census data allow mapping of the poverty population, including the foreign-born poverty population, down to the neighborhood level.

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[12] Legal immigrants are generally required to reside in the United States for five years before becoming eligible for most major federal benefit programs—including Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, the Food Stamp Program, Medicaid, and the State Children's Health Insurance Program—although there are exceptions for some groups of immigrants such as refugees and asylees. Undocumented immigrants and temporary residents are ineligible for these federal programs.

[13] The Census provides information on several different sources of household and individual income, while the CPS provides a substantially more detailed breakdown of income sources.

[14] In 2000 the federal poverty level for a family of four was $17,050. See U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "The 2000 HHS Poverty Guidelines: One Version of the [U.S.] Federal Poverty Measure." Washington, D.C. Available at http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/00poverty.htm.

[15] Eligibility for most public benefits and services provided by federal, state and local governments is based at least in part on family income as a share of the poverty level. For instance, the food stamp eligibility threshold is 130 percent of the federal poverty level for most households, and Medicaid eligibility, while it varies from state to state, is set at around 200 to 250 percent of the poverty level in most states.

- *Educational attainment*. Census data also record individuals' school enrollment and years of schooling.[16] When compared to natives, some immigrant populations have larger shares of adults with less than a high school degree or less than a ninth grade education. Overall, 17 percent of foreign-born workers versus 2 percent of native workers have less than a ninth grade education (according to the Census 2000 Supplementary Survey). Undocumented immigrants have still lower average educational attainment. Other groups of immigrants, however, are better educated than the average native-born citizen: legal immigrants who entered through employer sponsorship, for example, and visitors with temporary work permits in skilled occupations. These relatively highly skilled immigrants contribute greatly to the national pool of workers with four-year college degrees and advanced degrees.

- *Housing characteristics and expenditures*. Most Census products include detailed information on housing characteristics—key indicators of hardship among immigrant families. The extent of overcrowding is one such indicator. According to a national Urban Institute survey, immigrant families in 1999 were more than four times as likely to live in crowded housing (i.e., to include more than two people per bedroom) as native families (Capps 2001). Substantial overcrowding may indicate that housing stock is not suitable for large immigrant families. The Census also includes information on the amount of money families spend on rent, mortgage and other housing costs. These costs can be compared to family incomes to identify families that are spending disproportionate shares of their incomes on housing—another key hardship indicator. Census data can be used to target housing assistance to neighborhoods with substantial overcrowding or where immigrant families spend high shares of income on housing costs. Local planning departments and housing agencies may provide supplementary data on housing vacancy rates, property tax assessments, rental units, and owned units.

[16] We generally limit our samples for analysis of educational attainment to adults ages 25 and older in order to allow enough time for completion of college and a graduate program.

IV. Obtaining and Analyzing the Data

While Census data offer the most comprehensive picture of immigrant populations, other data sources can supplement the Census in useful ways. In this section we first provide important technical details about major data sources on immigrants and how to obtain them. We then review the relative strengths and weaknesses of the data sources we describe. For users who are interested in exploring data on immigrant families and children, we will offer guidance on how to obtain data with families as units of analysis, and how to identify indicators of immigrant family strengths and needs.

The decennial Census offers the largest and most comprehensive source of population data. The Census 2000 long form—a sample of about 16 percent of all Census respondents—is the basis for the major Census products discussed below: the Summary Files 3 and 4 (SF3 and SF4) and the Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS). These products are directly comparable to data from the 1990 and previous Censuses.

In the future, however, the Census Bureau plans to ask the detailed questions that appear on the long form in an ongoing fashion—on a monthly basis—instead of once every ten years. This American Community Survey (ACS), scheduled to start in 2004, will sample approximately 250,000 households across the country every month. The ACS is designed so that the monthly samples can be combined to yield significantly larger samples for all areas. From the combined 12 monthly samples for each calendar year, the Census Bureau plans to release annual data for states, almost all metropolitan areas, and many large counties. For the ACS as currently planned, data for five years could be combined to create large samples equivalent to the decennial Census, and these large samples would allow releasing data for all areas down to the census tract level. The Census Bureau is also planning to release PUMS files from the ACS, but has not clarified the amount of geographic detail that will be available on these files.

During the late 1990s, the Census Bureau conducted small-scale trial runs for the ACS in numerous local areas around the country and larger, national trials of approximately 60,000 households per month in 2000, 2001, and 2002. These national trials of the ACS are designated as the Census 2000, 2001 and 2002 Supplementary Surveys (C2SS) and are discussed below.

The Census Bureau plans to continue conducting its monthly Current Population Survey (CPS), which is designed primarily to measure changes in the labor force. Not only is the sample size of the monthly CPS much smaller (50,000 households) than the decennial Census or the ACS; the CPS is also not designed for monthly samples to be combined into a national sample suitable for measuring all areas of the country. Thus, the CPS is much less useful than the Census or ACS for small-area analysis.

Figure 13: Data Sources on Immigrants for Local Areas

Data source and availability	Immigrant population identifiers	Units of geography	Data on immigrants	Data quality/ other limitations
Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)	(1) Foreign-born (citizenship, place of birth, year of entry) (2) Race and ethnicity (3) Language spoken at home (4) English proficiency	National, states, counties, metropolitan areas, cities, towns, Census tracts, block groups	Housing, employment, education, income, poverty, family structure (for neighborhoods, not individuals)	Tabulations pre-defined by Census bureau, topics limited
Census 2000 Summary File 4 (SF 4)	Same as Summary File 3	Same as Summary File 3	Same as Summary File 3, but more detailed crosstabs available	Same as Summary File 3
Census 2000 5 and 5 percent Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) **5 PERCENT AVAILABLE LATE 2003**	Same as Summary Files 3 and 4	National, states, some counties and metropolitan areas, including some jurisdictions below metropolitan level. Areas defined: 1% file: 400,000+ pop. 5% file: 100,000+ pop.	Same as Summary Files 3 and 4, but direct comparisons between immigrants and natives are possible	Individual records allow user-defined tabulations.
Census 2000, 2001 and 2002 Supplementary Survey (C2SS) **2002 AVAILABLE IN 2004**	Same as Census 2000	National, states, some metropolitan areas	Same as Census 2000	Individual records in PUMS allow user-defined tabulations. Profiles include only pre-defined tabulations.
American Community Survey (ACS) – annual **SCHEDULED for 2004**	Same as Census 2000 and C2SS	National, states, some metropolitan areas Areas defined: 100,000+ population	Same as Census 2000 and C2SS	Same as C2SS
Current Population Survey (CPS) – annual demographic supplement (March) 1994-2002	(1) Foreign-born (citizenship, place of birth, year of entry) (2) Race and ethnicity	National, some states, major metropolitan areas and large counties (limited samples)	More workforce and income measures but fewer housing measures than Census 2000	Individual records allow user-defined tabulations.

Figure 13: Data Sources on Immigrants for Local Areas (continued)

Data source and availability	Immigrant population identifiers	Units of Geography	Data on immigrants	Data quality/ other limitations
INS admissions data – annual FISCAL YEARS 1972-2000	Legal immigrants: place of birth, year of entry, immigration status at admission	National, states, counties, ZIP codes (through 1998) metro areas (1999-2000)	Counts of immigrants admitted, legal status and residence only	Only legal immigrants; "intended residence" may be inaccurate; information on first U.S. residence only
Title III (No Child Left Behind Act), previously in Emergency Immigrant Education Program (EIEP) – annual LAST SCHOOL YEAR	Immigrant children entering United States in last 3 years, by place of birth	School districts, possibly individual schools	Counts of foreign-born students in United States for 3 years or less only	Omits 2nd generation children, not all districts keep records
Public School Registration Data	Varies by school district	School districts, possibly individual schools	Counts of foreign-born students, possibly by country of birth or primary language	Not all districts keep records, access may be restricted to protect privacy
Health Department Vital Records	Mother's ethnicity, race, place of birth; Father's race and ethnicity	States, counties, possibly cities and Census tracts	Mother's and father's age, education and other demographics; birth weight of child	Missing values on place of birth, limited choices for place of birth/ethnicity, access may be restricted to protect privacy
Social Service Agencies Data	Varies by agency	States, counties, service areas	Counts of immigrants receiving benefits and services	Limited to population receiving services
National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) - 1999 and 2002	Citizenship, country of birth, time in United States	National plus 13 state sub-samples (8 states with enough immigrant family cases)	Health, hardship, benefit and service use, child well-being	Complex sample design; only representative of 8 high-immigration states

Census 2000 Data Sets

Summary File 3 (SF3): *(Currently available.)* The SF3 is the most comprehensive source for place-based comparisons, and can be used effectively in conjunction with local and state data on neighborhoods. For instance, SF3 data on the number of LEP children in a particular school district can be compared to records on the number of LEP students in that school district. SF3 data lend themselves to small area analyses and place-based comparisons. They can also be used to draw maps of immigrant populations down to the neighborhood level. Available data include baseline numbers of immigrants by citizenship, date of arrival, country of birth, poverty, and language spoken at home.

In the Census-based data—including the SF3, SF4, Census PUMS, C2SS, and the CPS—the foreign-born population must be identified using the variable for citizenship. Other measures in the these datasets—race, ethnicity, national origin, and place of birth—can be used to describe the immigrant population but, when used to measure the immigrant population, they tend to overstate the number of immigrants, in some cases by a significant amount. The variable for citizenship has the following possible values: U.S. citizen by birth (i.e., U.S. natives), U.S. citizen by naturalization, or non-citizen. The foreign-born population includes all naturalized citizens and non-citizens. Most people who are U.S. citizens by birth were born in the United States, but not all persons born outside the United States are foreign-born. Those born in Puerto Rico and other U.S. territories as well as those born in foreign countries to U.S. citizen parents are U.S. citizens at birth and therefore part of the U.S. native-born population. As an example, substantial shares of the 2000 Asian and Hispanic populations (31 percent and 60 percent, respectively) are U.S. natives and therefore not immigrants.

The Census includes no data indicating the legal status of immigrants beyond whether or not they are naturalized citizens. The 2000 Census includes a significant number of undocumented immigrants—we estimate between 7 and 8 million. Additionally, a smaller number of the non-citizens enumerated in the Census (about 1.5 million) are temporary residents: mostly students and those with temporary work permits.

Summary File 3 has data on a number of policy-relevant individual and household variables at the neighborhood level, for instance: average income, poverty, educational attainment, labor force participation, unemployment, industry, occupation, commuting patterns, public benefits use, home ownership, crowded housing and housing poverty (defined as households that pay more than 40 percent of their incomes on rent or other housing costs). Except for poverty status, these are not cross-tabulated by nativity, making direct comparisons between foreign- and native-born persons and households impossible using the SF3. Indirect comparisons via neighborhoods *are* possible. For example, the homeownership rate in the census tract *where the average immigrant lives* can be compared to a state, metropolitan area, or citywide average. It is not possible, however, to compare immigrant homeownership rates across tracts or to make direct comparisons between immigrants and natives on measures other than poverty.

(Examples of this type of comparison will be shown later in the guide, in Section V below, where we map the immigrant population of the state of Rhode Island.)

Summary File 4 (SF4): *(Currently available.)* The SF4 is similar to the SF3, allowing place-based comparisons at the state, county, city and census tract level. The SF4 includes some of the tables in SF3 broken down by race and ethnicity. Additionally, the SF4 includes some more detailed tables for immigrants including:

- sex by citizenship,
- age by citizenship,
- sex by year of entry by citizenship,
- region of birth by year of entry by citizenship, and
- poverty status by citizenship by year of entry.

These tabulations may be useful for analyzing the gender and age composition of immigrant populations in local areas. For instance, a local hospital might want to know the number of foreign-born women of childbearing age, in order to estimate demand for prenatal care and delivery services. Tabulations by poverty, year of entry and citizenship could be useful for social service agencies that want to estimate the number of non-citizens eligible for public benefits.[17] Like the SF3, the SF4 is useful for population estimates at small levels of geography and place-based comparisons, but not as appropriate for direct comparisons between immigrants and natives as the PUMS. Neither the SF3 nor the SF4 includes sufficient information about individuals to allow users to construct their own comparisons between immigrants and natives or among other groups beyond the few measures listed above.

Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS): *1 percent (currently available) and 5 percent (scheduled for release in late 2003).* These Census data sets provide information on individuals and their families, making it possible to draw direct comparisons between immigrants and natives and among immigrants with different characteristics. The most useful feature of the PUMS data sets is that records for distinct households and individuals can be manipulated by users, allowing construction of customized tables and analysis of several different factors simultaneously. Unlike the SF3, however, these data sets include limited geographic identifiers below the metropolitan area level. Metropolitan areas are divided in to Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs)—100,000+ people in the 5 percent sample; and Super-PUMAs—400,000+ people in the 1 percent sample. (Super-PUMAs are simply combinations of a few PUMAs). PUMAs and Super-PUMAs are designed to distinguish central cities from suburbs, and do not cross state lines or the boundaries of most larger metropolitan areas. PUMA boundaries may in some cases correspond with sub-metropolitan jurisdictions (counties, cities and towns), if their population exceeds 100,000.

[17] Legal immigrant adults in the country less than five years are ineligible for welfare, food stamps and Medicaid, for instance.

While not allowing neighborhood-level mapping, the PUMS data allow direct comparisons between immigrants and natives, as well as comparisons among different groups of immigrants, on a wide range of variables of interest. Immigrants are defined in the Census PUMS datasets in the same way as in the Census SF3, using the citizenship variable. Characteristics of different immigrant groups can be analyzed in detail, including household size and family structure; adult educational attainment, English proficiency, employment, and earnings; household income and poverty; and housing conditions. Cross-tabulation allows population-based comparisons—for instance, between immigrants and natives, or among immigrants by country of birth or date of arrival—on all of these measures. Multivariate analysis is also possible, allowing examination of the relative impact of different characteristics of immigrants on outcomes such as jobs or incomes. An illustrative example using the Census PUMS would be a multivariate statistical model showing the separate effects on earnings and income of country of birth, time spent in the United States, educational attainment, and English proficiency.

Such comparisons are possible in part because the Census PUMS datasets have very large samples that are uniform across the nation (making comparisons across states, metropolitan areas, etc., valid). The 5 percent PUMS will likely have records for about 6 million households and 14 million individuals, of whom about 1.5 million are immigrants. The 1 percent PUMS has records for more than 1 million households and almost 3 million individuals, of whom more than 300,000 are immigrants.

For most of the data elements in both the PUMS datasets and the SF3, direct comparisons with previous decennial censuses can be conducted to show trends since 1980 or 1990, for instance. Our examples in this guidebook concentrate mostly on 2000 data. However, the Urban Institute's Neighborhood Change Database, part of the National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership project, is developing maps that show changes from decade to decade (using 1980, 1990 and 2000 Census SF3 data) for several metropolitan areas (see http://www.urban.org/nnip). The Neighborhood Change Database makes direct comparisons among 1980, 1990 and 2000 Census data using consistently defined Census tracts.

Census 2000, 2001 and 2002 Supplementary Survey (C2SS) and American Community Survey (ACS)

(2000 and 2001 Public Use Microdata Samples currently available, 2002 sample available in 2004).

The Census Supplementary Survey (C2SS), as mentioned earlier, is a trial run for the American Community Survey, which the Census Bureau plans to use as a replacement for the Census long form data sets. The C2SS is a national survey of about 700,000 households taken during 2000 (with independent monthly samples), which was repeated in 2001 and 2002. The C2SS has both geographic look-up features on the Census website—with pre-specified tables similar to those found in the Census SF3—and a PUMS dataset—with the same or similar variables as the Census 2000 PUMS, as well as a few additional variables. Like the Census PUMS, the C2SS PUMS has records for individuals and households that can be manipulated by individual users to create

customized analyses. The PUMS for 2000 and 2001 are currently available, and the 2002 PUMS should be available in 2004. For geographic identification, the C2SS PUMS only has variables identifying states and metropolitan areas. The C2SS PUMS provides a sample that is considerably smaller than the sample in the Census PUMS and is only a fraction of the actual C2SS sample—about 130,000 households for each year (2000, 2001 and 2002). These samples are large enough for sophisticated analysis of data (including cross tabulations and multivariate analysis) at the national level, as well as for larger states and larger metropolitan areas.

The American Community Survey is planned to be a very large ongoing survey of about 250,000 households per month or 3 million per year. As planned, the ACS will provide annual data for areas of 100,000 people or more. Data for smaller areas such as Census tracts can be cumulated over multiple years. Under current plans, five years' worth of ACS data will be equivalent to the decennial Census sample for the long form. Data releases should allow comparisons for states, major metropolitan areas and large counties every year, and for smaller local areas—down to the level of Census tracts—every five years. The data to be collected are virtually identical to the Census. The ACS plan calls for data files similar in layout and content to the PUMS files released for Census 2000 and the C2SS. These files will allow for cross-tabulation and multivariate analysis, but the degree of geographic specificity has yet to be determined. The ACS was scheduled to begin in 2004 but Congress has not yet approved funding. At this writing (April 2003), the status of the ACS is uncertain, but it is unlikely to begin at the planned scale in 2004.

Current Population Survey (CPS)

(Data available with nativity for each year from 1994 to 2002; the most detailed survey is the Annual Demographic Supplement, taken in March of each year.)

The Current Population Survey is the official labor force survey of the U.S. government. The CPS is conducted every month and provides data focusing on employment and other labor force characteristics, but also includes a considerable amount of basic demographic information. In 1994, the CPS was redesigned and since then it has included information on country of birth, citizenship, year of immigration to the United States, and country of birth of parents in every monthly survey. Data on parents' nativity allows analysis not only of the foreign-born population (also called the "first generation"), but allows the U.S. native population to be further divided into U.S.-born children of immigrants (the "second generation") and U.S.-born children of natives (the "third-and-higher generations"). Because of these new questions, the CPS is currently the best source of ongoing, comprehensive data on adult children of immigrants.

The CPS monthly survey has records for about 50,000 households, with about 70 percent overlapping from month to month and about 40 percent overlapping from the same month in the previous year. In some months, a set of supplementary questions covering a specific topic is added to the CPS; regular supplementary topics include: contingent and displaced workers, job tenure (February); food insecurity and hunger

(December); fertility (June); school enrollment and language usage (October); voting and registration (even-number Novembers); and computer and internet-related topics.

Starting in 2002, the March CPS was expanded from 50,000 to 80,000 households. This survey includes a detailed set of questions regarding demographic characteristics, income sources, public program participation, and health insurance. The March sample can be used to analyze a wealth of data on the foreign-born population. It includes most data items in the Census and American Community Survey as well as substantially more detailed information on labor force characteristics, income amounts and sources, and program participation. The geographic specificity available from the CPS is limited. The CPS identifies all states, major metropolitan areas, central cities and large counties, but sample size constraints limit analysis of subpopulations such as immigrants to a handful of large states and major cities. It is possible to pool the March CPS from more than one year in order to increase the sample size and allow subgroup comparisons for smaller areas.

The March CPS Supplement offers sample size advantages over other months because through 2001, the March sample is expanded by about 10 percent. Thus, for months other than March, the CPS samples about 45,000 households with about 5,000 headed by immigrants. The March CPS Supplement (through 2001) has a sample of about 50,000 households with about 6,500 headed by immigrants.

Beginning with 2002, the March Supplement has been enhanced even further; the sample has been expanded to include substantially more households with children, specifically to permit more precise analysis of impacts of SCHIP (the State Children's Health Insurance Program). The March 2002 CPS Supplement includes about 78,000 households or almost 60 percent more than the previous year, and almost 10,000 sample households are headed by immigrants. These enhanced March samples will be conducted every year. In addition, a special "overlap" sample for March 2001 is available from the Census Bureau's website but this overlap sample is not the source for "official" data from March 2001.[18]

Immigration and Naturalization Service Public Use Legal Admissions Data[19]

(Federal fiscal years 1972 through 2001 are currently available.)

These data report annual immigrant admissions to the United States and are the foundation for the INS *Statistical Yearbook.*[20] The INS public use data are administrative

[18] The file is designated as the "2001 SCHIP Data File" file and can be found at http://www.bls.census.gov/ferretftp.htm.

[19] On March 1, 2003, all functions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) were transferred from the Department of Justice to the Department of Homeland Security. The INS was then split into separate agencies for enforcement and for processing of immigration and naturalization applications. The Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services (BCIS) is the new agency responsible for applications and for maintenance of the data on applications we discuss here. It is not certain whether or how BCIS will release data on legal immigration in the future.

data drawn from records of legal immigrants during the year in which they were admitted as legal permanent residents (LPRs)—which may be long after they first arrived in the United States. Because processing times for applications vary, year-to-year changes in the number of LPRs admitted may reflect administrative backlogs and other processing factors instead of changes in actual immigration flows. As a result, the numbers of immigrant admissions may swing up and down from year to year, and so it is generally good practice to examine several years' worth of data to estimate legal immigration trends.

The INS data are limited to legal immigrants. Since undocumented immigrants—those without authorization to stay in the United States legally—are not included in these data, the INS data represent only a portion of the annual flow into the country. INS data do, however, identify *legal* immigrants by their category of admission—for instance, as refugees, employment immigrants, or family-reunification immigrants. The only demographic data included are age, sex and country of birth.

In terms of geography, the INS admissions data indicate where immigrants *intend* to live and not necessarily where they actually live. More than half of the admissions in the INS data, however, are immigrants already living in the country that have "adjusted" their status to become permanent residents. For this group, *intended* residence is usually actual residence.

The strengths and weaknesses of the INS data derive from the fact that they represent additions to the population (flow data) rather than the total population living in a given area at a particular point in time (stock data). Because they show immigrants' *intended* (presumably first) place of residence, the data allow for analysis of initial settlement patterns across and within metropolitan areas. The INS data through 1998 include a field for each immigrant's zip code of intended residence. But for 1999 and 2000, only the "metropolitan area of intended residence" is coded in the data.

The INS data represent, at best, the first place an immigrant settles, and so they cannot be used to describe the population currently living in an area. However, they can be extremely valuable, especially when used in conjunction with other data. The data provide a good lagging indicator of migration trends—by helping to confirm which immigrant populations are growing and likely to continue to grow, versus those not growing as fast as they once did. They can also be a leading indicator to help identify seed migration—the arrival of small numbers of pioneer or first settlers from a particular country—and chain migration—the ongoing migration of large numbers of settlers from a country over time. Although the INS data do not identify secondary migrants—those who move from one place to another within the United States—comparisons with the Census and other data sources may serve to highlight trends in secondary migration. Finally, although they exclude undocumented immigrants, the INS data can help identify them indirectly through comparison with the Census (see Section V for an example).

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[20] Federal fiscal years begin on October 1 of the preceding calendar year and end on September 30 (e.g., the 2002 fiscal year ran from October 1, 2001, through September 30, 2002).

Title III of The No Child Left Behind Act and Other School-Based Data

Title III of The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) provides payments to state education agencies who, in turn, provide grants to local school districts based on the number of their students who are: (1) limited English proficient (LEP) and/or (2) foreign-born and have been in U.S. schools for less than three years.[21] To receive these funds states and local education agencies must report on the number of LEP and recently-arrived foreign-born children.

Data on LEP and recent immigrant students have been available at the state and, in some instances, the district and even school level, depending on the particular state or local school districts. In the future, data on both the number of such students and their academic progress should be available from the U.S. Department of Education, from state education agencies, and local school districts.[22] In some cases, ZIP codes or addresses of students may be available, although access to such data may be restricted to protect students' confidentiality, depending on the data release policies of states and local school districts.

Data on recently-arrived immigrant students have been kept by some school districts since 1984, when Congress passed the Emergency Immigrant Education Program (EIEP), which provided federal funds to local school districts with large increases in the number of recent immigrant students. The actual years for which data are available, however, vary among school districts, since data collection is optional and many districts did not begin receiving large numbers of immigrant schoolchildren until the mid- to late-1990s. State and locally maintained data on recently-arrived immigrant students often represent a good leading indicator of future immigration. To illustrate, the appearance of a small number of children from a particular country in a school district may signal that immigrants from that country have begun to settle in the immediate area and that the flow will increase in the future.

Several weaknesses of data collected on recent immigrants for the EIEP and now NCLB need to be kept in mind. First, school districts are not required by law to collect the data, although most districts with significant new immigrant populations have funding incentives to do so. Second, since data on country of birth have not been required for federal reimbursement, the data may be incomplete or missing, making comparisons

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[21] The NCLB law consolidates two federal programs, the Bilingual Education Act and the Emergency Immigrant Education Act. Under the NCLB law federal funds are distributed to states on a formula basis: 80 percent on the basis of a state's number of LEP students; 20 percent on the basis of the number of recently-arrived immigrant students.

[22] According to the NCLB the local education agency must provide a biennial evaluation of children enrolled in a program or activity supported by Title III funds, including the percentage of children who (1) are making progress in attaining English proficiency; (2) transitioned into classrooms not tailored to LEP children; and (3) are meeting the same challenging State academic content and student academic achievement standards as all other children.

across school districts difficult. Finally, the data do not include either foreign-born children who have been in the United States for more than three years or U.S.-born children with immigrant parents. The latter represent about three-quarters of all children with immigrant parents.

Some school districts collect and maintain more detailed data on the characteristics of schoolchildren, including immigrants. Providence Plan (2002), for example, has mapped the residential settlement patterns of immigrant schoolchildren using Providence School Registration Data for the 2001-2002 school year. The Providence Registration data include records on all children in the district—about 27,000 total—and information on nativity and primary language. Portland State University has obtained similar data—including nativity and English language ability—for the approximately 55,000 children in Portland, Oregon Public Schools—for several recent school years. Both these data sets include the addresses of all the students, allowing for precise mapping of the residential settlement of immigrant children. While not collected everywhere, such data are likely available for at least some major cities with large populations of immigrant schoolchildren.

State Health Department Vital Records

States track births in hospitals via birth certificates, which include nativity and place of birth of the mother. These data can be valuable because birth analysis is a leading indicator of the second generation: each birth to an immigrant mother represents an addition to the second generation. (Babies born in U.S. hospitals are automatically U.S. citizens.) Birth records are also a leading indicator of immigration trends, because most births occur to relatively young women, many of whom will be among the most recent immigrants to a particular area.

Country of birth and maternal ethnicity are not coded in a standardized fashion across the states, however, and relevant information is often missing. These data weaknesses complicate comparisons with other data sources and across states and local areas, especially for recently arrived immigrant groups (who may be coded less consistently than populations with which state officials are more familiar). In some cases, ZIP codes or addresses of mothers may be available, although access to such data may be restricted to protect confidentiality. Additionally, users must be sure to differentiate between data on births to residents as opposed to data on births occurring in an area. This distinction is important because people often give birth in jurisdictions other than those in which they live. (For instance, in the Washington metropolitan area, a District of Columbia resident could give birth in a hospital in Northern Virginia, or vice versa.)

Social Services Caseload Data

Many states and counties record the nativity, race/ethnicity and citizenship of recipients of public benefits such as welfare, food stamps and Medicaid. Data quality

varies by state and jurisdiction, but data for counties and possibly social service office locations within counties are available in most cases. ZIP codes or addresses of service recipients may also be available, although access to such data may be restricted to protect confidentiality.

Similar data on admissions, visits and service use are often also available from public hospitals, clinics, and non-profit health and service providers. For instance, Bridges to Care, a city-operated network connecting the uninsured to health providers in Nashville, collects data on the foreign-born, who represent about 30 to 40 percent of the network's caseload.

Such data are useful for identifying the most needy populations—for instance, those receiving welfare and food stamps (with use of food stamps identifying potentially food insecure populations). Social services caseload data also help measure levels of local public resource use, can identify major resource providers, and can be mapped against locations of low-income and poor immigrant populations to identify geographic mismatches between need and program participation.

However, social service data tend to be poor indicators of the size and characteristics of the overall immigrant population, because they are limited to low-income populations. Moreover, restrictions on immigrant eligibility and overall declines in public benefit use mean that these data will only capture a segment of the low-income immigrant population. They will capture those receiving services, which are only a subset of those who need them (and even of those who are eligible). The data are especially likely to miss the undocumented population and more recent arrivals, whose eligibility for social benefits and services is the most restricted by law.

National Survey of America's Families, Other Data on Children and Families

Three waves of the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) have been conducted by Westat for The Urban Institute—in 1997, 1999 and 2002. The central focus of the NSAF is children: the survey includes questions regarding children's demographics, health, well-being and school involvement, as well as information about their parents and families. The 1999 NSAF has a sample of over 42,000 households, and the sample includes information on roughly 5,000 children living in immigrant families.[23] The 1999 NSAF is available as a public use data set. The 2002 NSAF, with a similar sample size, should be available to the public in 2004.

The NSAF can be used to analyze most of the variables found in the Census, C2SS and CPS, such as family income, poverty and benefits use, and parental education, employment and wages. The NSAF, however, provides additional information on children, including:

[23] The 1997 NSAF also includes a sample of children in immigrant families; however, nativity was not properly recorded for all adults, and so there is substantial error in identifying immigrants in the survey.

- Hardship (crowded housing, difficulty affording food);
- Health (insurance coverage, access to care, and self-reported health); and
- Well-being (mental health, parent-child interaction, and school engagement).

The NSAF identifies immigrants using the same questions as the Census, C2SS and CPS. It differentiates between naturalized citizens and non-citizens, but does not include information about the legal status of non-citizens. The NSAF was administered in English and Spanish, and so Spanish-speaking families with limited English proficient members are included in the data. Since the survey was not conducted in any other language, however, some other immigrant families—e.g., those speaking only Chinese, Vietnamese, Russian and other languages—may not be included in the data. The survey includes over-samples of low-income families and Hispanics.

The NSAF sample design covers the entire United States while also permitting separate analyses for 13 states and the balance of the nation.[24] Sample sizes are large enough to analyze data for immigrants separately in eight states with substantial immigrant populations. These states are California, New York, Texas, Florida, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Colorado and Washington.

The NSAF design lends itself better to analyzing families rather than households, since the respondent is the family member most knowledgeable about the children for whom data are being collected. In contrast, the Census, C2SS and CPS are household-based surveys in which the respondent is the household head. When using these household-based surveys, we split some households into families, in order to analyze families in terms of the nativity, citizenship and legal status of parents and their children. The Census, C2SS and CPS include variables that can be used to identify separate families living in the same household.

Caveats for the Data User

All the data sources described here have been chosen because they have particular strengths—in terms of coverage, information detail, etc. But there are important cautions users need to be aware of, to make sure they understand what the particular data source they are working with can *and cannot* tell them.

Leading versus lagging indicators. It is crucial for data users to decide whether they want information to help predict the future or confirm what has already happened. Some measures (for instance, school district enrollment data) may predict future immigrant settlement patterns, and can be used to assess which immigrant populations are growing and declining. Other data sources tend to lag behind population trends. The number and share of immigrants who are naturalized is a "lagging indicator" of

[24] The NSAF's complex sample design requires sophisticated software for some types of analysis and measures of statistical reliability.

immigrant settlement and integration, since immigrants must have several years of legal residency and pass a test in English before naturalizing. Lagging indicators are useful to confirm population composition and verify assumed local knowledge about immigrant communities.

Identifying undocumented immigrants. Getting a good idea about the undocumented immigrant population is a challenge, since most surveys do not identify them as such, even when they are included in the sample. This omission is important, because over one quarter of all immigrants are undocumented. The Immigration and Naturalization Service dataset, as noted, omits them altogether because it only includes legal immigrants. The Census data include undocumented immigrants, but they do not distinguish among refugees, legal immigrants, and undocumented immigrants. On a related point, there is evidence that the 2000 Census undercounted some groups, including undocumented immigrants, but the true extent of such undercounts is unknown. However, it is thought to be small relative to the 1990 Census and other major government surveys because of extensive marketing and outreach to immigrant and minority communities.[25]

Coverage of children of immigrants. The Current Population Survey identifies U.S.-born children of immigrants of all ages—including adults—through separate questions on country of birth of mother and father. There are many more U.S.-born children of immigrants—or "the second generation"—than children who are immigrants themselves. Foreign-born children, the "first generation," represent only about 20 percent of the children of immigrants ages 18 and under. The Census, C2SS and NSAF can also be used to identify the second generation, but only those who still live with their foreign-born parents.

Other local area data sources often fail to capture the second generation. For example, school-based data typically identify only foreign-born students and not foreign-born parents. Unless information about the nativity of parents is included in the data, the second generation cannot be identified.

Geographic specificity versus population detail. The Census 2000 SF3 and SF4 data are the most versatile when it comes to identifying immigrants by geography, ranging from the national level down to neighborhoods the size of a few blocks. SF3 and SF4 data are especially powerful for placed-based comparisons (e.g., among different neighborhoods within a city, or among counties within a state), although school district and other local data may also be useful for neighborhood-level comparisons.

But the SF3 and SF4 data are limited to tabulations arranged by the Census Bureau. Among the most useful for analysis of immigrant populations are tables

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[25] For detailed, technical information on the extent of the Census 2000 undercount generally and for various subpopulations, see the Census Bureau reports from the Executive Steering Committee for Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation Policy (ESCAP), available at http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/EscapRep.html and http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/EscapRep2.html.

enumerating foreign-born populations by nativity, country of birth, language spoken at home, and poverty status. Unfortunately, the SF3 and SF4 data do not allow direct comparisons of educational attainment, housing conditions, or labor market outcomes between immigrant and native-born populations, because the Census Bureau does not tabulate foreign- and native-born individuals separately on these characteristics.

To make such direct comparisons, analysts must rely on microdata—data sources with records describing individuals on an array of characteristics that can be tabulated by the user. The largest of these datasets is the Census 2000 PUMS. The PUMS data, however, do not identify areas with populations below 100,000 persons, and so cannot be used for neighborhood-level analysis. The Current Population Survey and C2SS PUMS also include microdata, but have smaller samples and are limited to even larger geographic areas, such as states and major metropolitan areas, and (in the case of the CPS) large counties.

Data quality. Data quality varies substantially by data source. Sometimes data items are "missing", because a respondent did not answer a survey question, for instance, or the answer could not be interpreted clearly enough to be included in the data. Another common problem is that different surveys use different methods to collect data and "code" answers (i.e., to translate a verbal or written answer into a number for purposes of analysis). In general, Census data are of the highest quality, because they are consistent across the nation, and considerable work has been done to ensure consistency of coding and adjustment for missing data through imputation of a plausible response based on answers to other questions and the responses of other cases with similar characteristics. When it comes to state and local data, however, there is no guarantee that data are collected, coded or imputed consistently from one data set to another. For instance, in school enrollment data, different districts may collect data on students with different countries of birth, depending on their local student populations, or they may not code country of birth at all. Coding inconsistencies and missing data complicate comparisons across jurisdictions by introducing potential distortions.

Difficulty of obtaining data and confidentiality concerns. The Census, Census 2000 Supplementary Survey, American Community Survey and Current Population data are readily available from the Census Bureau website or through private vendors. Immigration and Naturalization Service data can also be ordered from the federal government easily. But state and local agencies may not make data readily available. In some cases, only certain elements of data are released to ensure the confidentiality of survey participants or program beneficiaries. For instance, the Census 2000 SF3 data for Census tracts are limited to pre-defined tables in order to protect respondents' privacy.[26] State and local sources may also protect confidentiality of the data, or other factors may make it difficult to obtain data from these sources. For instance, school districts and hospitals may release total counts of foreign-born students and patients, but not release

[26] For example, if the Census Bureau released data including a respondent's age, gender, citizenship, country of birth, education level, occupation and neighborhood of residence, it might be possible to identify that individual.

any geographic detail. Only in rare cases will agencies release addresses or other detailed information that can be used to identify individuals.

Hardware and Software Requirements

Analysis of these data sources has become much easier with the latest generation of personal computers. In most cases, personal computers have the memory and speed to handle even the largest data sets, although some patience is required when processing the Census PUMS—which includes millions of observations. They can also handle all the software we specify here.

For analysis of basic counts and simple cross-tabulations, basic software such as Excel and Powerpoint can be used. But more complex software is needed to conduct many of the analyses we illustrate for Rhode Island's immigrant profile described in Section V.

In the case of the SF3, mapping software such as ArcView or MapInfo is useful. These mapping programs link "boundary files"—the geographic outlines of states, counties, cities, towns, Census tracts and block groups—to database files derived from the Census and other data sets. Although some programming is required to convert the SF3 data into usable database files, the software packages needed to do so are now available from some universities and from private vendors.

Tabulation of microdata in the larger datasets—the Census 2000 PUMS, C2SS and CPS—generally requires a statistical software package such as SAS, SPSS or STATA. Such packages tend to be expensive and require some time to learn, but the routines necessary to analyze these data are typically not very complex.

With respect to obtaining the data, the task is relatively easy for Census Bureau products. A full explanation of these sources and links to download them area available on the Census Bureau's webpage (http://www.census.gov).[27] The Current Population Survey (CPS) is available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the U.S. Department of Labor (http://www.bls.census.gov/cps/cpsmain.htm). The Census and CPS products are available on CD-ROM, but can also be downloaded over the Internet. Data on immigrant admissions from the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services/Immigration and Naturalization Service, while publicly available, cannot be downloaded; magnetic tapes

[27] As of April 2003, links to Census 2000 products (including the Summary Files 3 and 4 and the 1 percent and 5 percent Public Use Microdata Sets) were available on the Census webpage at http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/c2kproducts.html. The Census 2000 Supplementary Survey was available at http://www.census.gov/acs/www/Products/PUMS/PUMS2.htm. Geolytics, a private vendor, sells an integrated software package that maps and tabulates Census SF3 data on CD-ROM. Their webpage is http://www.censuscd.com. Unicon, another private vendor, sells Current Population Survey data and utilities for working with these data on CD Rom (see http://www.unicon.com).

or CD-ROMs must be ordered through the National Technical Information Service (http://www.ntis.gov), for which there is a charge.

State Data Centers (SDCs) are another resource for obtaining and working with Census data. SDCs are a network of state agencies, universities, libraries, and regional and local governments that have cooperative agreements with the Census Bureau to disseminate data products and provide training and technical assistance in their use. SDCs exist in every state, and links to them can be found on the Census Bureau's web page at http://www.census.gov/sdc/www/.

State and local data sources can be more difficult to obtain, and some can only be obtained by cultivating relationships with the relevant state and local agencies. A list of state education agencies and contact information can be found on the U.S. Department of Education website (http://www.ed.gov/Programs/bastmp/SEA.htm). SDCs might be able to help in obtaining data from these sources as well.

An important final note: Data analysis is only valuable in improving programs and policies to the extent that it is combined with local knowledge about immigrant communities and neighborhoods more generally. The input of immigrant and other community leaders into types of data to be analyzed, topics to be displayed, and strategies for data presentation is crucial to validate the data in the eyes of the communities involved, and to help convince local leaders to "buy into" the results. Here are some examples of state and local leaders who could be involved in data collection and analysis efforts: state refugee coordinators, state and local immigrant coalitions, state and local social service providers, county commissioners, mayors and city council members, legal service providers, refugee resettlement agencies, mutual assistance associations, English as a Second Language and literacy groups, community colleges, school districts, community-based organizations, and the leadership of various ethnic communities.

V. Developing an Immigrant Profile: The Example of Rhode Island

During 2002 the Urban Institute worked with the Annie E. Casey Foundation and The Providence Plan, a non-profit member of the Casey Foundation's *Making Connections* network, to develop a profile of immigrants in Providence, Rhode Island and surrounding communities, based on the Census and a variety of other data sources. Staff at The Providence Plan had developed good relationships with a number of area agencies—including the Providence School Department—which allowed them to obtain some very useful data collected at the state and local levels (see Providence Plan 2000 for further details). The following portrait of Rhode Island's immigrant population emerges.

Slow Immigrant Growth

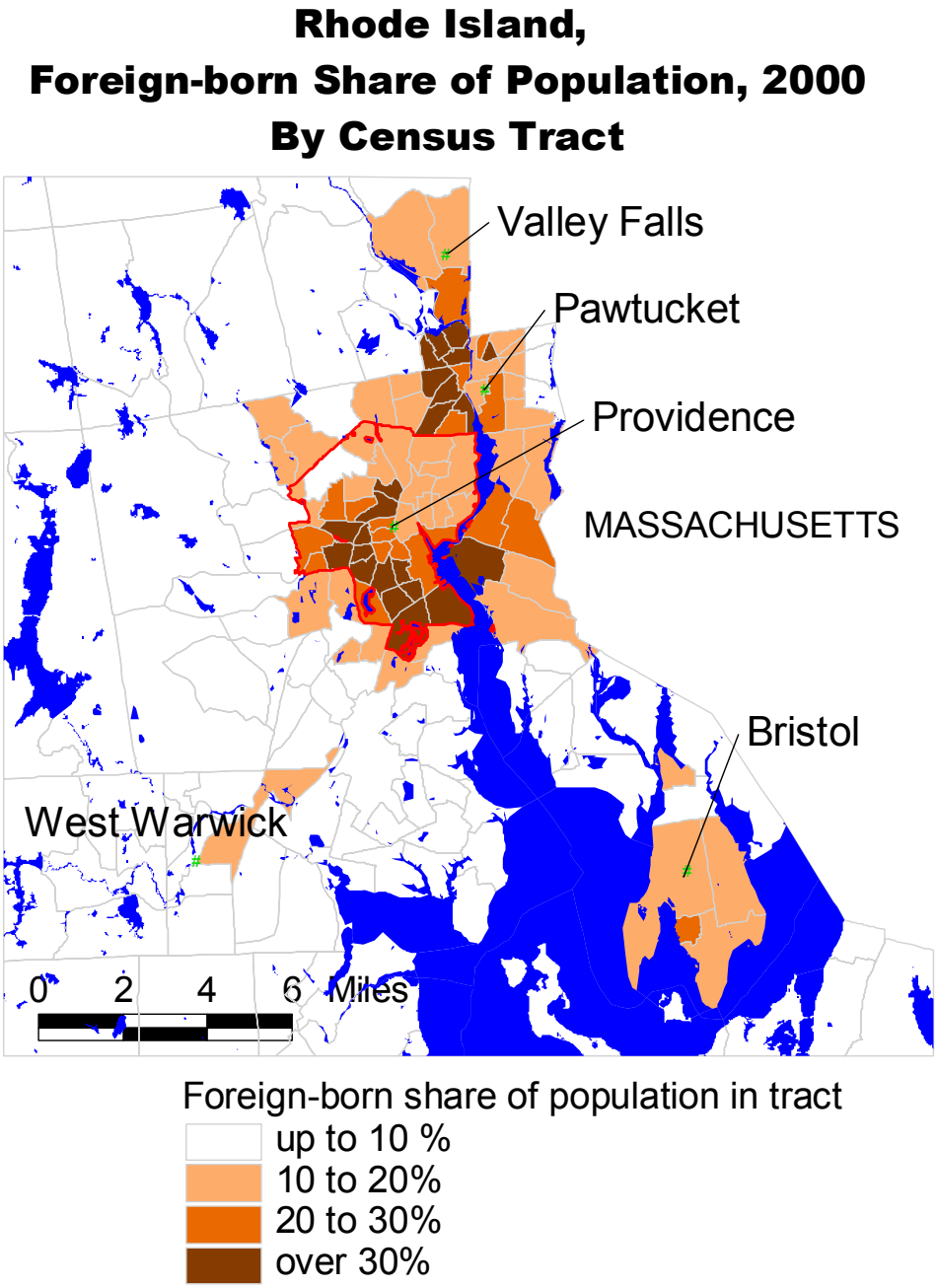
Eleven percent of Rhode Island's population is foreign-born, which is the same as the national average. Like other states in the Northeast, Rhode Island has an older, more established foreign-born population than the nation as a whole. According to Census 2000 data, 35 percent of Rhode Island's foreign-born entered the United States during the 1990s, significantly below the national average of 42 percent. In this respect, Rhode Island stands in striking contrast to the 19 "new growth" states described in Section II—mostly in the Southeast, Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions—where the foreign-born population more than doubled, and more than half of all immigrants entered during the decade of the 1990s. In fact, Rhode Island ranks 47 out of 51 in foreign-born population growth during the 1990s, with a growth rate of 25 percent, less than half the national figure of 57 percent. This slow-growth pattern holds for all of New England, where every state ranked in the bottom 12 states in terms of foreign-born population growth over that period.

Concentration in the City of Providence and Nearby Suburbs

Immigrants are heavily concentrated in the city of Providence and suburbs to the north and east—especially Valley Falls and Pawtucket. Some Census tracts in the southern and western parts of Providence and in Pawtucket have foreign-born shares over 30 percent (or about three times the statewide average), as shown in a map drawn from Census 2000 data (Figure 14).[28] This pattern of concentration is typical of cities with older, industrial cores, such as Boston, New York and others in the Northeast.

[28] Census tracts are defined by the Census Bureau to approximate "neighborhoods." The average Census tract in Rhode Island has 1,745 households and 4,480 people.

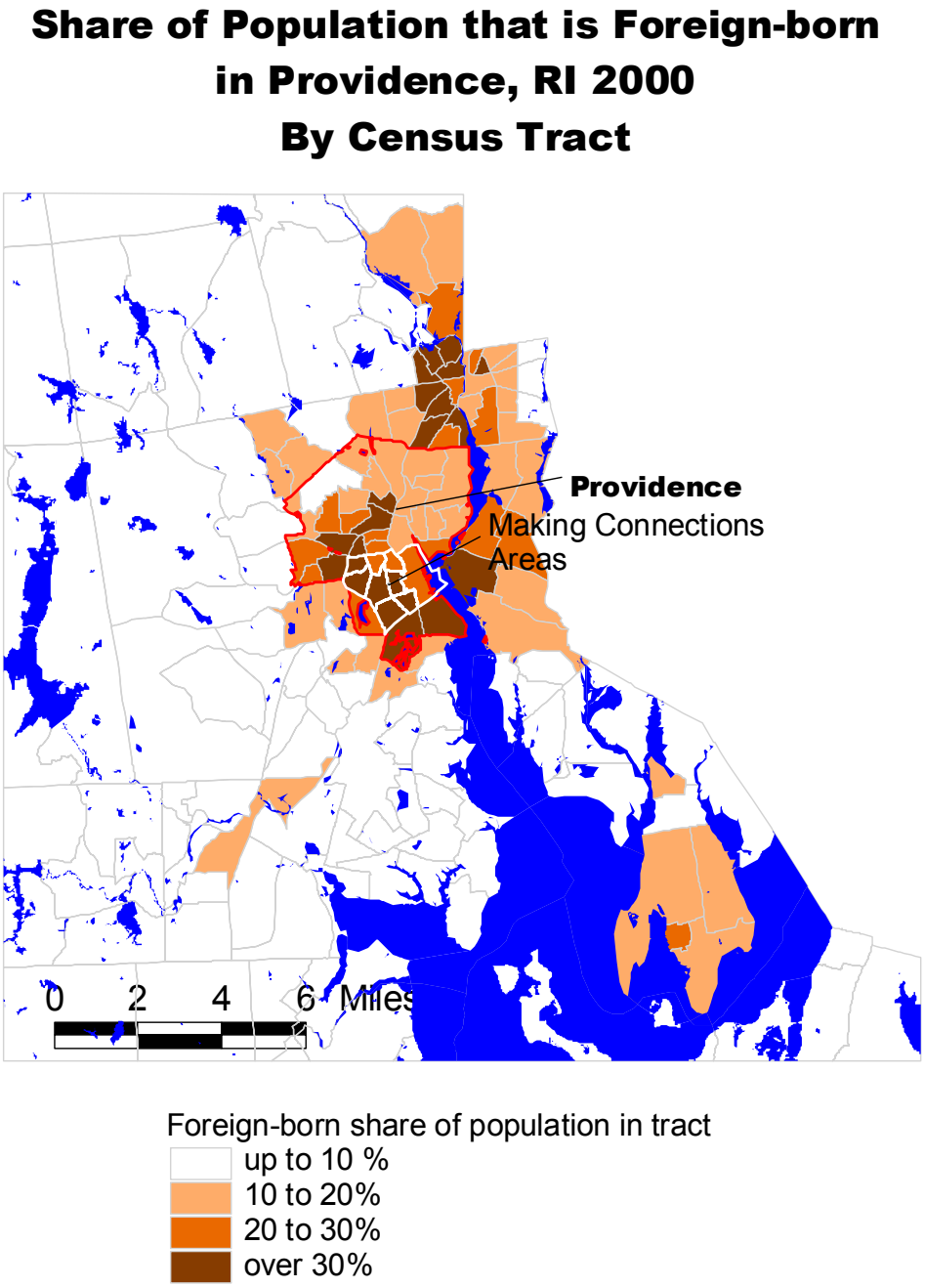
Figure 14: The Foreign-Born Population of Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation and The Providence Plan have targeted four *Making Connections* neighborhoods within the city of Providence for interventions for low-income children and families. These four neighborhoods are roughly contiguous with nine Census tracts in the southwestern section of the city (outlined in white in Figure 15). In all nine of these Census tracts, immigrants account for at least 20 percent of the total population, and in seven they represent over 30 percent of the total. Thus, the *Making Connections* neighborhoods have some of the greatest concentrations of immigrants in the city of Providence and the state of Rhode Island. These neighborhoods are also among the most ethnically diverse in the state.

Figure 15: Immigrants in Providence *Making Connections* Areas, Census 2000 Data

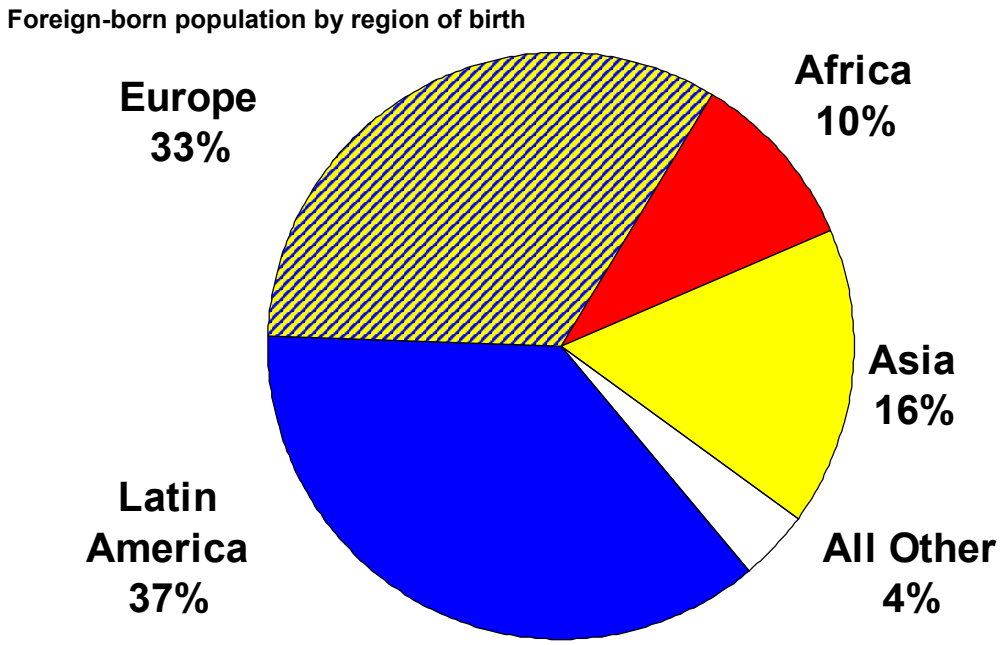


SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

Diverse Countries of Origin

According to the Census data, Rhode Island's immigrant population is very diverse, with significant shares from four different regions of the world: Latin America (37 percent), Europe (33 percent), Asia (16 percent), and Africa (10 percent). Latin American immigrants are predominantly from the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Colombia, while slightly over half of the state's European immigrants are from Portugal. Most African immigrants are from Cape Verde, and many Asian immigrants are from Southeast Asia (Cambodia and Laos), China and the Philippines (Figure 16).

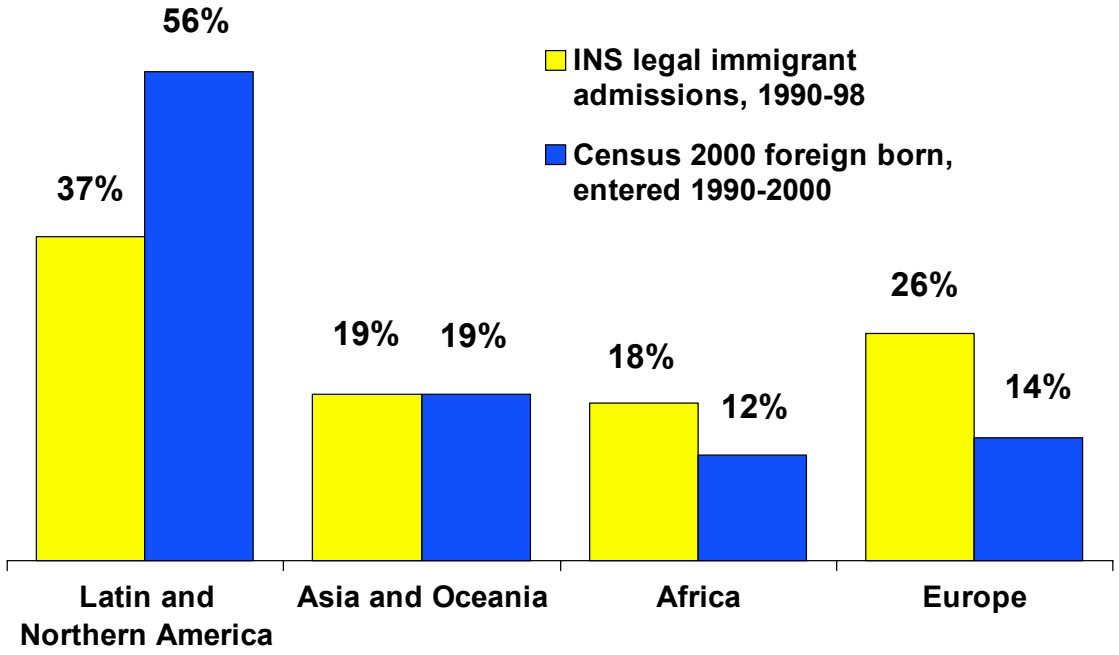
Figure 16: Birthplaces for Rhode Island's Immigrants, Census 2000 Data



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

A different source—the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) admissions data—yields a very different country-of-birth pattern. The data on regions and countries of birth for Rhode Island's foreign-born population displayed in Figure 16 include all immigrants, regardless of legal status and when they came to the United States. But INS admissions data only include records for *legal* immigrants admitted in a given year. The closest temporal comparison for the two datasets is between immigrants admitted during the 1990-1998 period for the INS dataset and immigrants who arrived between 1990 and 2000 for the Census data. Figure 17 shows the results of this comparison.

Figure 17: Birthplaces for Rhode Island's Immigrants Arriving during the 1990s, INS Admissions versus Census 2000 Data



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3 and U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service data.

According to Census data, 56 percent of the roughly 40,000 immigrants that arrived during the 1990s were born in Latin or North America, considerably higher than the 37 percent from the INS admissions data. But INS data show 26 percent of 1990s entrants were born in Europe, compared with only 14 percent shown in the Census data. Shares born in Africa are also considerably higher in the INS than the Census data. The shares born in Asia are the same for the two sources.

This data contrast offers insight into the legal status of the various immigrant groups in Rhode Island, since the INS data include only legal immigrants, whereas the Census includes both legal and undocumented immigrants. The higher percentage of 1990s immigrants born in Latin America shown in the Census data, for example, implies that a significant proportion of these immigrants are undocumented. The over-representation of those born in Asia and Europe in the INS data compared with the Census data, in contrast, indicates that these are mostly legal immigrants. Other factors also affect the different proportions in the two datasets,[29] but these are unlikely to account

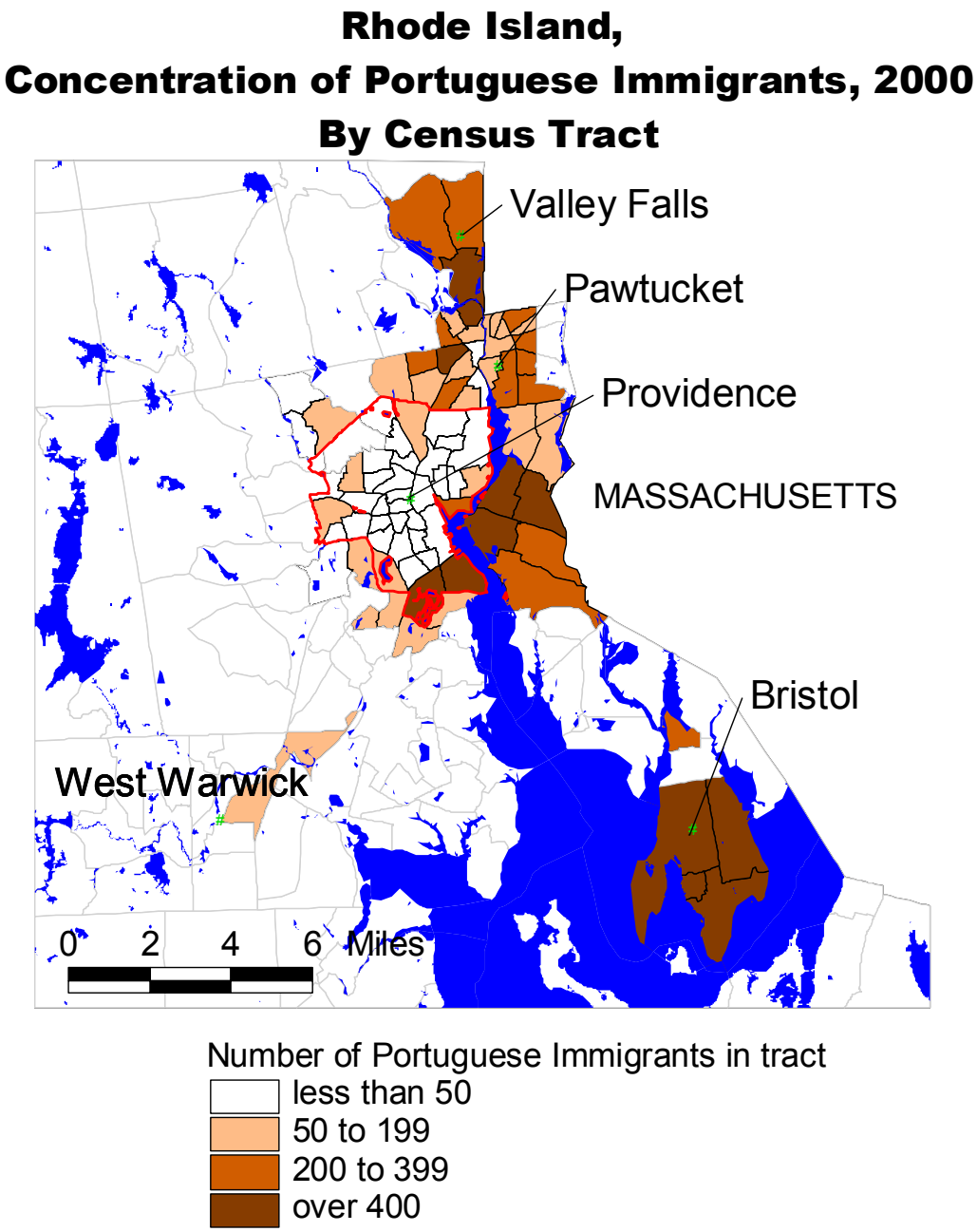
[29] Other possible reasons for differences between the two sources include: different time spans in the data (1990-98 for INS versus 1990-2000 for the Census); incorrect assignment of "intended" place of residence in the INS data; undercounting of some groups in the Census; and possible out-migration of immigrants to other states or outside the country before they appear in the Census data.

for the large discrepancies between the two data sources, strongly indicating that legal status differences among immigrant groups is a critical part of the story.

Different Settlement Patterns for Different Immigrant Groups

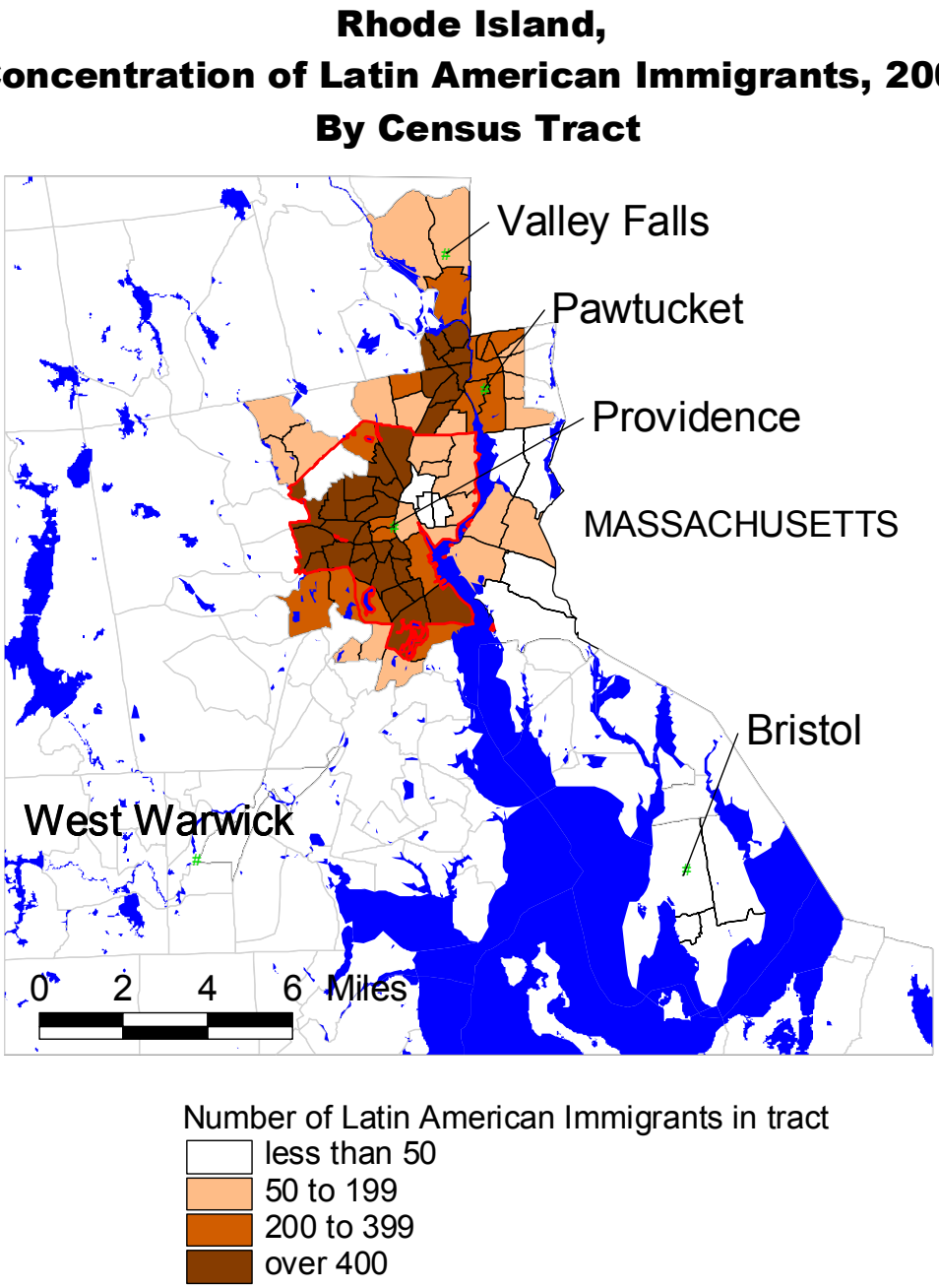
Census data reveal that settlement patterns within the state of Rhode Island vary substantially by country of birth. Portuguese immigrants have settled mostly in the suburbs to the north and east of Providence, in Pawtucket and Valley Falls, as well as further south, in Bristol (Figure 18). Latin American immigrants, by contrast, are heavily concentrated in the cities of Providence and Pawtucket, with very few settling in other parts of the state. Within Providence, Latin American immigrants live mostly in the western and southern parts of the city, which include the *Making Connections* neighborhoods (Figure 19). In fact, Latin Americans compose over 60 percent of all immigrants in the city of Providence (Providence Plan 2002). African and Asian immigrants are more evenly split between the city and suburbs, and their shares of Providence's foreign-born population are similar to their shares of the foreign-born population in the state as a whole.

Figure 18: Portuguese Immigrant Settlement, Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

Figure 19: Latin American Immigrant Settlement, Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data



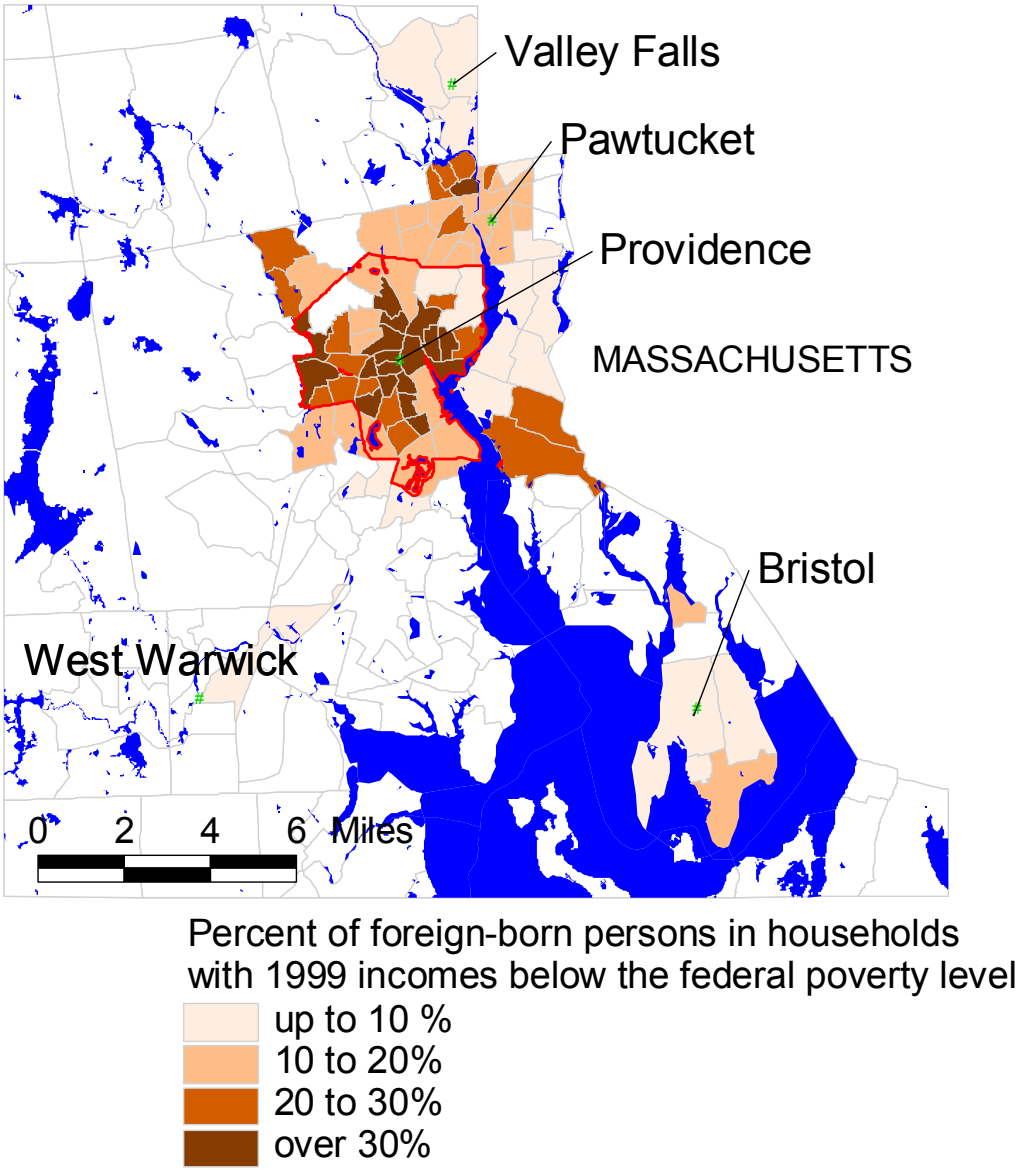
NOTE: Latin American Immigrants were predominantly born in the Dominican Republic (37%), Guatemala (21%), and Colombia (15%).

SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

Settlement Patterns of Poor Immigrants

The Census data allow mapping of individuals living in families with incomes below the federal poverty level ($17,050 for a family of four in 2000), for both immigrants and native-born citizens. (Currently available Census data do not, however, permit direct calculation of incomes for different groups of immigrants.) For the overall population, poverty is heavily concentrated in the city of Providence, which is true for immigrants as well. Fewer than 10 percent of immigrants have incomes below the poverty level in most Census tracts east of Providence and in Valley Falls and Pawtucket (Figure 20). These are the same communities in which most Portuguese immigrants live (Figure 18). By contrast, over 20 percent of immigrants have incomes below poverty in most Providence tracts as well as some of the tracts in Pawtucket. These poor immigrant tracts correspond roughly to the areas in which Latin American immigrants are concentrated (Figure 19). When compared with data on immigrant poverty, these different settlement patterns suggest that Portuguese immigrants in Rhode Island are much more prosperous than immigrants from Latin America. At least a partial explanation is that a larger share of Latin American immigrants arrived since 1990, giving them less time in the United States to integrate and raise their earning power than their counterparts from Portugal.

Figure 20: Immigrants below Poverty, Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data

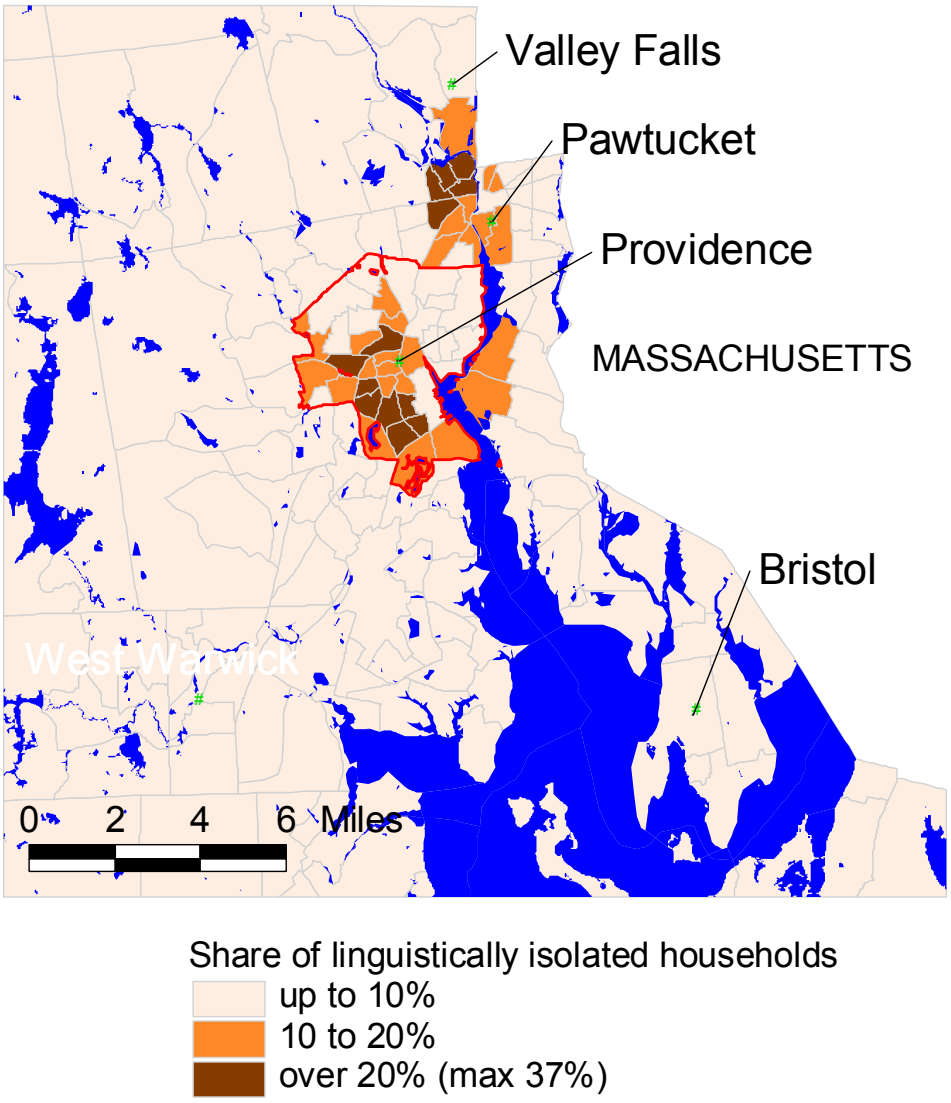


SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

Settlement Patterns of Linguistically Isolated Immigrants

Census data can also be used to identify immigrants with limited English proficiency (LEP) and "linguistically isolated households"—defined as those in which no person age 14 or older either speaks English as a first language or speaks English "very well". About 21,000 households in Rhode Island (5 percent of the state total) are linguistically isolated, a share that rises to over 20 percent in many parts of Providence (Figure 21). Census data allow drawing of similar maps showing shares of LEP adults and children. These maps show that about 59,000 immigrants ages five and older (about half the state's total foreign-born population) are LEP. Among these, 46 percent speak Spanish at home, 38 percent other Indo-European languages, and 18 percent Asian languages. These data can be used to target bilingual education, ESL classes for adults or for children, and translation and interpreter services to aid residents in accessing health, social and other public services. Within the Providence city limits the data show a great deal of language diversity and a high level of need for such services.

Figure 21: Linguistically Isolated Households, Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data



NOTE: Linguistically isolated households are those in which all members 14 years and older speak a language other than English and speak English less than ‘‘very well.”

SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

The Providence School Department collects data on the nativity of children in public schools and their first languages. The Providence Plan (2002) has analyzed these data for the *Making Connections* neighborhoods in South Providence and found that Spanish has become the dominant first language among schoolchildren there (accounting for 51 percent of all students). Only 33 percent of students in these neighborhoods speak English as their first language. About 13 percent have an Asian language as their primary language. These data describe great language diversity—and challenges in terms of provision of bilingual and ESL education—within the city's public schools.

The Providence Plan's analysis of these public school data also shows that 64 percent of the public schoolchildren in the *Making Connections* neighborhoods were born in the United States (almost twice the share who speak English as a first language). The high share of children speaking Spanish but born in the United States suggests that many of these children are second-generation immigrants whose parents were born in Spanish-speaking countries and still speak Spanish at home.

The Providence School Department data on language use and nativity show the relatively strong impact that immigration can have on public schools, in terms of both overall enrollment growth and increasing demand for English language instruction and/or bilingual education These schools not only receive immigrant children, they also receive large numbers of children born in the United States to immigrant parents.

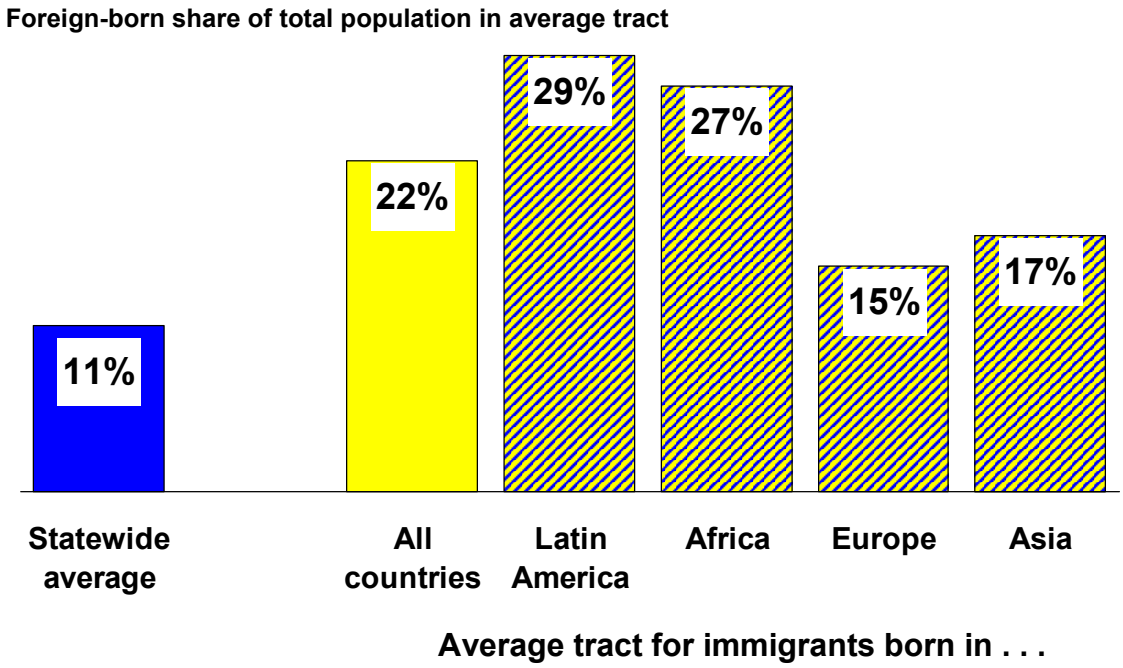
The Providence School Department is unusual in that it allows release of highly detailed information on the nativity and language use of its students. For those areas where school districts cannot supply comparable data, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) offers an alternative. As indicated in Section IV, NCLB data are useful in that they are comparable across districts, but they are limited in that they only include those districts that choose to report data in order to receive federal funding under the program. They are further limited in that they only include immigrant children arriving in the previous three years, thereby missing longer-term immigrants and second-generation students.

Effects of Immigrant Concentration on Indicators of Well-Being

The Census data currently available do not permit us to draw detailed comparisons between the characteristics of immigrants and those of natives. It is possible, however, to compare the neighborhoods in which immigrants live with other areas, to the extent that immigrants are concentrated enough for such comparisons to yield meaningful differences between immigrant and other neighborhoods, or among neighborhoods populated by immigrants from different regions of the world. Since immigrants are heavily concentrated in Providence and nearby suburbs, this type of analysis provides useful information. Because of this geographic concentration, the average immigrant in Rhode Island lives in a Census tract with a foreign-born population

share twice as high as the statewide average (22 percent versus 11 percent).[30] And Latin American and African immigrants live in neighborhoods with much higher foreign-born shares than Asian or European immigrants (Figure 22).

Figure 22: The Residential Concentration of Rhode Island's Immigrants, Census 2000 Data

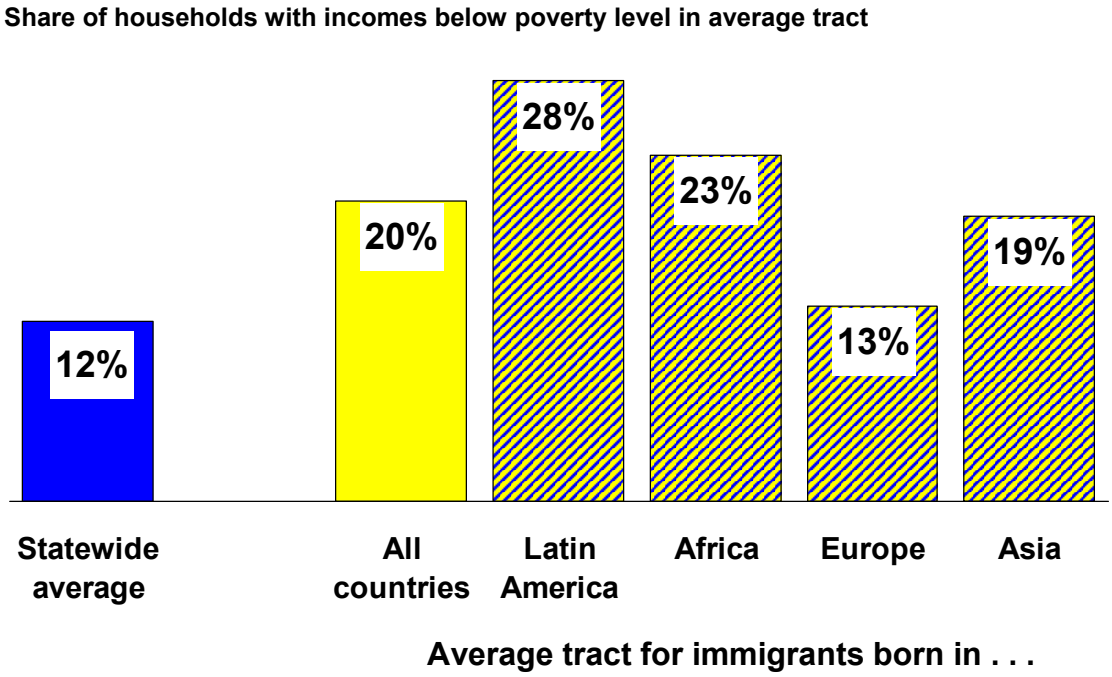


SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

The neighborhoods in which immigrants live in Rhode Island tend to be poorer than average (Figure 23). Overall, the poverty rate for the average immigrant tract is nearly twice the statewide average (20 versus 12 percent). Latin American and African immigrants are concentrated in those neighborhoods with the most poverty. The average Latin American immigrant lives in a census tract where nearly 30 percent of families have incomes below the federal poverty level; the comparable statistic is 23 percent for African immigrants and only 13 percent for European immigrants. The figure for the average Latin American immigrant is more than twice as high as the poverty rate for the state as a whole (12 percent). As shown earlier (Figure 20), most of the poorest immigrant neighborhoods are located within the city of Providence.

[30] The methodology involves indirect comparisons calculated as follows: (1) Determine the number of immigrants in each Census tract. (2) For each Census tract, take the value for each variable of interest (for instance, share of families with incomes below the poverty level). (3) Multiply each tract value from step 2 times the number of immigrants in the tract from step 1. (4) Add together the values generated in step 3 and divide by the total number of immigrants in the entire area. (5) The weighted average determined in step 4 is equivalent to the value of the variable for the Census tract in which the average immigrant lives. (6) Calculate similar weighted averages for subpopulations by region of birth (e.g., African immigrants versus Asian immigrants), using the numbers of immigrants from that region of birth for each tract and the entire area.

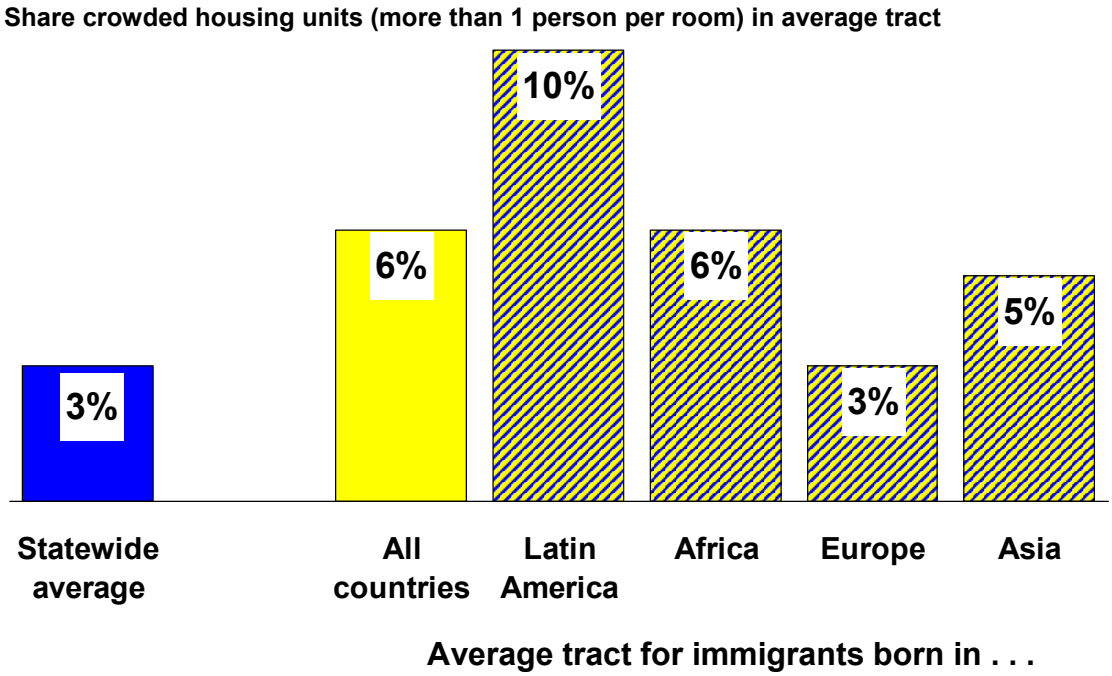
Figure 23: Immigrant Concentration in Poor Neighborhoods in Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

Immigrants in Rhode Island also tend to live in more crowded neighborhoods (Figure 24). In Rhode Island overall, only 3 percent of housing units are crowded (defined by the U.S. Census as more than one person per room). But the average Latin American immigrant lives in a neighborhood where 10 percent of all housing units are crowded (more than three times the state average). Crowding rates in neighborhoods where African and Asian immigrants tend to live are about twice the statewide average. These figures suggest, albeit indirectly, that many immigrants economize on housing by living in more crowded conditions, and that therefore, immigrant neighborhoods—especially those populated by Latin Americans—have relatively high population densities.

Figure 24: Immigrant Concentration in Neighborhoods with Crowded Housing in Rhode Island, Census 2000 Data



SOURCE: Urban Institute, based on Census 2000, Summary File 3.

VI. Conclusions about Rhode Island and Applicability to Other Metropolitan Areas

The Rhode Island data shown here, which are consolidated from the Census and other sources, highlight the heavy concentration of immigrants in the city of Providence and nearby suburbs, with the exception of Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, Asian immigrants, who tend to live in suburban areas farther out from Providence. Census 2000 data show that poorer immigrants are even more concentrated in the city of Providence, mostly in the western and southern sections of the city, including the *Making Connections* neighborhoods. These findings suggest that policies to promote integration—especially those involving public benefits to lower-income families—are best targeted to inner-city Providence neighborhoods.

The substantial overlap in Rhode Island between the settlement patterns of Latin American immigrants and poorer neighborhoods suggests that this group has relatively high poverty rates. The dispersal of Portuguese and other European immigrants in suburbs with lower poverty rates suggests that those immigrants have relatively high incomes when compared to Latin Americans. These findings, in turn, suggest that Spanish speakers predominate among the population in need of social services, especially within the city of Providence, although definitive information on the extent of poverty among different groups of immigrants must await analysis using the Census PUMS.

No single country of birth predominates in Rhode Island: substantial shares of immigrants were born in Portugal, other European countries, Latin America, Asia and Africa. Comparison between Census data for the 1990s and INS figures on legal immigrant arrivals during the 1990s sheds light on relative legal status, however. The comparison indicates that European, African and Asian immigrants appear to be mostly legal, but that a large share of Rhode Island's Latin American immigrants are undocumented. Because of their status, many of these immigrants are likely to work in informal sector jobs and fear interaction with government agencies—complicating efforts to integrate this large group of newcomers to the state.

The diversity of Rhode Island's foreign-born population is reflected in the variety of languages spoken by immigrants in the state. While Spanish predominates, the Census data show substantial shares speaking other European and Asian languages. Within the immigrant neighborhoods of Providence, substantial shares of immigrants also live in linguistically isolated households, where no adults speak English very well. Furthermore, data from the Providence School Department show that—in *Making Connections* neighborhoods—a majority of schoolchildren do not speak English as their first language, but rather Spanish is their predominant language. These findings argue for continuing support for bilingual instruction (i.e., instruction in the child's first language) and English as a Second Language programs in the Providence public schools, as well as investment in ESL and interpreter services for adults in the city.

Census data highlight some striking contrasts between immigrant neighborhoods in Rhode Island and the rest of the state. The average immigrant lives in a neighborhood with lower incomes, higher poverty, more linguistically isolated households, and more crowded housing than does the average resident. The contrast between Latin American immigrants and the general population is even stronger, but Portuguese and other European immigrants live in neighborhoods with characteristics more similar to statewide averages. It is the heavy concentration of immigrants—especially those born in Latin America—in the city of Providence and nearby suburbs that makes such comparisons possible.

In many areas of the country, immigrants are more dispersed than they are in Rhode Island. Our analyses of Census data for Atlanta, Georgia, and Nashville, Tennessee (both with rapidly growing immigrant populations), for example, show that immigrants tend to settle in areas outside these two major Southeastern cities. This dispersal has important implications for data analysis and policy development.

First, it is difficult to identify "immigrant neighborhoods" where the population is more dispersed. Most of the indirect measures described for Rhode Island do not yield similar results for Atlanta or Nashville, because few neighborhoods have large immigrant populations, and immigrants settle in a variety of different neighborhoods with different characteristics. This dispersal makes place-based strategies to integrate immigrants (for instance, through neighborhood organizations or community development initiatives) more difficult in Atlanta or Nashville than in Providence. On the other hand, county governments are more powerful in Atlanta and Nashville—as they tend to be in metropolitan areas in the South and West—than in Northeastern cities such as Providence. The relative strength of county governments and dispersal of immigrants across several counties in Atlanta and Nashville may mean that strategies to integrate immigrants there should be undertaken at the county instead of the neighborhood level, and that counties may be the most useful unit of geographic analysis for these and similar metropolitan areas.

Second, the dispersal of immigrants across the suburbs makes targeting of services and integration policies toward areas where immigrants live more difficult and more expensive. For instance, Providence School Department programs reach a large share of all children from immigrant families in Rhode Island, but in the Atlanta metropolitan area several different school districts—City of Atlanta, Cobb County, DeKalb County and Gwinnett County, to name a few—all serve large numbers of foreign-born and second generation children. In addition, several different hospitals and social service offices must provide translation and interpreter services in the Atlanta region.

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Appendix: Participants in April 2002 Conference on "Using Small Area Data to Draw Pictures of Immigrant Populations"

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