



At Home in the Nation's Capital: Immigrant Trends in Metropolitan Washington

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“Remarkably, some 47.5 percent of Washington’s foreign born arrived in the 1990s.”

Findings

An analysis of the growth and location of the foreign born in the Washington metropolitan area between 1980 and 2000 finds that:

- The Washington metropolitan area attracted 575,000 immigrants between 1980 and 2000 and has become a major destination for immigrants to the United States. By 2000, 832,016 immigrants made up some 17 percent of the region’s population, making the area the seventh-largest immigrant gateway in the United States.
- During the 1990s, the largest numerical gain of immigrants occurred in the inner suburban counties, while the largest proportional increase was in the outer counties. Montgomery, Fairfax, and Prince George’s counties together gained nearly 250,000 immigrants, for an increase of 72 percent. Immigrants in the outer counties, including Loudoun and Prince William, grew by 160 percent with a gain of nearly 50,000 foreign-born residents.
- New immigrants made up nearly half of the overall population growth in the Washington metropolitan region in the past decade. Remarkably, some 47.5 percent of Washington’s foreign born arrived in the decade. This influx has accounted for a majority of inner suburban population growth and offset some of the District of Columbia’s population losses.
- Three-quarters of all immigrants in greater Washington come from a diverse group of 30 origin countries. El Salvador tops the list of origin countries with more than 100,000 residents counted in 2000, or 12.6 percent of the foreign-born population. Overall, 39 percent of the region’s immigrants come from Latin America and the Caribbean, 36 percent are from Asia, 12 percent from Europe, 11 percent from Africa, and 2 percent from other countries.
- The majority of the region’s immigrants report a good command of the English language, with one in six speaking only English and 62 percent speaking English well or very well. This high rate of English proficiency exceeds that in all of the other large immigrant metro areas. At the same time, more than one-quarter of the foreign born in the more densely populated immigrant areas of Arlington, Alexandria, and the District say they cannot speak English well, or at all.
- The region’s immigrants primarily live in moderate and high income neighborhoods, not the poorest. Not all indicators are positive, however, as 10.6 percent of immigrants live in poverty.

Immigration has indelibly altered the Washington region. Its heterogeneous nature—in terms of national origin, settlement patterns, language ability, and economic status—poses unique challenges, particularly in areas of immigrant concentration. How these challenges are met, especially in light of a languishing economy and the immigration impacts of September 11, will influence whether the region remains a home and employment center for immigrants.



Introduction

Washington, D.C., as the capital of the United States, is by definition an international city. Since World War II, the region's impressive economic growth has been fueled not just by the growth of the federal government, but also by the expansion of such international organizations as the World Bank, the Organization of American States, and the International Monetary Fund—all of which established and have enlarged their Washington headquarters. Other organizations—both private and governmental—specializing in foreign policy, security, and international development were also attracted to the area because of its international focus.

However, the processes attracting the foreign born to Washington became more complex in recent decades. By the 1970s, as Washington's international institutions continued to grow, increasing numbers of foreign students began coming to the capital area for higher education. In addition, the past three decades have seen several waves of refugees—particularly from Southeast Asia and Africa—resettle within the metropolitan area.

As these currents converged, the internationalization that began largely with professionals and students diversified, as family members and other countrymen joined family and friends already living in Washington.

The result has been a remarkable display of immigrant population growth. Overall, the number of immigrants in the region has quintupled over 30 years. Between 1970 and 2000, the residential settlement of immigrants has evolved from a very modest, spatially concentrated, assemblage of 127,579 foreign-born persons to a massive, largely dispersed presence of 832,016 foreign-born persons. In some suburban neighborhoods and schools, the immigrant influx has induced nothing short of seismic cultural and social change. Meanwhile, the immigrant population itself has been changing quickly.

In light of that, this study uses new data from Census 2000 to track the location of immigrants across the Washington metropolitan region and assess the changes and characteristics of the population over the past 20 years. In this regard, the following pages revisit and extend the findings of the 2001 Brookings Institution study of immigrants in greater Washington entitled “The World in a Zip Code.”²

Using data from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), that earlier study examined the settlement patterns of legal immigrants arriving in the 1990s, revealing that immigrants were highly diverse, mostly suburban in their residential choices, and did not cluster upon arrival by country of origin. This study, by contrast, includes data on the entire stock of the foreign-born population residing in the Washington region, not just the flow of legal immigrants. Moreover, it provides important new information on several key social and economic characteristics of the region's foreign-born population. To that extent, the current report provides in some ways a richer picture than did the earlier study of how the region's foreign born are doing as they make their way in the nation's capital.

Methodology

This study is based largely on 1980, 1990, and 2000 U.S. Census Bureau data. While the data used are limited in terms of information on the characteristics of immigrants, they are rich in geographic detail. We use the 2000 census-defined Washington Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA), consistent for all periods.³ This definition includes 25 jurisdictions: the District of Columbia; Calvert, Charles, Frederick, Montgomery, and Prince George's counties in Maryland; Arlington, Clarke, Culpeper, Fairfax, Fauquier, King George, Loudoun, Prince William, Spotsylvania, Stafford, and Warren counties and Alexandria, Falls Church, Fairfax, Fredericksburg,

Manassas, and Manassas Park cities in Virginia; and Berkeley and Jefferson counties in West Virginia.

For analytical and presentation purposes, we aggregate these jurisdictions into five areas: the District, an inner core, the inner suburbs, the outer suburbs, and the far suburbs (Table 2). In 2000, 90 percent of all immigrants resided in the combined areas of the District, the inner core, and the inner suburbs. Because of their relatively small size, we also combine independent cities in Virginia into the counties in which they are located for most of the analysis. For mapping purposes, we use the census tract or “census designated place” (CDP) as our unit of analysis. The Washington PMSA has 1,037 tracts with an average of 4,700 people in each; they approximate neighborhoods. Nearly all of them have at least one foreign-born person residing in them and in 227 tracts (or 22 percent), at least one in four people is foreign born. CDPs are entities that are readily identifiable by local residents, but are not within incorporated places like cities. They vary considerably in size.

The statistics presented encompass several dimensions of the immigrant population, including entry period, national origin, English language ability, and economic status, with particular focus on changes during the 1990s. Notably missing from this round of census data are some basic demographic variables describing the foreign-born population, such as age, sex, educational attainment, employment, and income. Future studies will be better able to address the well-being of immigrants when the census microdata become available.

The terms “immigrant” and “foreign born” are used interchangeably in this study to describe all persons living in the United States who were born outside the United States (except Americans born abroad to U.S. citizen parents). In official parlance, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, now the Bureau of Citizenship

Table 1. The Ten Metropolitan Areas with the Largest Foreign-Born Population, 2000

		Total Foreign-Born Population	Percent of Population that is Foreign Born
1	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	3,449,444	36.2
2	New York, NY PMSA	3,139,647	33.7
3	Chicago, IL PMSA	1,425,978	17.2
4	Miami, FL PMSA	1,147,765	50.9
5	Houston, TX PMSA	854,669	20.5
6	Orange County, CA PMSA	849,899	29.9
7	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	832,016	16.9
8	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	612,359	18.8
9	San Diego, CA MSA	606,254	21.5
10	Dallas, TX PMSA	591,169	16.8

Source: US Census Bureau

and Immigration Services, uses the term “immigrant” to denote a person admitted to the United States for permanent residence.

Immigrant status is determined by a question on birthplace in the census questionnaire; however it does not ask about a foreign-born person’s legal status except whether the person has become a naturalized U.S. citizen.⁴ Thus, the data used in this study include all persons born outside the United States. However, there is no way to determine whether a person is in the United States as a legal permanent resident (LPR), a temporary worker or student, a refugee or asylum seeker, or whether they are undocumented.⁵ Those persons born to immigrant parents in the United States are known as the second generation, and since they are U.S.-born citizens they are not identified as immigrants in the census data and can not be included in this analysis.

To be sure, some unknown number of foreign-born persons may not be counted in the census. However, other research shows that undocumented and legal immigrants have similar residential patterns.⁶ In addition, the dynamic nature of immigration in the Washington region guarantees that further growth and change occurred between the April 2000 census date and the present. Therefore the numbers reported here should be understood as estimates of the population in 2000.

Findings

A. The Washington metropolitan area attracted 575,000 immigrants between 1980 and 2000 and has become a major destination for immigrants to the United States.

The Washington metropolitan area has emerged during the past 30 years as a new focus of immigrant settlement in the U.S. In 2000, the region ranked seventh among all U.S. metropolitan areas for its number of foreign-born residents in 2000. With 832,016 immigrants counted in Census 2000, the capital region lines up behind the major immigrant gateways of metropolitan Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Miami in terms of size, and falls closely into line with Houston and Orange County, CA (see Table 1).

Clearly, Washington’s foreign-born population does not approach the scale of that in the three largest immigrant metros—Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago—in which fully one-quarter of all immigrants in the U.S. currently reside. Nevertheless, the region’s growing share of the nation’s immigrant population, at 2.7 percent (double what it was in 1970), is of rising importance not only for its size, but for its distinctive plethora of national origins and suburban settlement patterns.

Metropolitan Washington grew by 1.5 million people, or 42 percent, between 1980 and 2000, to reach nearly 5 million residents at the millen-

nium. During the same time, the immigrant population more than tripled in size, from 256,535 in 1980 to 832,016 in 2000. By 2000, nearly 17 percent of all the region’s residents were born outside of the United States.

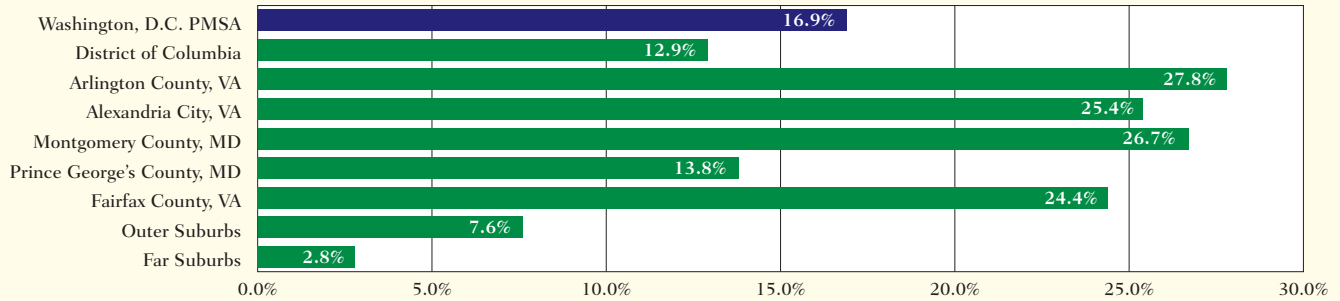
Overall, the 1980s were the period of the most rapid immigrant growth in the region, while the 1990s saw the largest absolute immigration gains.

In the 1980s, the immigrant population nearly doubled. By contrast, in the 1990s the foreign-born population grew by 70 percent, but the base population by 1990 had grown large—to nearly half a million people. Thus, in absolute terms, the impact of the 1990s was tremendous, as nearly 350,000 additional foreign born arrived in the metropolitan area during the 1990s (Table 2).

B. During the 1990s, the largest numerical gain of immigrants occurred in the inner suburban counties, while the largest proportional increase was in the outer counties.

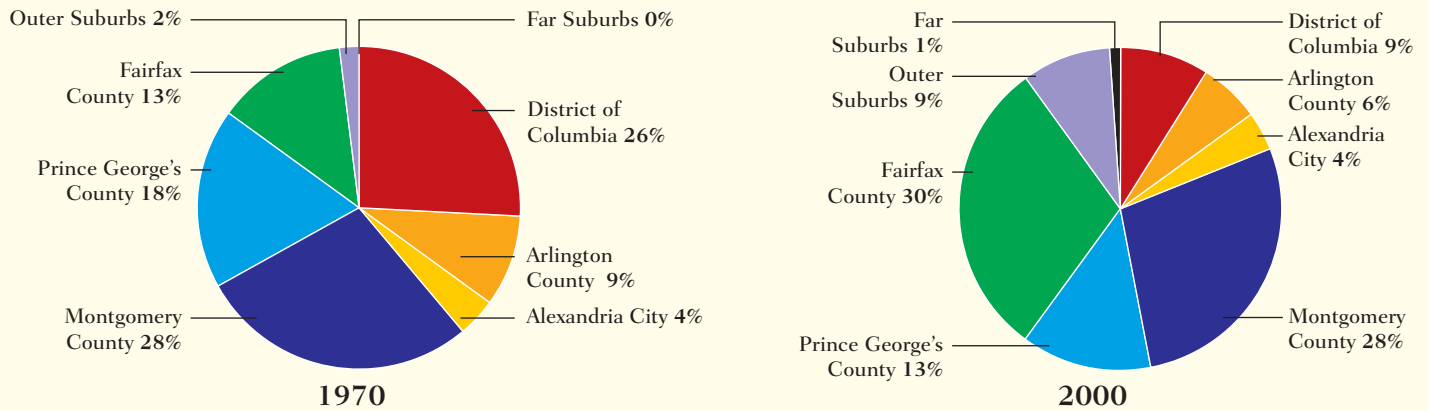
Since 1970, immigrant growth rates have been remarkably high, especially in some of the inner suburban jurisdictions. Fairfax County’s growth rate by decade was phenomenal, for example. There, the immigrant population has grown by fourteen times, from some 16,000 immigrants in 1970 to nearly 250,000 in 2000, the largest presence in a single jurisdiction within

Figure 1. Share of Foreign Born by Jurisdiction, Washington Metropolitan Area, 2000



Source: US Census Bureau

Figure 2. Share of Foreign Born by Jurisdiction, Washington Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 2000



Source: US Census Bureau

the region. Similar growth came in Montgomery County. There, the immigrant population rose from 37,000 immigrants to 233,000 between 1970 and 2000. The cities of Arlington and Alexandria also experienced strong and steady growth over the period. By 2000, some 85,000 immigrants resided in those two jurisdictions combined (Figure 1).

But the immigrant population also grew rapidly in the outer suburbs, although the absolute numbers were much smaller. (Due to the small numbers in most of the outer and far suburbs in 1970s, the Census Bureau has suppressed the number of foreign born in those jurisdictions. This report therefore presents trends for the period 1980–2000). Together, these outer suburbs witnessed a five-fold increase

in the foreign born, from 12,500 to nearly 75,000, between 1980 and 2000. The largest concentration is in Prince William County where 32,000 reside, plus the 6,000 or so in Manassas and Manassas Park cities.

The immigrant population in the far suburbs also more than doubled. However, so few immigrants resided in those counties in the earlier decades that the combined total has just reached over 10,000 in 2000.

The distribution of immigrants across jurisdictions has also shifted between 1970 and 2000 (Figure 2). In the 1970s, more than one-quarter of the region's total immigrants resided in the District. That share has progressively declined over time and now immigrants in the District constitute only 9 percent of the region's total, even though

in absolute terms, the number has more than doubled. At the same time, the share of immigrants in the inner suburbs has grown from nearly 60 percent to slightly more than 70 percent over the period. While Montgomery County's numbers have grown, its share in the region has remained stable at 28 percent. The number of immigrants residing in Fairfax has grown tremendously and the corresponding growth of the share within the regional total has increased from 13 percent to 30 percent. Prince George's foreign-born population has also grown, but its share of the total has actually declined from 18 percent to 13 percent.

Gains were also evident in the outer suburbs where immigrants were slightly less than 2 percent of the total population in 1970, increasing to

Table 2. Foreign-Born Share of Population by Jurisdiction in the Washington Metropolitan Area by Jurisdiction, 1970–2000

	Foreign Born				Percent Change			
	1970*	1980	1990	2000	1970-1980*	1980-1990	1990-2000	1980-2000
District of Columbia	33,562	40,559	58,887	73,561	20.8	45.2	24.9	81.4
Inner Core	16,473	33,205	54,514	85,293	101.6	64.2	56.5	156.9
Arlington County	11,797	22,337	36,516	52,693	89.3	63.5	44.3	135.9
Alexandria city	4,676	10,868	17,998	32,600	132.4	65.6	81.1	200.0
Inner Suburbs	77,544	166,641	342,389	588,272	114.9	105.5	71.8	253.0
Montgomery County	36,667	70,128	141,166	232,996	91.3	101.3	65.1	232.2
Prince George's County	23,882	40,036	69,809	110,481	67.6	74.4	58.3	176.0
Fairfax County	16,169	54,109	127,506	237,677	234.6	135.6	86.4	339.3
Fairfax city	520	1,461	2,900	5,451	181.0	98.5	88.0	273.1
Falls Church city	306	907	1,008	1,667	196.4	11.1	65.4	83.8
Outer Suburbs	-	12,567	28,659	74,423	-	128.0	159.7	492.2
Calvert County	-	515	847	1,643	-	64.5	94.0	219.0
Charles County	-	1,441	2,082	3,470	-	44.5	66.7	140.8
Frederick County	-	1,729	3,073	7,779	-	77.7	153.1	349.9
Loudoun County	-	1,840	4,880	19,116	-	165.2	291.7	938.9
Prince William County	-	5,741	13,447	32,186	-	134.2	139.4	460.6
Stafford County	-	734	1,833	3,713	-	149.7	102.6	405.9
Manassas city	-	460	2,129	4,973	-	362.8	133.6	981.1
Manassas Park city	-	107	368	1,543	-	243.9	319.3	1,342.1
Far Suburbs	-	3,563	5,219	10,467	-	46.5	100.6	193.8
Clarke County	-	183	188	312	-	2.7	66.0	70.5
Culpeper County	-	328	501	1,193	-	52.7	138.1	263.7
Fauquier County	-	628	1,119	1,982	-	78.2	77.1	215.6
King George County	-	145	293	225	-	102.1	-23.2	55.2
Spotsylvania County	-	551	1,026	2,917	-	86.2	184.3	429.4
Warren County	-	289	354	677	-	22.5	91.2	134.3
Fredericksburg city	-	336	550	997	-	63.7	81.3	196.7
Berkeley County	-	623	591	1,288	-	-5.1	117.9	106.7
Jefferson County	-	480	597	876	-	24.4	46.7	82.5
TOTAL	127,579	256,535	489,668	832,016	101.1	90.9	69.9	224.3

* Jurisdictions in the outer and far suburbs had foreign-born populations too small in 1970 to be included in the calculations presented in this table
Source: US Census Bureau

nearly 9 percent in 2000. The far suburbs, which were mostly rural areas in the 1970s and 1980s, increased their immigrant populations incrementally. However, even combined, they total only slightly more than over 10,000 or 1.3 percent of the region's immigrant population in 2000.

Figures 3 and 4 map the residential distribution of the Washington metro area that is foreign born in 1990 and 2000. In 1990, immigrants were concentrated in Fairfax, Arlington, and Montgomery counties, the District, and portions of Prince George's county. The

outer and far suburbs were virtually all native born except for parts of Prince William County in Manassas and Manassas Park, and Leesburg in Loudoun County, which had small concentrations of immigrants.

By 2000, areas within the core and inner suburbs had become more densely populated with immigrants, while at the same time immigrants have dispersed further into the inner suburbs and beyond. Places with notable concentrations of foreign born include Langley Park, Silver Spring, Wheaton, and Rockville in Maryland,

and parts of Arlington, Alexandria, Tysons Corner, Bailey's Crossroads, Annandale, and Seven Corners in Virginia. Those areas with smaller concentrations in Loudoun and Prince William counties also claimed a wider dispersal in the 1990s, and further growth in most of the outlying counties is evident. These residential patterns of the foreign born reflect Washington's general population growth during the 1990s.

C. New immigrants made up nearly half of the overall population growth

in the Washington metropolitan region in the past decade.

Overall, the Washington metropolitan region experienced a net addition of 342,000 foreign-born residents in the 1990s.⁷ That means that immigration accounted for nearly one-half of the region's total 1990s population gain of 700,000. The remainder of the total population growth was due to natural increase (the number of births minus the number of deaths) as well as net domestic in-migration.

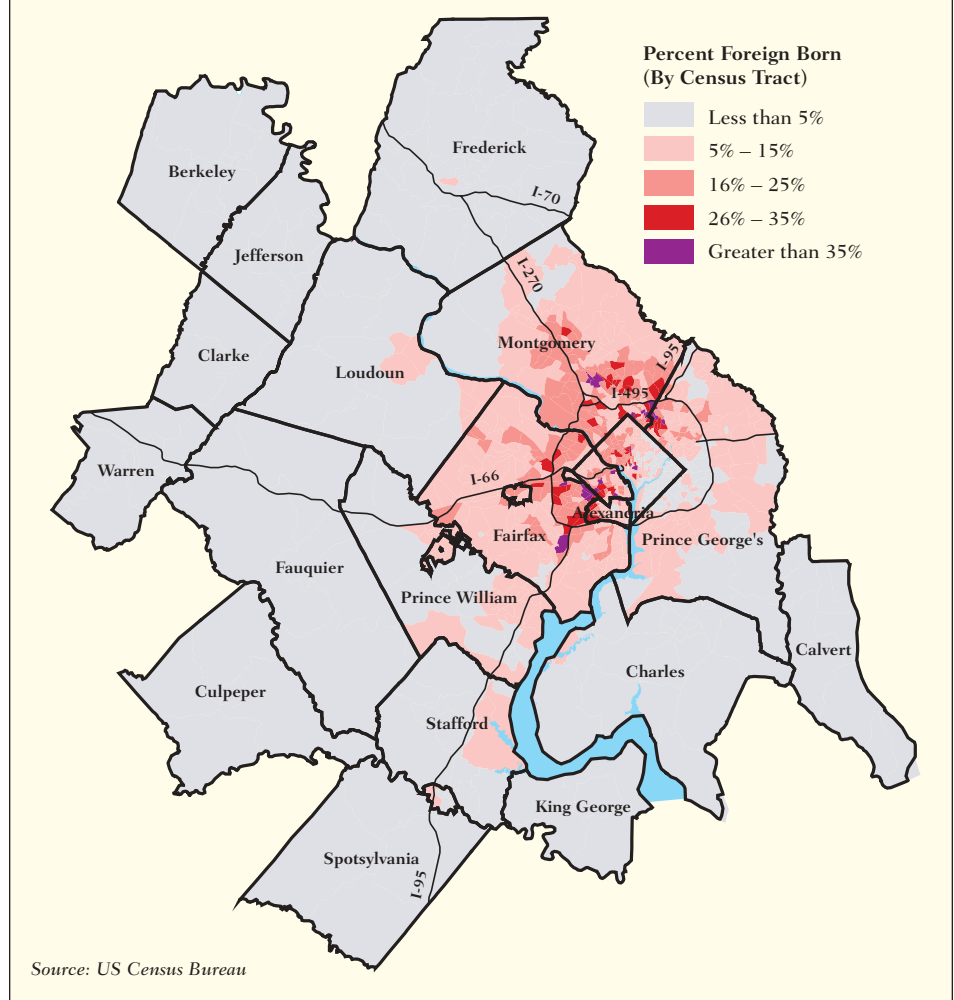
In close-in jurisdictions, the share of population growth due to net immigration was higher, while in most of the outer and far suburbs it was lower (Figure 5). In the District, meanwhile, the total population declined by 6 percent in the 1990s, while the immigrant population grew by 25 percent. To that extent, immigration offset some of the District's population loss. Arlington and Alexandria, for their part, would have had very modest population growth if not for the gains in new immigrants.

Similar trends could be tracked around the inner suburbs. Immigration accounted for a majority of the population growth realized by Montgomery and Fairfax counties, for example. In Prince George's County, more than half of the gains in new residents came from the settlement of immigrants within its borders. It is likely that without the catalyst of immigration, housing and retail markets in many areas of the inner suburbs would have declined as has happened elsewhere in the Northeast and Midwest.

In the faster-growing outer suburbs, meanwhile, the share of the growth due to immigrant newcomers remained much lower. For example, in Loudoun County, one of the nation's fastest-growing counties, the total population doubled, but only 17 percent of growth can be attributed to new foreign-born residents (data not shown).

Aside from boosting the region's population gains, the strong immigrant growth of the 1990s also resulted in a substantial number of newcomers to

Figure 3. Share of the Total Population that is Foreign Born by Census Tract, Washington Metropolitan Area, 1990



Source: US Census Bureau

both the nation and the region.

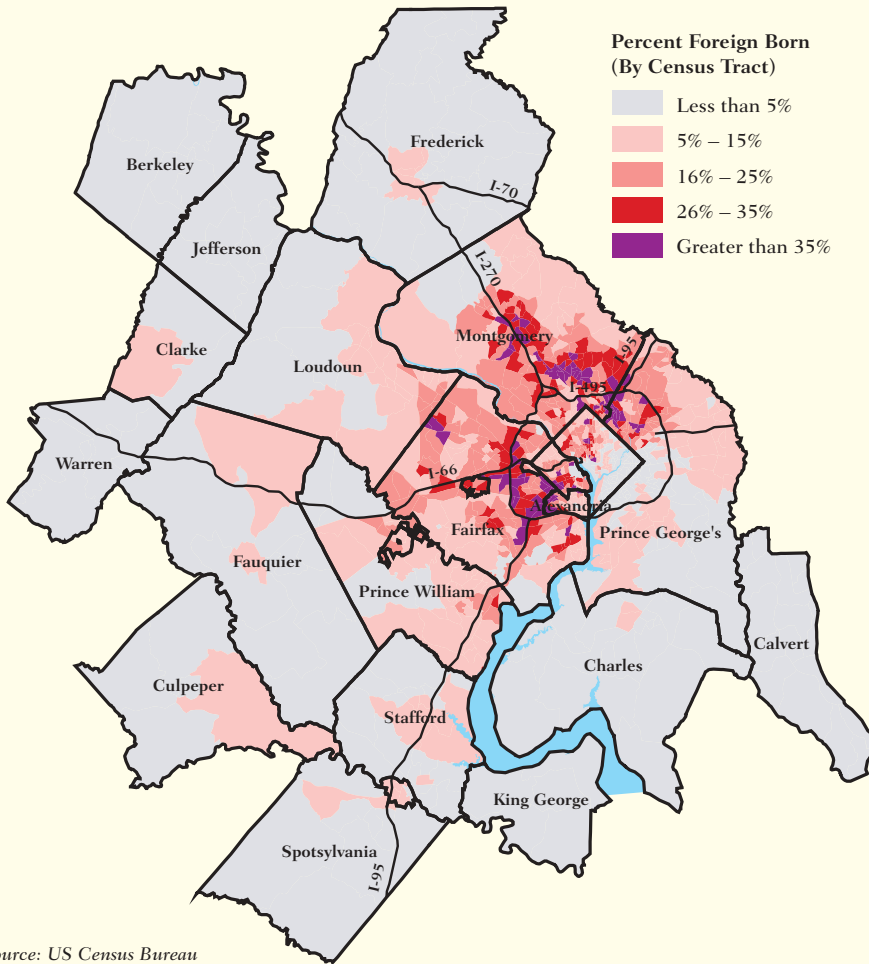
In 2000, almost half of the region's immigrants were relative newcomers. Nearly 400,000 of greater Washington's foreign-born residents, or 47.5 percent of the total, had entered the United States in the 1990s. Although not all of them settled directly in the Washington area first (they may have lived elsewhere in the United States before coming to the region), the large share of recent immigrants constitutes an immense increase by any measure. In fact, the Washington-area share of 1990s arrivals exceeds the 42.1 percent of immigrants nationally who reported they entered the United States during the 1990s.

Moreover, the newcomers were more likely to be residing within the inner areas of the region (Table 3). The inner core and the District registered the highest concentrations of new arrivals in the 1990s, although most jurisdictional shares of newcomers approached the regional average of 47.5 percent.

In absolute terms, the inner suburbs gained nearly 250,000 new arrivals in the 1990s, or nearly 70 percent of the region's total immigrant influx. More than 46 percent of all immigrants residing in Montgomery, Fairfax, and Prince George's counties arrived during the 1990s.

In the District, Arlington, and

Figure 4. Share of the Total Population that is Foreign Born by Census Tract, Washington Metropolitan Area, 2000



Alexandria, the share was even higher with more than half of the immigrants having arrived in the 1990s. They constitute 22 percent of all recent arrivals, or 87,000. The outer suburbs largely house the remainder of the newcomers with the greatest increases occurring in Loudoun and Prince William counties, including the cities of Manassas and Manassas Park (data not shown). Immigrants who arrived in the United States prior to 1970—a much smaller share of the total, representing only 6.4 percent of all immigrant residents—are clearly more likely to live far from the core of the region.

D. Three-quarters of all immigrants in greater Washington come from a diverse group of 30 origin countries. One of the most salient characteristics of Washington’s immigrants is the enormous variety of national origin. Washington’s foreign-born residents come from all over the world: 39 percent are from Latin America and the Caribbean, 36 percent from Asia (which includes the countries of the Middle East), 12 percent from Europe, 11 percent from Africa and 2 percent from all other countries (Figure 6). The 2001 Brookings study on immigrant newcomers in the 1990s showed that legal immigrants arriving during that decade were highly diverse, coming from 193 countries and territories and with a lack of a single group dominating the flow. Census 2000 data confirms the diversity of the region’s population and sheds new light on the composition of the entire foreign-born population. Although the census does not tabulate all countries of origin, the extent of the diversity of national origins among foreign-born residents of the region is still apparent, as is the fact that no single source country supplies a majority of immigrants to the region.⁸

Washington’s immigrants, in this regard, represent a truly differentiated influx of nationality and diversity. One of the most distinctive features is the size and mixture of Africans in the

Figure 5. Population Growth Compared to Native-Born Population Growth Washington Metropolitan Area, 1980–2000

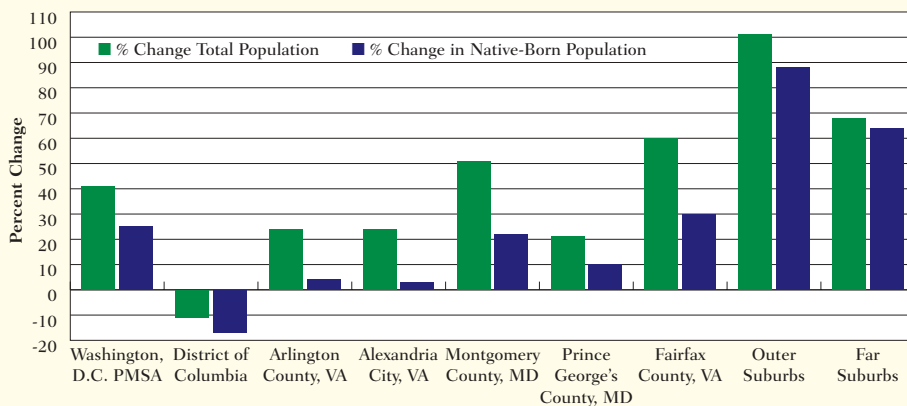
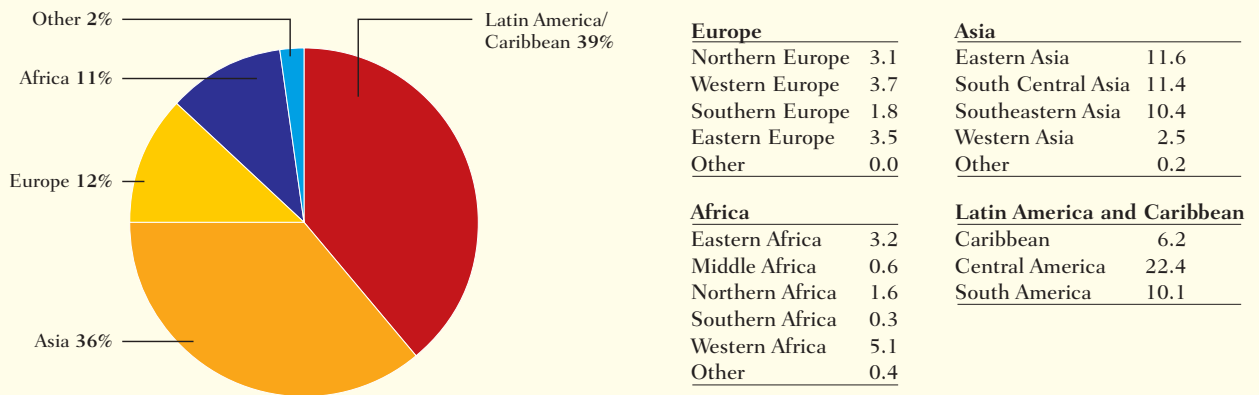


Table 3. Foreign Born by Period of Entry Who Now Reside in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 2000

	Foreign Born in 2000	Entered 1990–1999		Entered 1980–1989		Entered 1970–1979		Entered Before 1970	
		Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
District of Columbia	73,561	37,533	51.0	18,712	25.4	9,071	12.3	8,245	11.2
Inner Core	85,293	49,475	58.0	22,205	26.0	8,053	9.4	5,560	6.5
Arlington County	52,693	30,543	58.0	13,324	25.3	5,095	9.7	3,731	7.1
Alexandria city	32,600	18,932	58.1	8,881	27.2	2,958	9.1	1,829	5.6
Inner Suburbs	588,272	272,555	46.3	175,868	29.9	82,915	14.1	56,934	9.7
Montgomery County	232,996	103,686	44.5	68,727	29.5	32,897	14.1	27,686	11.9
Prince George’s County	110,481	52,460	47.5	34,185	30.9	14,777	13.4	9,059	8.2
Fairfax County	244,795	116,409	47.6	72,956	29.8	35,241	14.4	20,189	8.2
Outer Suburbs	74,423	31,644	42.5	22,494	30.2	10,516	14.1	9,769	13.1
Far Suburbs	10,467	3,652	34.9	2,414	23.1	1,831	17.5	2,570	24.6
TOTAL	832,016	394,859	47.5	241,693	29.0	112,386	13.5	83,078	10.0

Source: US Census Bureau

Figure 6. Region of Birth of the Foreign Born, Washington Metropolitan Area, 2000



Source: US Census Bureau

region. While barely behind first-ranked New York in absolute size of the African population, (93,271 in Washington compared to 99,126 in New York) Washington’s Africans make up a greater share of the immigrant population than in New York (11.2 percent versus 3.2 percent). This provides the region with an undeniably richer diversity than most metropolitan areas.

A second feature of significance is that immigrants from El Salvador are the primary Latin American group in the metropolitan area. A devastating civil war beginning in the early 1980s drove thousands out of El Salvador who fled to the United States, many

joining an already established community in the Washington area.⁹ A succession of natural disasters in El Salvador followed in the 1998-2001 period provoking even more mass migration to the Washington area. Washington currently has the second largest Salvadoran community in the United States outside of Los Angeles.

As Table 4 shows, El Salvador tops the list of origin countries and regions by accounting for 12.6 percent of the region’s total immigrant population. More than 100,000 Salvadorans were counted in Census 2000. Although this is more than twice any other group, it remains a relatively small percentage of the total compared

with the concentrations of immigrant groups in some other metro areas. For example, Houston’s foreign-born population is 51 percent Mexican with another 19 percent from elsewhere in Latin America. Mexicans also dominate Los Angeles’ and Chicago’s immigrant populations; both are over 40 percent. New York, however, has a similar trend in that the largest group, Dominican immigrants, constitute just over 12 percent, followed by a heterogeneous mix of national origins: Chinese (7.8 percent), Jamaican (6.3 percent) Mexican (4.6 percent) and Guyanese (4.2 percent).

Korea and India, the second and third largest groups in the Washington

Table 4. Top 30 Countries or Regions of Birth, Washington Metropolitan Area, 2000

		Number	Percent of Foreign Born
1	El Salvador	104,960	12.6
2	Korea	45,835	5.5
3	India	45,610	5.5
4	Vietnam	37,223	4.5
5	Mexico	32,391	3.9
6	China (including Hong Kong)	32,035	3.9
7	Philippines	31,701	3.8
8	Peru	20,304	2.4
9	Guatemala	20,015	2.4
10	Bolivia	19,558	2.4
11	United Kingdom	18,915	2.3
12	Jamaica	18,310	2.2
13	Iran	17,389	2.1
14	Germany	17,295	2.1
15	Pakistan	16,908	2.0
16	Ethiopia	15,049	1.8
17	Honduras	13,727	1.6
18	Nigeria	13,670	1.6
19	Canada	11,950	1.4
20	Other Eastern Africa	11,442	1.4
21	Ghana	11,043	1.3
22	Other Western Africa	10,336	1.2
23	Taiwan	10,116	1.2
24	Colombia	9,910	1.2
25	Trinidad and Tobago	9,648	1.2
26	Nicaragua	8,404	1.0
27	Japan	8,223	1.0
28	Russia	8,036	1.0
29	Other Northern Africa	7,880	0.9
30	Dominican Republic	7,858	0.9
	Total Foreign Born	832,016	76.4

Source: US Census Bureau

metro area, have nearly identically sized populations, with approximately 46,000 immigrants each, or 5.5 percent of the total for the region. Fourth-ranked Vietnam at 4.5 percent has 37,000 immigrants. Although Washington has never been a predominant destination for Mexican immigrants, by 2000 Mexico ranked as the 5th largest country of origin, with 32,000 immigrants or nearly 4 percent of the total. Whereas the 1990s data from INS showed a small share of the flow was coming from Mexico, census data reveal a large and growing population

of Mexicans in the area.¹⁰

Immigrants from China (including Hong Kong), the Philippines, Peru, Guatemala, and Bolivia make up the remainder of the ten largest country groups. Together, these ten groups compose nearly half of all immigrants in the region. The rest of the immigrants hail from scores of national and regional origin groups from all regions of the world: Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, North America, and Oceania.

One of the major open questions about Washington's immigrant settle-

ment trends is whether immigrants from the same source countries are clustering together. Singer and others found that immigrants arriving in the 1990s were dispersed across the region, and that the lack of historical immigrant settlement meant few neighborhoods could be identified as housing a single immigrant origin group. However, there were some distinguishing residential patterns by region of origin. Asian immigrant newcomers were more likely to move to the outer suburbs, while Latin American, Caribbean, and African immigrants were more likely to choose locations closer to the center.

The present analysis using the entire population of immigrants in the region confirms that metropolitan Washington has few neighborhoods that are predominantly foreign born. However, there are many places where from 20 percent to 35 percent of the residents are immigrants. Figure 7 maps immigrant concentrations by country of origin for the largest cities and places within the Washington region's three largest counties, as well as for neighborhood clusters for the District of Columbia and neighborhoods in Arlington County.¹¹ The places with the highest concentrations of immigrants and their top five immigrant groups are listed in a companion table, appendix A.)

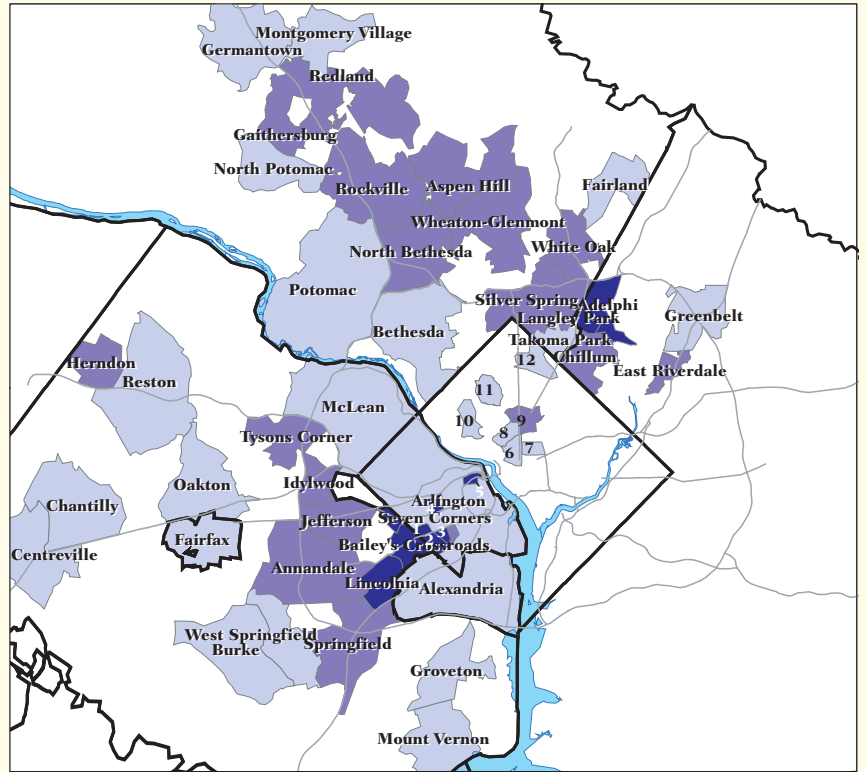
Two places, Langley Park (Prince George's) and Seven Corners (Fairfax), stand out for their very high immigrant shares; nearly two-thirds of the population in each place is foreign born. However, the compositions of the immigrant populations in the two places tell different stories. A review of the top five countries of birth in Langley Park, for example, reveals that Latinos dominate the neighborhood's immigrant population, with 39 percent of the population alone coming from El Salvador and another 31 percent of all immigrants originating from Guatemala, Mexico, and Honduras. Another 6 percent came from Jamaica. Seven Corners' more mixed

population also had a predominance of Salvadorans (30 percent), but 16 percent were from Vietnam, while Guatemala, Bolivia, and India contributed 7 percent, 6 percent, and 3 percent each.

Within the District, the neighborhood clusters are on a smaller area scale than the CDPs, thus with scaled down immigrant populations. However, the Mt. Pleasant-Columbia Heights-Pleasant Plains-Park View cluster is an exception with the highest number and share of foreign born: more than 15,000 immigrants, or nearly one-third of the population. This area is heavily concentrated with Salvadoran immigrants (48.6 percent of the total), with smaller percentages from Vietnam (5.7 percent), Ethiopia (5.3 percent), Honduras and the Dominican Republic (4.7 percent each). Brightwood-Manor Park-Takoma with a much smaller number of immigrants (3,775) also has a high share of immigrants from El Salvador (32.3 percent), yet has a fair number from the Caribbean (Jamaica at 10 percent and Trinidad and Tobago at 3.4 percent) and Africa (Ethiopia at 10.2 percent and Nigeria at 7.8 percent). In that neighborhood cluster, one in five residents are foreign born. The immigrant population living in Dupont Circle-Connecticut Ave/K St. by contrast, is 11.2 percent Salvadoran, 5.8 percent British, 4.4 percent French, 3.4 percent Japanese, and 3.3 percent Korean.

Arlington's five neighborhoods identified in Figure 7 are generally much smaller than the CDPs shown, however their foreign-born shares are some of the highest in the region. They also are striking for their high concentration of Latin Americans, particularly Bolivians. In Buckingham, nearly half of the immigrant population of 4,595 is either from El Salvador or Bolivia. Adding in the immigrants from Guatemala (9.5 percent) and Mexico (5.5 percent) brings the total of the top 4 sending countries to nearly 66 percent of all immi-

Figure 7. Share of the Total Population that is Foreign Born in Selected Places, 2000



Percent Foreign Born	Neighborhoods in the District and Arlington County
20% – 30%	1 Columbia Heights West & Forest Glen
31 – 40%	2 Columbia Forest & Claremont
>40%	3 Douglas Park
	4 Buckingham
	5 Radnor & Ft. Myer Heights
	6 Dupont Circle & Connecticut Ave/K St.
	7 Logan Circle & Shaw
	8 Kalorama Heights, Adams Morgan & Lanier Heights
	9 Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights, Pleasant Plains & Park View
	10 Cathedral Heights, McLean Gardens, Glover Park & Massachusetts Avenue Heights
	11 North Cleveland Park, Van Ness & Forest Hills
	12 Brightwood, Manor Park & Takoma

Source: US Census Bureau, DC Neighborhood Information Service, the DC Data Warehouse, and the Arlington County Department of Community Planning, Housing, and Development.

grants in just that neighborhood. Just over one person in every three in Buckingham is from one of those four Latin American countries. Columbia Heights West-Forest Glen, where nearly 59 percent of the population is born outside the United States, is more skewed toward Central America. The area is nearly 32 percent Salvadoran, 7.1 percent Guatemalan, 6.4 percent Mexican but 7.3 percent of its immigrants come from Ethiopia and 5.8 percent from Bolivia.

Other places around the region are more diverse. Silver Spring with nearly 27,000 immigrants, for example, had the largest number of immigrant resi-

dents of the places considered, making it 35.2 percent foreign born. Again, Salvadorans are the largest group (22.4 percent), but the next largest groups at 5.6 percent and 5.4 percent, respectively, are Ethiopia and Vietnam, followed by other West Africans (3.8) and Guatemalans (3.7). And yet, these top five groups total only 41 percent of Silver Spring's immigrant population. Similarly, Annandale's 19,000 immigrants comprise nearly 35 percent of the population, about half of the total coming from Vietnam (15.6 percent), Korea (15.2 percent), Bolivia (8.4 percent), El Salvador (7.9 percent), and India (4.0 percent).

Table 5. English Language Ability Among the Foreign Born, Washington Metropolitan Area, 2000

	Population of Foreign Born >5	Foreign Born who Speak Only English		Foreign Born who Speak English 'well' and 'very well'		Foreign Born who Speak English 'not well' and 'not at all'	
		Total	Percent of Total	Total	Percent of Total	Total	Percent of Total
District of Columbia	72,671	16,977	23.4	38,383	52.8	17,311	23.8
Inner Core	83,852	10,090	12.0	50,021	59.7	23,741	28.3
Arlington County	51,779	6,073	11.7	30,520	58.9	15,186	29.3
Alexandria city	32,073	4,017	12.5	19,501	60.8	8,555	26.7
Inner Suburbs	581,244	95,206	16.4	369,307	63.5	116,731	20.1
Montgomery County	230,254	37,028	16.1	151,291	65.7	41,935	18.2
Prince George's County	109,338	28,389	26.0	58,988	54.0	21,961	20.1
Fairfax County	241,652	29,789	12.3	159,028	65.8	52,835	21.9
Outer Suburbs	73,257	16,033	21.9	42,912	58.6	14,312	19.5
Far Suburbs	10,369	3,747	36.1	5,086	49.1	1,536	14.8
TOTAL	821,393	142,053	17.3	505,709	61.6	173,631	21.1

Source: US Census Bureau

Some places had much smaller shares of dominant country of origin groups, such as Gaithersburg, which is more than one-third foreign born. The largest five origin groups only make up 40 percent: El Salvador (17.1 percent), China (6.8 percent), India (6.6 percent), Mexico (5.2 percent) and Iran (4.2 percent).

(Maps depicting the spatial distribution of immigrants by individual countries of origin can be viewed at www.brookings.edu/urban).

E. The majority of the region's immigrants report a good command of the English language, with one in six speaking only English and 62 percent speaking English well or very well.

One of the largest issues that local communities and governments must quickly address when there is rapid growth in the immigrant population is English language proficiency and communication. Whereas local government agencies, employers, and organizations may be more concerned with basic communication on the job and in everyday life, schools have the obligation to help limited English proficient (LEP) students develop English proficiency while meeting the same academic standards that other children are expected to meet.

Nearly 62 percent of the region's

immigrants (aged 5 and over) responded that they speak English "well" or "very well," and another 17 percent report only speaking English, indicating that more than three-quarters have a good command of the English language (Table 5).

By this measure the region stands in good stead. Of the metropolitan areas shown on Table 1, Washington boasts the highest share of immigrants who are proficient in English, at 79 percent. Los Angeles, Houston and Miami, by comparison, have rates of English proficiency at 63 percent. This higher rate of proficiency suggests that many of the foreign born in the region work in professions that demand English facility on the job, work in international agencies, are enrolled in higher education programs, or come from countries where English is the official language or is widely used. Metros with similar high shares of English proficiency are Boston, San Jose, and Seattle—areas like Washington, D.C. that experienced high tech employment booms during the 1990s.¹²

Some local jurisdictions have relatively higher shares of English-only speakers than the region's one-immigrant-in-six average. The highest are found in Prince George's County, followed by the District, where 26 per-

cent and 23.4 percent of all immigrants, respectively, speak only English. This trend reflects the higher proportion of native English speakers from Caribbean, European, and African origins living in these areas. Jurisdictions in the outer and far suburbs also exhibit high rates of English proficiency, again reflecting national origin composition and length of residency.

English proficiency is far from geographically uniform, however. Despite the high shares of proficient English speakers in most inner areas, the more densely populated immigrant settlements of Arlington and Alexandria, as well as the District, also contain high shares of immigrants who report speaking English "not very well" or "not at all." Twenty-nine percent of Arlington County's immigrants are in this category, as are nearly 27 percent of Alexandria's, and 24 percent of the District's foreign born, indicating a greater need for language services in these areas. In Fairfax and Montgomery counties, the percent of immigrants who are not proficient in English is lower (22 percent and 18 percent respectively), but, the absolute numbers are quite high: 51,315 in Fairfax and 41,935 in Montgomery.

In some metropolitan areas, larger concentrations of immigrants from a more limited set of countries or lan-

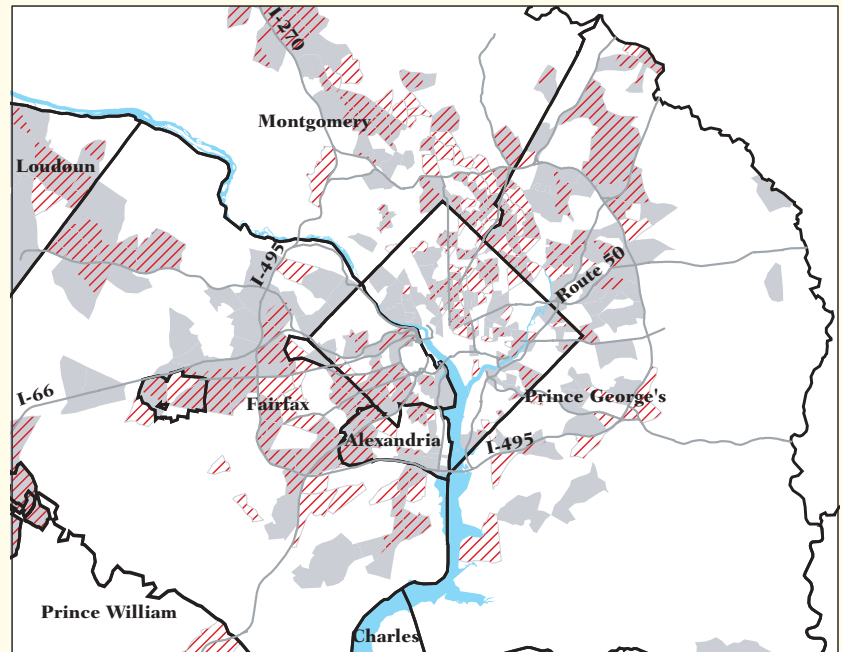
guage groups may simplify teaching limited English proficient (LEP) students. If local schools have a high concentration of, for example, Spanish-speaking English language learners, they may be better able to focus their efforts within that language group. However, Washington's immigrant and second generation students are from well over 150 countries and are distributed widely across jurisdictions and schools. These factors intensify the challenges of educating immigrant children in area schools.

In this vein, the need for instruction of LEP students in the public schools in the region has been on the rise, although census data currently do not report how many immigrants are school-aged.¹³ Most notably, enrollment of LEP students nearly doubled between 1993 and 2001 from approximately 26,000 to 54,000.¹⁴ To further assess the spatial distribution of immigrant English language ability, we examine a statistic calculated by the Census Bureau that measures whether households are "linguistically isolated." By this measure, a household is disadvantaged if no person 14-years-old or older in the household reports speaking English "very well." Many of these households are likely to be relatively recent arrivals. As other research suggests, length of time in the United States is positively correlated with English language speaking ability.¹⁵

Among greater Washington's 1.8 million households, 78 percent are headed by English speakers. Among the remaining 400,000 households, nearly 20 percent lack adults who are proficient in English.

Figure 8 shows where the highest concentrations of linguistically isolated households are located. The hatch lines show tracts where greater than 20 percent of the immigrant households lack English proficient adults, while the gray-shaded tracts delineate areas with higher than average shares of recent immigrant arrivals. This mapping clearly shows a high correspondence between recent

Figure 8. Linguistic Isolation by Census Tract in the Washington Metropolitan Area by Census Tract, 2000



Linguistic Isolation - Households Where No Persons Over 14 Speaks English 'Very Well'
 Percent of the Foreign Born Who Entered in the 1990s
 ■ Tracts Greater than 47.5%
 ■ Tracts Greater than 20%

Source: US Census Bureau

arrivals and households where English skills are low. Not surprisingly, they tend to be located in the areas with the highest concentrations of immigrants. Typically, recent immigrants are likely to live in areas where they know others because their social and familial networks tend to direct them to these places.¹⁶ The areas of higher concentrations of recent immigrants are likely to be more affordable, closer into the core, and to be along major transportation corridors.

In Maryland, the area that stretches between Langley Park in Prince George's County through Silver Spring, Wheaton, and out Interstate 270 through Rockville to Gaithersburg in Montgomery County are locations with higher shares of limited English proficient adults. In Virginia, pockets of lower English proficiency lie in South Arlington, the western part of Alexandria, as well as out Route 50 and Interstate 66

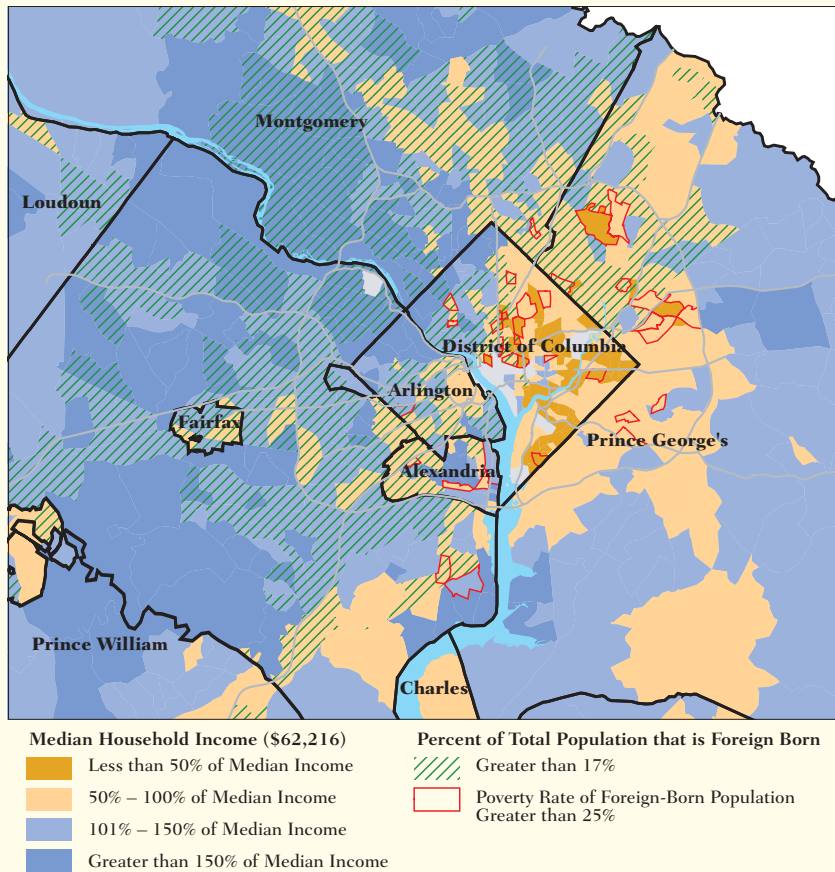
through Bailey's Crossroads, Seven Corners, Fairfax City, Centreville, and Manassas. Annandale and Springfield, along the Interstate 395 corridor, as well as Reston and Herndon also have relatively high shares.

While it is not possible to know from these data which households have children, knowing about the language proficiency of the adults helps us understand where the need for English language services, English as a second language classes in public schools, and instruction for adults may be the greatest.

F. The region's immigrants primarily live in moderate and high income neighborhoods, not the poorest.

The current data released by the Census Bureau has few indicators of the economic status of immigrants.¹⁷ In order to discern some measure of their well-being, we have mapped median household income (\$62,216)

Figure 9. Median Household Income and Immigrant Residential Concentration in the Washington Metropolitan Area by Census Tract, 2000



Source: US Census Bureau

for neighborhoods within the core and inner suburbs (Figure 9). There are two categories above and two categories below the median shown in Figure 9. We then overlay immigrant residential settlement where the share of the foreign-born population exceeds the regional average of 17 percent (green hatching). In addition, any tract with greater than 25 percent of its immigrant population living in poverty is outlined in red.

Overall, 10.6 percent of greater Washington's immigrants are considered by the Census Bureau's definition to be living in poverty. Among the native born, the share is 6.8 percent. Jurisdictions in the inner core and the District tend to have larger shares of *poor* immigrants; 18 percent of the

District's immigrants are poor, as are 15 percent in Arlington and Alexandria.

The findings from Figure 9 are twofold. First, higher than average concentrations of immigrants span most of the inner suburban areas—both inside and outside the Capital Beltway—particularly in the close-in areas of Montgomery, Fairfax, and Prince George's counties, Arlington, and Alexandria, regardless of neighborhood median income levels. In fact, many of the wealthiest census tracts have a greater than average share of immigrants. In Prince George's County and the District, where median incomes tend to be lower, immigrants are less concentrated in the poorest places.

Second, the residential distribution

of immigrant poverty (red outlined tracts) shows relatively little clustering. Although most lower income tracts in Alexandria and Arlington County have higher than average shares of immigrants in them, there is little concentration of poor immigrants at the tract level. In the District, by contrast, there are high concentrations of poor immigrants in a few neighborhoods undergoing fairly rapid transformations, such as Mt. Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Columbia Heights. These neighborhoods are experiencing booming housing markets, with rising housing prices, new development, and an influx of new renters and owners. Affordable housing advocates and community-based organizations have expressed concern that because of these market trends, low-income residents—both foreign and native born—will be unable to afford to stay in their neighborhoods. The absence of hatching on the majority of tracts in Prince George's County where poor immigrants are concentrated indicate that these areas do not have exceptionally high concentrations of immigrants.

Thus, while it is not possible to directly discern the income levels of immigrants within the region, approximately half live in neighborhoods where households earn more than the region's median income, mirroring the economic status of the population as a whole. However, many of the areas in the region with lower than average median incomes are close-in areas with more affordable housing and therefore higher concentrations of lower-income immigrants. It is important to note that these areas may have very localized concentrations of immigrants who are poor, perhaps in densely populated apartment buildings and complexes, but that they do not span vast areas of the region.

Furthermore, compared with other immigrant gateways, Washington's foreign-born poverty rate is considerably lower. New York, Los Angeles, and Houston all have nearly double the share of immigrants living in poverty.

And other more recent immigrant destinations, such as Atlanta and Dallas have higher rates: 19.0 and 14.7 percent respectively.

Conclusion

The greater Washington region is profoundly different than it was 30 years ago, in part due to national and global transformations that have altered economies and politics and induced mass movements of people across national borders. In short, Washington has absorbed many people from abroad over the decades who have been roiled by international strife or moved by the abundant opportunities in the United States.

Given that the region incorporates so many people from so many countries, it is critical that area leaders understand how immigration trends have played out in this region. This analysis illustrates that Washington's immigration trends exhibit five primary characteristics: (1) the growth of immigration here was quick, recent, and large scale; (2) immigrants primarily live in the inner suburbs, with fast growth also occurring in the outer suburbs; (3) some immigrant-dense neighborhoods are developing in close-in suburban areas; (4) immigrants are diverse, coming from a broader spectrum of countries than in most other large metropolitan areas; and (5) immigrants overall report high levels of English proficiency. Given these distinct and important trends, it bears considering how the region's government, non-profit, and private-sector leaders should think about and meet the needs of their rapidly changing community.

One implication of these primary trends is that the transformation of the Washington metropolitan area into a destination and home for immigrants has proven to be an asset. The region's immigrants contribute heavily to local and neighborhood economies. They work in high-technology and communication jobs; they are employed in construction, hospitality,

and service positions; they work in area hospitals and health care professions. Starting businesses, they are reviving commercial corridors that had been waning. Also, their children are attending public schools and colleges, eventually to join the labor force.

A second implication is that while the whole of Washington has benefited from the wave of international newcomers, nearly every jurisdiction must also confront and address the myriad challenges that come with absorbing a large inflow of immigrants. These new residents, from every region of the world, have widely varying educational backgrounds, experiences, and skills and are living in jurisdictions with uneven service delivery infrastructures. Of particular concern is the availability of adequate schooling, affordable housing, and transportation services.

As voices on all sides of the matter attest, including immigrants themselves, English language proficiency is the most important first step for getting ahead in school and on the job. It also serves to bring together native and foreign-born residents in the Washington community. Thus although the region has much to boast about with its high share of English-speaking immigrants, there are still children and adults with limited English proficiency. For instance, neighborhoods with clusters of newer immigrants—primarily inner suburban areas and the District—are home to many new arrivals who speak limited English, hampering earning power and the ability to access key resources.

Neighborhoods like Mount Pleasant or Columbia Heights West in Arlington, which serve as gateway neighborhoods for the newest arrivals, are emblematic of the challenges immigration presents. There, immigrants are able to afford housing and find comfort in a familiar cultural and linguistic context. Many eventually move onto other areas as they improve their economic circumstances. Yet these neighborhoods still serve as landing

and launching areas for successive waves of immigrants, repeatedly housing the newest and the most disadvantaged. This process, which is replicated to various degrees across neighborhoods in the region, has complicated inter-group relations among both native- and foreign-born, and between immigrant groups, as all search for opportunities.

Finally, since Census 2000 was conducted, two major events have had an impact on this region's immigrants and continue to reverberate—the slump in the national economy (with smaller effects in the regional economy) and the terrorist attacks of 2001.

Though the Washington economy tends to be relatively strong because of the stability of the federal government and associated agencies, the kinds of industrial and occupational sectors that falter during stagnating economies are also those that tend to employ immigrant workers. Since 2000, high-skilled technology workers and low-skilled service sector workers, many of whom are immigrants, have been affected by the turn in the economy.

In the aftermath of September 11, a new Department of Homeland Security, new entry and screening procedures, and stepped-up security and enforcement efforts, including the registration and deportation of men from Middle Eastern and Islamic countries, sow uncertainty within immigrant communities. Certainly one worry is that a weak labor market combined with a new public attitude toward immigrants will change the welcoming sentiment that prevailed prior to those events, exacerbating the challenge of immigration for all.

How Washington area leaders meet these challenges will determine whether the region remains a home and employment center for immigrants.

Appendix A. Share Foreign Born, and the Five Largest Immigrant Group by Selected Place 2000

County	Area Name	Total Population	Total Foreign-Born Population	Percent of Population that is Foreign Born	Iran	India	Pakistan	Afghan-istan	Vietnam	China
Virginia										
Alexandria	Alexandria	128,283	32,600	25.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Arlington	Arlington	189,453	52,693	27.8	--	3.9	--	--	3.7	--
Fairfax	Annandale	54,994	18,961	34.5	--	4.0	--	--	15.6	--
Fairfax	Bailey's Crossroads	23,166	12,502	54.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
Fairfax	Burke	57,737	11,690	20.2	--	6.9	--	--	7.9	--
Fairfax	Centreville	48,661	9,892	20.3	--	12.4	--	--	--	--
Fairfax	Chantilly	41,041	9,095	22.2	4.8	15.1	4.3	--	10.1	--
Fairfax	Fairfax	21,498	5,451	25.4	--	7.4	--	--	6.6	4.8
Fairfax	Groveton	21,296	5,152	24.2	--	--	7.9	--	--	--
Fairfax	Herndon	21,655	7,907	36.5	--	8.8	8.0	--	4.2	--
Fairfax	Idylwood	16,005	6,024	37.6	5.3	13.7	--	--	10.6	--
Fairfax	Jefferson	27,422	10,378	37.8	--	5.8	--	--	18.9	--
Fairfax	Lincolnia	15,788	7,526	47.7	--	--	6.4	--	--	--
Fairfax	McLean	38,929	8,320	21.4	5.1	7.2	--	--	--	--
Fairfax	Mount Vernon	28,582	5,986	20.9	--	--	5.8	--	--	--
Fairfax	Oakton	29,348	7,663	26.1	--	8.3	--	--	5.1	6.7
Fairfax	Reston	56,407	12,413	22.0	3.7	12.4	--	--	--	--
Fairfax	Seven Corners	8,701	5,324	61.2	--	3.1	--	--	16.0	--
Fairfax	Springfield	30,417	11,229	36.9	--	--	--	--	15.4	--
Fairfax	Tysons Corner	18,540	6,398	34.5	11.6	8.5	--	--	--	6.4
Fairfax	West Springfield	28,378	5,702	20.1	--	5.1	4.5	6.7	11.1	--
Maryland										
Montgomery	Aspen Hill	50,228	15,319	30.5	--	4.1	--	--	--	4.9
Montgomery	Bethesda	55,277	11,830	21.4	4.1	5.6	--	--	--	6.1
Montgomery	Fairland	21,738	6,043	27.8	--	10.0	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	Gaithersburg	52,613	18,084	34.4	4.2	6.6	--	--	--	6.8
Montgomery	Germantown	55,419	11,134	20.1	3.9	13.1	3.9	--	--	4.0
Montgomery	Montgomery Village	38,051	10,688	28.1	5.6	11.7	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	North Bethesda	38,610	12,297	31.8	5.0	5.9	--	--	--	6.7
Montgomery	North Potomac	23,044	6,708	29.1	5.5	10.9	--	--	--	21.9
Montgomery	Potomac	44,822	11,078	24.7	6.8	9.3	--	--	--	6.7
Montgomery	Redland	16,998	5,684	33.4	--	8.8	--	--	--	5.4
Montgomery	Rockville	47,388	14,644	30.9	4.5	4.4	--	--	--	11.5
Montgomery	Silver Spring	76,540	26,904	35.2	--	--	--	--	5.4	--
Montgomery	Takoma Park	17,299	4,917	28.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	Wheaton-Glenmont	57,694	22,855	39.6	--	--	--	--	5.4	4.5
Montgomery	White Oak	20,973	7,307	34.8	--	--	--	--	8.2	--
Prince George's	Adelphi	14,998	6,129	40.9	--	4.2	--	--	--	4.3
Prince George's	Chillum	34,252	13,030	38.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
Prince George's	East Riverdale	14,961	5,056	33.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Prince George's	Greenbelt	21,456	5,822	27.1	--	9.8	--	--	--	5.8
Prince George's	Langley Park	16,214	10,465	64.5	--	--	--	--	--	--
District of Columbia Neighborhood Clusters										
Cluster 1	Kalorama Heights, Adams Morgan, Lanier Heights	18,167	4,582	25.2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cluster 2	Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights, Pleasant Plains, Park View	46,779	15,267	32.6	--	--	--	--	5.7	--
Cluster 6	Dupont Circle, Conn. Ave/K St.	16,930	3,852	22.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cluster 7	Logan Circle, Shaw	20,865	4,987	23.9	--	--	--	--	4.0	7.4
Cluster 12	North Cleveland Park, Van Ness, Forest Hills	14,953	3,020	20.2	--	--	--	--	5.4	--
Cluster 14	Cathedral Hgts., McLean Gardens, Glover Park, Mass. Ave. Hgts.	11,142	3,017	27.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cluster 17	Brightwood, Manor Park, Takoma	18,441	3,775	20.5	--	--	--	--	--	--
Arlington Neighborhoods										
Tract 1020	Buckingham	8,723	4,595	52.7	--	--	4.1	--	--	--
Tract 1022	Columbia Heights West & Forest Glen	7,576	4,452	58.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tract 1017	Radnor/Ft. Myer Heights	9,853	4,252	43.2	--	4.6	--	--	--	5.1
Tract 1028	Columbia Forest & Claremont	8,571	4,055	47.3	--	6.5	--	--	--	--
Tracts 1026 & 1027	Douglas Park	10,003	4,983	49.8	--	--	3.9	--	4.1	--

Source: US Census Bureau, DC Neighborhood Information Service, the DC Data Warehouse, and the Arlington County Department of Community Planning, Housing, and Development.



Appendix A. Share Foreign Born, and the Five Largest Immigrant Group by Selected Place 2000 (continued)

County	Area Name	Taiwan	Japan	Korea	Philippines	Other Western Asia	El Salvador	Mexico
Virginia								
Alexandria	Alexandria	--	--	3.6	--	--	18.0	--
Arlington	Arlington	--	--	--	--	--	19.3	--
Fairfax	Annandale	--	--	15.2	--	--	7.9	--
Fairfax	Bailey's Crossroads	--	--	--	--	6.9	22.3	4.4
Fairfax	Burke	--	--	21.2	6.3	--	--	--
Fairfax	Centreville	--	--	13.9	6.4	--	5.5	--
Fairfax	Chantilly	--	--	10.9	--	--	--	--
Fairfax	Fairfax	--	--	9.2	--	--	14.7	--
Fairfax	Groveton	--	--	--	5.7	--	25.7	7.1
Fairfax	Herndon	--	--	--	--	--	28.2	--
Fairfax	Idylwood	--	--	6.6	--	--	10.1	--
Fairfax	Jefferson	--	--	--	4.2	--	20.2	--
Fairfax	Lincolnia	--	--	5.1	--	--	12.4	--
Fairfax	McLean	--	5.9	8.9	--	--	--	--
Fairfax	Mount Vernon	--	--	6.2	--	--	25.0	4.1
Fairfax	Oakton	--	--	12.7	--	--	6.0	--
Fairfax	Reston	--	--	4.3	4.1	--	12.2	--
Fairfax	Seven Corners	--	--	--	--	--	29.9	--
Fairfax	Springfield	--	--	5.6	7.8	--	11.2	--
Fairfax	Tysons Corner	--	--	10.8	--	9.0	--	--
Fairfax	West Springfield	--	--	20.4	--	--	--	--
Maryland								
Montgomery	Aspen Hill	--	--	5.4	--	--	11.0	--
Montgomery	Bethesda	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	Fairland	--	--	16.2	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	Gaithersburg	--	--	--	--	--	17.1	5.2
Montgomery	Germantown	--	--	--	--	--	5.4	--
Montgomery	Montgomery Village	--	--	--	4.9	--	7.3	3.3
Montgomery	North Bethesda	--	--	4.2	--	--	5.5	--
Montgomery	North Potomac	12.6	--	11.9	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	Potomac	--	--	7.2	--	--	--	--
Montgomery	Redland	--	--	5.5	4.9	--	11.6	--
Montgomery	Rockville	--	--	5.6	--	--	9.5	--
Montgomery	Silver Spring	--	--	--	--	--	22.4	--
Montgomery	Takoma Park	--	--	--	--	--	11.9	--
Montgomery	Wheaton-Glenmont	--	--	--	--	--	22.0	--
Montgomery	White Oak	--	--	7.8	--	--	11.8	--
Prince George's	Adelphi	--	--	--	--	--	27.7	--
Prince George's	Chillum	--	--	--	--	--	21.5	5.3
Prince George's	East Riverdale	--	--	--	--	--	10.0	42.8
Prince George's	Greenbelt	--	--	8.5	--	--	--	--
Prince George's	Langley Park	--	--	--	--	--	39.0	6.0
District of Columbia Neighborhood Clusters								
Cluster 1	Kalorama Heights, Adams Morgan, Lanier Heights	--	--	--	--	--	13.9	--
Cluster 2	Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights, Pleasant Plains, Park View	--	--	--	--	--	48.6	--
Cluster 6	Dupont Circle, Conn. Ave/K St.	--	3.4	3.3	--	--	11.2	--
Cluster 7	Logan Circle, Shaw	--	--	--	--	--	25.2	10.1
Cluster 12	North Cleveland Park, Van Ness, Forest Hills	--	--	--	4.5	--	--	--
Cluster 14	Cathedral Hgts., McLean Gardens, Glover Park, Mass. Ave. Hgts.	--	--	--	6.9	--	--	--
Cluster 17	Brightwood, Manor Park, Takoma	--	--	--	--	--	32.3	--
Arlington Neighborhoods								
Tract 1020	Buckingham	--	--	--	--	--	25.9	5.5
Tract 1022	Columbia Heights West & Forest Glen	--	--	--	--	--	31.9	6.4
Tract 1017	Radnor/Ft. Myer Heights	--	--	--	--	--	16.5	--
Tract 1028	Columbia Forest & Claremont	--	--	--	--	--	16.0	--
Tracts 1026 & 1027	Douglas Park	--	--	--	--	--	29.1	5.4

Ecuador	Guatemala	Honduras	Columbia	Peru	Bollvia	Jamaica	Dominican Republic	Trinidad and Tobago	Canada	United Kingdom	France	Germany
--	--	4.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	4.2	--	--	--	10.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	8.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	6.8	--	--	--	5.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
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--	--	--	--	5.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
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--	6.6	--	--	--	6.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
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--	3.7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	5.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	4.5	--	--	--	--	3.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
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--	--	--	--	--	--	8.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	9.8	--	5.0	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	3.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	20.8	4.5	--	--	--	5.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
1.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.2	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	4.7	--	--	--	--	4.7	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5.8	4.4	--
--	11.6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5.9	4.7	5.1
--	--	--	3.6	--	--	--	--	--	3.7	4.0	5.0	--
--	--	--	--	--	--	10.0	--	3.4	--	--	--	--
--	9.5	--	--	--	24.9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	7.1	--	--	--	5.8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	5.4	--	--	--	7.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	13.4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--	20.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Endnotes

1. Audrey Singer is a visiting fellow in the Center for Urban and Metropolitan Policy at the Brookings Institution.
2. Audrey Singer and others, "The World in a Zip Code: Greater Washington, D.C. as a New Region of Immigration (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001).
3. Note that this definition differs from that in Singer and others (2001), which used a more restrictive definition.
4. In the Washington region in 2000, 39.4 percent of all foreign-born residents had become U.S. citizens through naturalization. This figure includes all foreign-born persons, regardless of their eligibility to apply for citizenship or their length of stay in the United States (they must have 5 years of legal permanent residence in the United States among other criteria). By comparison, 44.5 percent of New York's foreign-born had naturalized as had 39.4 percent of Chicago's, 38.0 percent of Los Angeles', and 46.6 percent of Miami's.
5. The best estimates for legal status are found at the national level. The more than 31 million foreign-born residents of the United States fall into five broad groups: naturalized citizens (estimated at roughly 30 percent of the foreign born); legal permanent residents (also roughly 30 percent); refugees and asylum-seekers (7 percent); nonimmigrant residents (3 percent) such as foreign students temporary workers; and undocumented residents (28 percent), which include people who entered the United States clandestinely as well as those who enter legally for a temporary stay but fail to leave when their time is up. Michael E. Fix and Jeffrey S. Passel, "Testimony before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims Hearing on "The U.S. Population and Immigration" Committee on the Judiciary U.S. House of Representatives," The Urban Institute, August 2001 (www.urban.org/urlprint.cfm?ID=7321 [February 2003]).
6. Kristin E. Newman and Marta Tienda, "The Settlement and Secondary Migration Patterns of Legalized Immigrants: Insight from Administrative Records." In Barry Edmonston and Jeffrey S. Passel, eds., *Immigration and Ethnicity* (Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1994).
7. Some share of the immigrants settling in the Washington area have come from abroad, while the rest would have made a move from another area within the United States (data is not available to examine this distinction).
8. In particular, only six African countries are tabulated. Other African countries are aggregated regionally. Although Census aims to get the most relevant subcategories for its variables, coverage is limited on some items that are less viable for the national population. However, Washington's African population is larger and more diverse than the national African immigrant population, thus the range of the diversity of the African population is truncated.
9. See Terry Repak, *Waiting on Washington: Central American Workers in the Nation's Capital*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995) and Olivia Cadaval, "The Latino Community: Creating an Identity in the Nation's Capital." In Francine Curro Cary, ed., *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1996) and Cecilia Menjivar, *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
10. Several explanations account for the discrepancy between the two sets of numbers. First, the INS data are for legal permanent residents only, while Census is asked of all residents regardless of legal status and therefore is more inclusive. Therefore the gap partially reflects the extent to which Mexican immigrants have entered the United States as LPRs or another status. Second, it is also likely that many Mexicans (as well as immigrants from other national origins) move to Washington after having lived elsewhere in the United States. Thus, even if they were LPRs, their numbers would not be reflected in the INS data, because these only register international arrivals in Washington, although they would appear in Census data. Third, the growth in the Mexican population in the Washington region appears to be very recent and the Census data were collected in a later period than the INS data. Fourth, groups that have large numbers of undocumented residents are underrepresented in Census data, as is the case with the Mexican population. To what extent this is the case for Mexicans or other groups in the Washington region is not known. See also Singer and others (2001).
11. These include Census Designated Places (CDPs) in Montgomery, Prince George's and Fairfax counties, neighborhood clusters for the District of Columbia, and neighborhoods identified by Arlington County civic associations.
12. Higher shares also prevail in metropolitan areas with a large aging European stock and few recent immigrants such as Pittsburgh and St. Louis.
13. Singer and others (2001) found that 25 percent of recent legal immigrants to the region were under 18.
14. Brookings Institution Greater Washington Research Program. "International Diversity Continues Rapid Increase in the Washington Region" (Washington, 2002).
15. See Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut. *Immigrant America*. Second edition. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).
16. Douglas Massey, and others, *Worlds in Motion: International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
17. Households in poverty is the only direct measure of economic status available in this round of census data. Income and wages are not currently available.

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