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REPORT 2

## LOCAL GOES NATIONAL:

Challenges and Opportunities for Latino Immigrants in the Nation's Capital



WASHINGTON, D.C.

SERIES ON LATINO MIGRANT CIVIC ENGAGEMENT



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*Challenges and Opportunities for Latino Immigrants  
in the Nation's Capital*

*edited by* **KATE BRICK**



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## PREFACE

This report is part of a series on Latin American immigrant civic and political participation that looks at eight cities around the United States: Charlotte, NC; Chicago, IL; Fresno, CA; Las Vegas, NV; Los Angeles, CA; Omaha, NE; Tucson, AZ and Washington, D.C. This series, funded by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, is part of an initiative, based at the Woodrow Wilson Center, on Latin American immigrant civic and political participation, led by Xóchitl Bada of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Jonathan Fox of the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Andrew Selee of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Mexico Institute. Mexico Institute Program Associate Robert Donnelly is the current coordinator of this project, succeeding former Program Associate Kate Brick, who was the project's original coordinator. The reports on each city describe the opportunities and barriers that Latino immigrants face in participating as civic and political actors in cities around the United States. This collection explores recent trends in Latino immigrant integration in the aftermath of the 2006 immigrant civic mobilizations, highlighting both similarities and differences across diverse cities and sectors.

There are a number of people whose contributions have made this publication possible. We are particularly grateful to Leni González for her support and guidance on this project, and Xóchitl Bada for her leadership and valuable insight. We would also like to thank chapter authors Audrey Singer and Michael Jones-Correa, as well as everyone who participated in the conference and roundtable meetings that gave substance to this report. We also recognize the hard work of Gabriela Baca, whose contribution has been critical in compiling data and research, and of Diana Rodríguez for her help in organizing the conference and roundtable discussions. The editor would like to give special thanks to Andrew Selee for his direction throughout this project.

## INTRODUCTION

Washington, D.C., has historically been an international city. Embassies and organizations headquartered in the U.S. capital have brought people from around the world to reside both in the District of Columbia and in its surrounding suburbs in Maryland and Virginia. It is only in recent years, however, that this region has seen a dramatic influx of newcomers who have come not to work in the various international institutions, but rather to take advantage of the job opportunities in the growing construction and service industries. Of the Washington Metropolitan Area's increasing and diverse foreign-born population, close to 40 percent were born in Latin America, and approximately one-third of these have resided in the United States since only 2000.<sup>1</sup> In Virginia, specifically, 90 percent arrived in the United States in the past fifteen years, 66 percent in the past ten years, and 44 percent in the past five years.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike many of the cities around the country that have been transformed by rapid increases in their numbers of Latin American immigrants, the Washington Metropolitan Area is unique in that its population is distributed among two states and the District of Columbia, each with distinct political

environments, local jurisdictions, and laws. Furthermore, Washington D.C. is the seat of national policymaking and the center of the current debate over immigration reform. Immigrant-serving organizations, which in other places may deal solely with local issues, in the capital do so in the context of a national debate on immigration and the role of immigrants in U.S. society. Similarly, national immigrant advocacy organizations headquartered in Washington often become involved with local politics that affect the Latino immigrant community in the Washington Metropolitan Area.

Yet in other ways, the Washington Metropolitan Area is a microcosm of the changes taking place in recent gateway cities around the country. In this region, immigrants live in places where reactions to their presence have led to restrictive laws and strong anti-immigrant sentiment, as well as in cities that have embraced them, often labeled "sanctuary cities," where they are afforded many of the benefits citizens enjoy. There has also been a trend of immigration directly to the city's suburbs, bypassing the traditional entry point of the city itself.<sup>3</sup> This has often sparked negative reactions from the communities that have seen their demographics rapidly shift. As in



other places nationwide, the debate surrounding immigration and the perceived hostile climate toward immigrants have played important roles in mobilizing the Latino immigrant community to political activism. The marches in the spring of 2006 in Washington, D.C., brought an unprecedented turnout of participants who represented the diversity of the Latino immigrant community, both documented and undocumented immigrants alike. This demonstrated a thorough and widespread organizational effort both from national organizations and at the grassroots level. These marches sparked an upswing in political participation from many people who previously had never participated.

It is this politically charged and often contradictory environment that shapes the experience of Latin American immigrants and their role as civic, political, and social actors in the region. The Washington Metropolitan Area has seen its Latino leadership develop and take on new roles, while organizations that twenty years ago only offered social services have transformed into advocacy organizations for greater political involvement both locally and nationwide. Also similar to other cities, religious organizations, organized labor groups, schools, service-providing organizations, and the media play important roles in incorporating Latino immigrants into civic life.

This publication examines the unique experience of Latin American immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area, and the factors that affect participation in civic and political life within the distinct context of the nation's capital. The study is part of a larger national initiative that looks at Latin American immigrant civic and political participation in eight cities around the country, assessing the barriers and opportunities for engagement, as well as how immigrants are

transforming the social and political fabric in the cities where they live. This volume includes chapters from Cornell University's Michael Jones-Correa and The Brookings Institution's Audrey Singer on the context of the Washington, D.C., region. A third chapter by Kate Brick was informed by personal interviews with key leaders in the local Latino community and by the viewpoints expressed during a daylong conference on Latino immigrant civic engagement at the Woodrow Wilson Center in November 2007. That conference, "Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the DC-Metro Area," brought together elected officials, immigration academics, community leaders, and representatives from local civil society, including unions, media, and religious organizations, to discuss the obstacles to as well as openings for greater involvement of Latin American immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area.

The D.C. Metro Area immigrant community is diverse and energized, but as in other places around the nation, it faces many challenges. Although it has become increasingly politically active, it is yet to be seen whether local citizenship drives and campaigns for voter registration have been successful in motivating the community to become politically engaged. There is a strong sentiment that leaders and immigrant-serving organizations cannot reach a consensus on the best strategy to fight for immigrant rights, and that no clear unified message has been found to advocate as a united front. Moreover, lack of English skills and understanding of the U.S. political system, fear due to an uncertain political and legal environment, and a hostile atmosphere toward immigrants can inhibit integration into society. Strong leadership that unites the community, a common agenda

that incorporates the cooperation of religious organizations and the media, and a civil society that educates and promotes engagement are key elements in the effort to maintain and increase the civic and political participation of the Latin American immigrant community in the region.

#### NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of Census, 2006 American Community Survey.
2. Qian Cai, "Hispanic Immigrants and Citizens in Virginia," *Numbers Count: Analysis of Virginia Population, February 2008* (Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, University of Virginia, Demographic and Workforce Section), <http://www.coopercenter.org/demographics/sitefiles/documents/pdfs/numberscount/2008hispanics.pdf>.
3. Audrey Singer, "Edge Gateways: Immigrants, Suburbs, and the Politics of Reception in Metropolitan Washington," in *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, ed. Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2008), 138.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Latin American Immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area: History and Demography

Audrey Singer  
The Brookings Institution

#### INTRODUCTION

As the nation's capital, Washington, D.C., has long been an international city. However, it has only recently joined the ranks of major metropolitan immigrant destinations. In 1970, less than 5 percent of greater Washington's population had been born outside of the United States. By 2006 one in five persons was foreign-born. Although the entire metropolitan area population grew by 56 percent between 1980 and 2006, the immigrant population quadrupled during the same period. Greater metropolitan Washington now ranks as the seventh-largest metropolitan concentration of immigrants in the United States.

Washington is among those metropolitan areas that have recently emerged as immigrant gateways. Places like New York City and Chicago have held an attraction for immigrants throughout the twentieth century, and large metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles and Houston rapidly gained foreign-born residents after World War II. In the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, settlement patterns

began to shift away from more traditional settlement areas to places with little history of immigration. Washington, along with places like Atlanta, Dallas, and Phoenix, became significant destinations due to burgeoning job markets, particularly in the construction, services, and technology sectors. By 2006, metropolitan Washington's foreign-born population had grown to more than one million, 20 percent of the total population.<sup>1</sup>

Before World War II Washington better resembled a Southern town than an international city. As the national capital, Washington historically has had a presence of foreign-born residents. Unlike other cities along the Eastern seaboard, however, Washington never developed an industrial base; therefore there were few opportunities to draw immigrants to the city, and even fewer to keep them there.<sup>2</sup>

In the latter decades of the twentieth century, the Washington region grew, in large part due to the economic stability offered by the expansion of the federal government, international organizations and embassies, and universities, all of which attracted both native- and foreign-born populations. In addition, since the late 1970s, the U.S. government has resettled thousands of refugees in the region. Washington's increasing

internationalization, which began largely with professionals and students, has continued with both high- and low-skilled immigrants arriving through networks that join them to family members and friends already living in the region. Washington maintains a growing economy and a growing overall population.

Latin Americans in the Washington region have a unique history that has resulted in a national origin composition that is considerably different from other metropolitan areas. Latin American and Caribbean immigrants make up 40 percent of all immigrants in the region. Washington's largest immigrant group is from El Salvador, currently the second-largest Salvadoran population among U.S. metropolitan areas, after Los Angeles. However, the earliest waves of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants arrived from Cuba and the Dominican Republic beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, joining Puerto Ricans and South Americans from a handful of countries including Bolivia and Peru. This early wave of immigrants included professionals and students seeking higher education.<sup>3</sup> In the 1980s, migrants began to flee from Central America, as civil wars intensified in several countries and as natural disasters further devastated living conditions and local economies.

The seeds of Central American migration began in the 1960s and 1970s with the recruitment of domestic workers, mostly women, by Central American diplomatic and international staff.<sup>4</sup> As family members and friends escaped the turmoil in El Salvador, Guatemala, and other Central American countries, they joined these earlier migrants, and the immigrant population became more gender-balanced. Today the population has slightly more men than women. In the 1980s, many of the migrants settled in neighborhoods in the District of Columbia, such as Mount Pleasant and Adams

**TABLE 1.** *Top Countries of Birth for the Foreign-born Population in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 2006*

	2006	
	Estimate	Percent
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	1,063,033	100.0
El Salvador	133,191	12.5
India	62,311	5.9
Korea	58,934	5.5
Mexico	43,633	4.1
Vietnam	43,215	4.1
Philippines	40,517	3.8
China*	40,422	3.8
Guatemala	33,843	3.2
Bolivia	32,344	3.0
Ethiopia	27,703	2.6
Peru	27,676	2.6
Other Western Africa**	25,270	2.4
Honduras	22,763	2.1
Iran	20,443	1.9
Nigeria	20,277	1.9
United Kingdom	19,143	1.8
Pakistan	18,558	1.7
Ghana	16,969	1.6
Germany	16,240	1.5
Jamaica	15,254	1.4
Africa, n.e.c.***	14,185	1.3
Taiwan	12,845	1.2
Trinidad and Tobago	12,639	1.2
Middle Africa	12,316	1.2
Canada	12,016	1.1
Colombia	11,925	1.1
Brazil	10,399	1.0
Russia	9,137	0.9
Afghanistan	9,014	0.8
Dominican Republic	8,662	0.8

\* Excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan

\*\* "Other Western Africa" does not include Nigeria, Ghana, or Liberia

\*\*\* Not elsewhere classified

Morgan, where Latin Americans working in nearby embassies lived.<sup>5</sup> Over time, many of the initial immigrants dispersed to suburban areas in both Maryland and Virginia.

The United States is in the midst of a national debate over the role of immigrants in its economy and society. One result of this debate is that Latin American immigrants are increasingly becoming targets of local legislation designed to restrict access to services or to make them feel unwelcome. Although most of the rhetoric and policy changes are aimed at those without legal status, in the public's mind there is often no distinction made between immigrants with and without legal status. Likewise public officials often do not present a reassuring case that legal immigrants will not be caught up in the enforcement of new provisions intended for the undocumented. Immigrants fear being singled out based on the way they look or speak. A deliberate blurring of those distinctions, often for political reasons, has created a socially hostile environment in some local areas, including in the Washington Metropolitan Area. In light of this ongoing debate, this chapter examines the sociodemographic characteristics of the region's Latin American and Caribbean foreign-born population and changes between 1980 and 2006.

#### DATA AND METHODS

This chapter uses data from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses and the 2006 American Community Survey (ACS) administered by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The Washington Metropolitan Area definition used in this paper consists of twenty-two jurisdictions, following the 2003 U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) standards. In this analysis, the city of Alexandria and Arlington County are referred to as the *inner core*. The *inner suburbs* include Prince George's, Montgomery, and Fairfax counties and all jurisdictions contained within their boundaries. The *outer suburbs* include Loudoun and

Prince William counties and the jurisdictions contained within them. The remainder of the metropolitan area is combined. In 2006, data are unavailable for smaller counties and cities; therefore those jurisdictions (i.e., the cities of Alexandria, Fairfax, Falls Church, Manassas, and Manassas Park) are included in the "remainder of the metropolitan area." Thus, data from that year are not strictly comparable to the "remainder" in earlier years, but they provide a rough estimate of population change at the local level. Subcounty data are not available for the 2006 ACS.

The terms *immigrant* and *foreign-born* are used interchangeably. The *foreign-born* population encompasses persons born outside the United States (except Americans born abroad to U.S. citizen parents). Immigrant status is determined by a question on birthplace in the census questionnaire; however, legal status is not specified except whether or not a foreign-born person has become a naturalized U.S. citizen. Thus the data analyzed in this chapter include naturalized U.S. citizens, legal permanent residents, temporary immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and, to the extent to which they are counted, undocumented immigrants. Some unknown number of foreign-born persons may not have been counted, however we do not have good estimates of the number who may not have been counted. In addition, those persons born to immigrant parents in the United States are accorded U.S. citizenship at birth and are known as the *second generation*. They are not included with the foreign-born in this analysis.

Latin American immigrants are defined as persons born in any country in the Western Hemisphere other than the United States and Canada; that is, all of the countries located in Central America, South America, the Caribbean, and Mexico, regardless of language

spoken, heritage, or race/ethnicity. This geographic decision is based on the way the data are structured by the U.S. Census Bureau, making it impossible in many cases to disaggregate the data geographically. Thus, all foreign born from Latin America and the Caribbean are combined and referred to as “Latin American immigrants.”

## FINDINGS

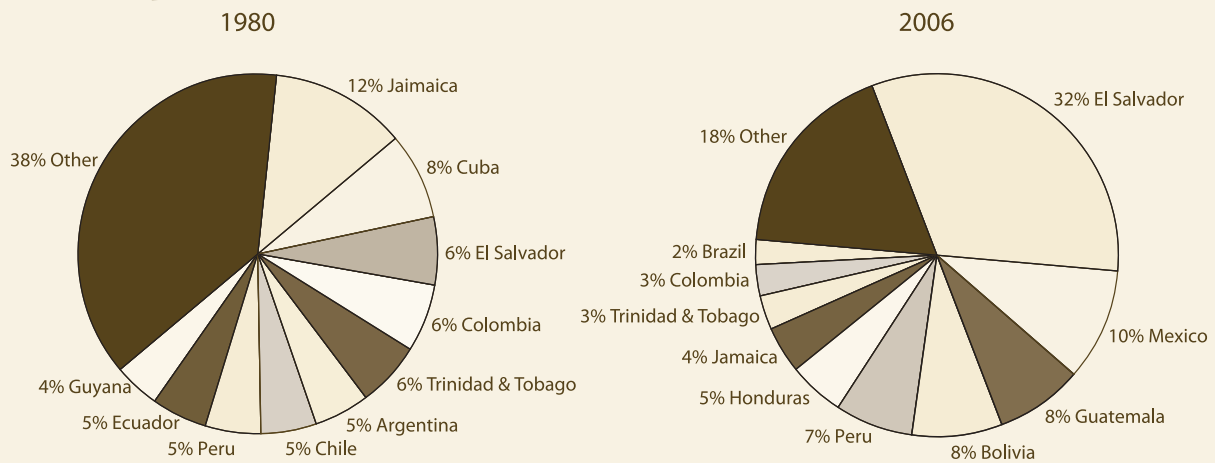
**A. The birth countries of immigrants arriving in the Washington Metropolitan Area from Latin America have changed during the past twenty-five years, from primarily South American and Caribbean origins to a majority from Central American countries.** Although most contemporary immigrant gateways have a large proportion of foreign-born residents from Mexico, Washington’s largest group is from El Salvador and the mixture of origin countries throughout Latin America is remarkably diverse.

To provide context for the larger immigrant and refugee population, Table 1 shows the thirty largest countries of origin among Washington’s immigrant population in 2006. Four Latin American countries are among the

top ten: El Salvador, Mexico, Guatemala, and Bolivia. El Salvador is the largest source country in the metropolitan area, with 133,000 estimated in 2006, more than twice the size of the next largest country of origin, India.<sup>6</sup> Also among the top ten origin countries are five Asian countries—India, Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, and China—and Ethiopia.

The shift in the origin composition of greater Washington’s Latin American and Caribbean population over the past twenty-five years is shown in Figure 1. In 1980, immigrants from the region were more likely to hail from South American (37 percent) or Caribbean source countries (26 percent). Twenty-two percent came from English-speaking countries, with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana all ranking in the top ten origin countries for Latin American immigrants. In total, 37 percent originated in South America, with Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Guyana among the top ten, while 26 percent were from both the English- and Spanish-speaking Caribbean nations of Jamaica, Cuba, and Trinidad and Tobago. Only one Central American country was represented in the top ten, El Salvador, holding the third position with 6 percent of the Latin American total.

**FIGURE 1.** National Origins of Latin American & Caribbean Immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 1980 and 2006



**TABLE 2.** *Total Population, Total Foreign Born, and Latin American Foreign-Born Population Change in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 1980–2006*

	NUMBER			PERCENT CHANGE				
	1980	1990	2000	2006	1980–1990	1990–2000	2000–2006	1980–2006
Latin American Foreign Born	59,823	161,663	319,903	417,885	170.2	97.9	30.6	598.5
Total Foreign Born	255,439	488,283	829,310	1,063,033	91.2	69.8	28.2	316.2
Total Population	3,397,935	4,122,914	4,796,183	5,288,670	21.3	16.3	10.3	55.6

Source: 1980, 1990, 2000 Census and ACS 2006

By 2006, a tremendous shift had occurred among source countries from that region. Sixty percent of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants were from Central America. El Salvador and Guatemala (along with Mexico) lead the list, and Honduras ranked sixth among the top ten origins. Another 27 percent were from South American roots including, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Brazil. Among the English-speaking nations, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago dropped from first and fifth to seventh and eighth places, respectively, while Guyana fell out of the top ten (although the absolute size of their populations more than doubled during that period).

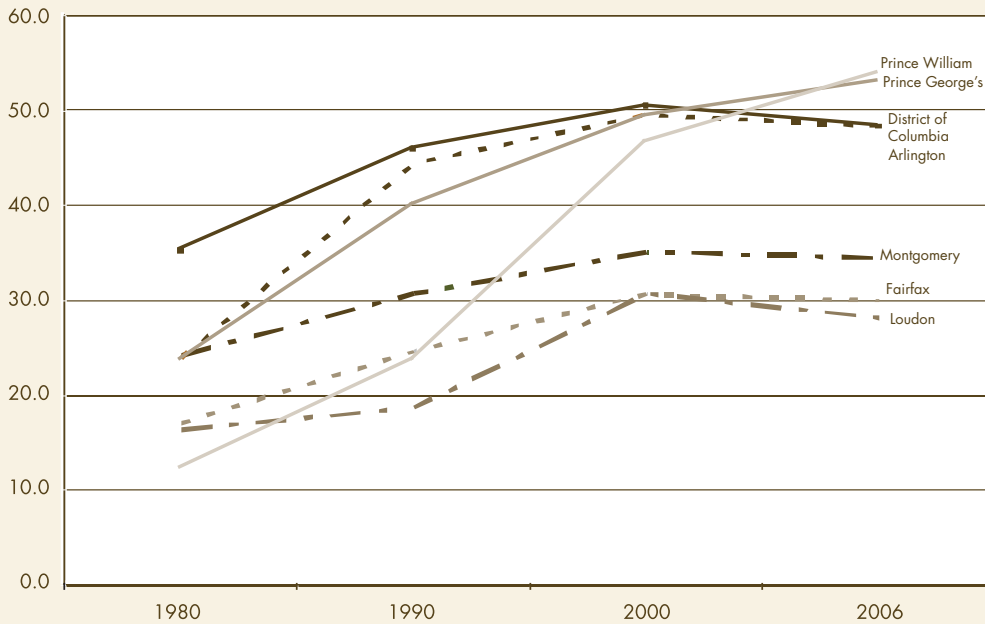
Notably, the Mexican population has grown quickly in the Washington region, with a twenty-one-fold increase between 1980 and 2006. As in other East Coast metropolitan areas, Mexican migration is a relatively new phenomenon in Washington and is reflective of the overall spread of the Mexican population to new destination areas.

**B. Washington's Latin American and Caribbean population has grown sixfold over the past twenty-five years, numbering approximately 420,000 in 2006.** In addition, following metropolitan-wide growth and development patterns, Latin American immigrants are increasingly settling in suburban areas.

Regionally, the Latin American immigrant population is growing faster than the foreign-born population as a whole. Over the 1980–2006 period, the foreign-born population grew by 316 percent to just over 1 million persons. The Latin American immigrant population grew at nearly twice that rate at 600 percent, rising from 60,000 immigrants in 1980 to nearly 420,000 in 2006. The fast immigrant growth contributed to a relatively swift-paced rate of overall population growth, which was also fueled by the in-migration of U.S.-born persons and natural increase (the excess of births over deaths).

This growth has not been evenly spread throughout the metropolitan area. Previous research about immigrants in metropolitan Washington found that as more immigrants

FIGURE 2. Latin American Percent of the Total Foreign Born Washington Metropolitan Area 1980–2006



have located in the region, their settlement patterns have become more dispersed. At the same time, areas in the core and inner suburbs are becoming denser with immigrants, especially in the first and second ring of suburban jurisdictions.<sup>7</sup> Although Latin American settlement in the region occurred first in the District of Columbia, by 1980, Montgomery County had more Latin American immigrants than the District (see Table 3). By 1990, the three large inner suburban counties of Montgomery, Prince George's, and Fairfax each had as many or more Latin American immigrants than the District, nearly tripling their respective populations. Together they housed more than 100,000 Latin American immigrants in 1990 and over 250,000 by 2006, while the District had leveled off to approximately 36,000. Most notable is the decline in Latin American immigrants in Arlington County in recent years. Although

Arlington's Latin American immigrant population had been increasing at a rate similar to Alexandria's and to that of the inner suburbs in the 1980s, the growth rate decreased during the 1990s (as it did in the city of Washington and in the inner suburbs). Since 2000, however, it appears that Arlington has lost a few thousand Latin American immigrants, or 14 percent.

By far the fastest and most recent growth has occurred in the outer suburbs, particularly in Loudoun and Prince William counties. Both counties had very few Latin American immigrants before 2000 but between 2000 and 2006, this population nearly tripled. Prince William County registers the fastest growth rate among jurisdictions, and with more than 42,000 Latin American immigrants, it surpassed both the District and Arlington County in absolute terms by 2006. It is no surprise that the most contentious debate in the



**TABLE 3. Latin American Foreign-born Population by Jurisdiction in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 1980–2006**

	Number of Latin American Foreign Born				Percent Change				Latin American percent of foreign born			
	1980	1990	2000	2006	1980–1990	1990–2000	2000–2006	1980–2006	1980	1990	2000	2006
District of Columbia	14,288	27,015	37,079	35,654	89.1	37.3	-3.8	149.5	35.2	45.9	50.4	48.3
<b>Inner Core</b>												
Arlington County, VA	5,352	16,218	26,108	22,551	203.0	61.0	-13.6	321.4	24.0	44.4	49.5	48.4
Alexandria (city), VA	2,363	7,311	13,557	NA	209.4	85.4	NA	NA	21.7	40.6	41.6	NA
<b>Inner Suburbs</b>												
Montgomery Co., MD	16,974	43,373	81,911	94,141	155.5	88.9	14.9	454.6	24.2	30.7	35.2	34.5
Prince George's Co., MD	9,473	27,852	54,522	84,512	194.0	95.8	55.0	792.1	23.7	39.9	49.3	53.0
Fairfax County, VA*	9,636	32,377	75,063	81,173	236.0	131.8	8.1	742.4	17.1	24.6	30.7	30.0
<b>Outer Suburbs</b>												
Loudoun County, VA	302	912	5,871	15,882	202.0	543.8	170.5	5158.9	16.4	18.7	30.7	28.2
Prince William Co., VA**	774	3,774	15,008	42,216	387.6	297.7	181.3	5354.3	12.3	23.7	46.6	53.9
<b>Remainder of metropolitan area***</b>												
661	2,831	10,784	41,756	328.3	280.9	287.2	6217.1	9.6	24.3	34.9	40.0	
<b>Total Washington Metropolitan Area</b>												
59,823	161,663	319,903	417,885	170.2	97.9	30.6	598.5	23.4	33.1	38.6	39.3	

Sources: 1980 data from the printed Census volumes

1990 data from pdfs of printed volumes

2000 and 2006 data from American FactFinder

\*Includes the independent cities of Fairfax and Falls Church, except in 2006 when data are unavailable, producing an underestimate of the population

\*\*Includes the independent cities of Manassas and Manassas Park, except in 2006 when data are unavailable, producing an underestimate of the population

\*\*\*In 2006, these data include the cities of Alexandria, Fairfax, Falls Church, Manassas, and Manassas Park, in addition to the outer counties, producing an overestimate of the population.

NA: Not available

region regarding immigration is taking place there. The differential growth trends of Latin American immigrants and of other foreign-born groups are evident in the share of the foreign-born population from Latin America. Latin Americans make up approximately half of all immigrants in the District, Arlington, Prince George's, and Prince William counties. It is notable that by 2006 more than half of all immigrants living in Prince George's and Prince William counties were born in Latin

America and both more than doubled that share between 1980 and 2006.

Montgomery and Fairfax counties, despite the growth in absolute terms, had relatively smaller proportions of their immigrant populations that were Latin American-born. This indicates that other immigrant groups were also growing quickly. In both Fairfax and Loudoun counties, for example, the Asian population comprised more than one-half of the foreign-born population. And in Prince George's

**TABLE 4.** *Period of Entry for Latin American and Caribbean Immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 2006*

	NUMBER				PERCENT			
	2000 or later	1990–1999	1980–1989	Before 1980	2000 or later	1990–1999	1980–1989	Before 1980
District of Columbia	11,298	9,977	8,283	6,096	31.7	28.0	23.2	17.1
<b>Inner Core</b>								
Arlington County, VA	9,677	6,179	4,167	2,528	42.9	27.4	18.5	11.2
Alexandria (city), VA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Inner Suburbs</b>								
Montgomery Co., MD	28,685	27,283	24,618	13,555	30.5	29.0	26.2	14.4
Prince George's Co., MD	29,324	27,195	17,752	10,241	34.7	32.2	21.0	12.1
Fairfax Co., VA	26,325	25,829	20,698	8,321	32.4	31.8	25.5	10.3
<b>Outer Suburbs</b>								
Loudoun Co., VA	6,866	4,834	3,009	1,173	43.2	30.4	18.9	7.4
Prince William Co., VA	12,390	18,312	8,488	3,026	29.3	43.4	20.1	7.2
Total Latin American Immigrants D.C. Metro Area	142,902	131,175	95,461	48,347	34.2	31.4	22.8	11.6
Total Immigrants Washington Metro Area	328,275	330,610	225,667	178,481	30.9	31.1	21.2	16.8

County, Africans made up a higher percent of the foreign-born population than in any other jurisdiction at 27 percent.

**C. One-third of Washington's Latin American immigrants have been in the United States since only 2000.** This figure is higher than regional and national figures but varies across local jurisdictions. Not only are many immigrants new to the Washington Metropolitan Area, but they are relative newcomers to the United States. Additionally thirty percent of all foreign-born persons in the region have been in the United States since only 2000. Higher still are the Latin American immigrants; 34 percent arrived in the period 2000–2006. This is higher than the national average at 2006 of only 25 percent. One surprising finding is

that Arlington County has a very high share of Latin American newcomers (those who entered the United States at or after 2000) despite the decline in their absolute numbers in the past six years (see table 4).

Thirty-one percent of Latin American immigrants in metropolitan Washington arrived in the United States in the 1990s. Combined with those who entered during the most recent period, nearly two-thirds of all Latin American immigrants arrived since 1990. As expected, the outer suburbs had the smallest proportions of Latin American immigrants who had been in the United States since before 1980 (Loudoun 7.4 percent and Prince William 7.2 percent), in contrast to the District's 17 percent. Surprisingly, Prince William County registered a comparatively smaller proportion

(29 percent) of the most recent arrivals (since 2000), a figure closer to the regional average.

The recent immigration of the Latin American immigrant population to the United States helps to explain differences in rates of naturalization among Latin American immigrants.<sup>8</sup> Overall, naturalization is lower for Mexicans and Central Americans; about one in five have become U.S. citizens, compared to 36 percent for South Americans and 56 percent for Caribbeans (see Table 5).

Among the jurisdictions, it is interesting to note where the highest rates of naturalization are and among which groups: among Mexicans in Montgomery County, South Americans in Prince George's County, and nearly across the board for those from Caribbean countries. Central Americans have consistently low rates of naturalization across all places in the region. Mexicans and Central Americans immigrants have been in the United States for less time than the other groups, and this is reflected in

their propensity to become U.S. citizens. An obstacle for Central Americans is that a large number have Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a legal status that allows them to live and work temporarily but does not put them on a pathway to citizenship.<sup>9</sup>

**D. Washington's Latin American immigrant population is composed largely of working-age adults with high rates of employment but skills that limit their labor market performance.** More than one-third lack a high school diploma, two-thirds are not proficient in English, and more than one-third of those employed work in blue-collar service occupations.

With regard to basic demographic features, the Latin American immigrant population looks quite different from the general population of the Washington region. The comparisons in this section are for the metropolitan area as a whole for 2006 only (see Table 6).

**TABLE 5.** *Percent Naturalized by Latin American Subregion of Birth of Immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 2006*

	Caribbean	Mexico	Other Central America	South America
District of Columbia	51.9	21.3	14.3	33.1
<b>Inner Core</b>				
Arlington County, VA	44.3	39.3	23.5	17.5
Alexandria (city), VA				
<b>Inner Suburbs</b>				
Montgomery County, MD	49.6	49.3	24.4	37.6
Prince George's County, MD	57.0	9.2	16.7	51.5
Fairfax County, VA	61.0	12.2	23.9	38.1
<b>Outer Suburbs</b>				
Loudoun County, VA	46.2	34.4	10.4	44.7
Prince William County, VA	83.6	8.6	16.0	23.2
<b>Remainder of Metropolitan Area</b>				
Total Washington Metropolitan Area	56.1	18.6	20.0	36.1

**TABLE 6.** Demographic, Social, and Economic Characteristics for Latin American Immigrants and Total Population in the Washington Metropolitan Area, 2006

	LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS		TOTAL POPULATION	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>421,587</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,220,055</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Race and Ethnicity</b>				
Hispanic/Latino	361,464	85.7	612,929	11.7
NH-White	12,829	3.0	2,684,441	51.4
NH-Black	41,962	10.0	1,363,698	26.1
NH-Asian & Pacific Islander	1,718	0.4	446,347	8.6
NH-Other <sup>^</sup>	3,614	0.9	102,201	2.0
NH-American Indian or Alaskan native	0	0.0	10,439	0.2
<b>Age and Sex</b>				
<b>Males, total</b>	<b>223,237</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,543,732</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<18 years	18,197	8.2	661,627	26.0
18–64 years	195,573	87.6	1,669,379	65.6
65+ years	9,467	4.2	212,726	8.4
<b>Females, total</b>	<b>198,350</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,676,323</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<18 years	14,106	7.1	624,284	23.3
18–64 years	169,004	85.2	1,761,739	65.8
65+ years	15,240	7.7	290,300	10.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>421,587</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,220,055</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<18 years	32,303	7.7	1,285,911	24.6
18–64 years	364,577	86.5	3,431,118	65.7
65+ years	24,707	5.9	503,026	9.6
<b>Sex Ratio, 18–64 (men per 100 women)</b>	<b>113</b>		<b>95</b>	
<b>Educational Attainment</b>				
<b>Total, age 25+</b>	<b>338,628</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,461,264</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Less than high school	126,885	37.5	359,296	10.4
High school graduate	84,289	24.9	717,728	20.7
Some college/AA degree	61,711	18.2	776,710	22.4
Bachelor's degree or higher	65,743	19.4	1,607,530	46.4
<b>English Ability</b>				
Population age 5+ who speak a language other than English at home	357,364	100.0	1,190,644	100.0
Limited English Proficient*	238,366	66.7	517,066	43.4
Not Limited English Proficient	118,998	33.3	673,578	56.6

	LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS		TOTAL POPULATION	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b>Household Characteristics</b>				
Median Household Income**	\$55,456	-	\$79,223	-
Mean Household Size (persons per household)	3.36	-	2.51	-
Mean Persons per Room	0.66	-	0.44	-
Homeowners	81,879	56.0	1,297,178	67.6
Linguistically Isolated	50,549	34.6	104,114	5.4
<b>Poverty Status</b>				
Living below poverty line	37,049	9.0	301,483	5.9
Living at or above poverty line	372,751	91.0	4,770,459	94.1
Living below 200% of poverty line	115,795	28.3	802,237	15.8
Living at or above 200% of poverty line	294,005	71.7	4,269,705	84.2
<b>Employment Status</b>				
<b>Total, in the labor force</b>	<b>309,742</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,955,397</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Employed	295,456	95.4	2,819,468	95.4
Unemployed	14,286	4.6	135,929	4.6
<b>Not in the labor force</b>	<b>85,059</b>	<b>20.2</b>	<b>1,122,976</b>	<b>21.5</b>
<b>Occupation</b>				
<b>Total workers age 16+</b>	<b>343,390</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,386,407</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Service</b>	<b>113,079</b>	<b>32.9</b>	<b>523,841</b>	<b>15.5</b>
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance	54,297	15.8	125,728	3.7
Food Prep and Serving Related	38,028	11.1	152,336	4.5
Personal Care and Services	14,287	4.2	110,335	3.3
Health Care Support	5,309	1.5	49,425	1.5
Protective Services	0	0.0	86,017	2.5
<b>Construction, Extraction, Maintenance, and Repair</b>	<b>80,955</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>244,606</b>	<b>7.2</b>
Construction and Extraction	68,090	19.8	166,531	4.9
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	12,865	3.7	78,075	2.3
<b>Management, Professional and Related</b>	<b>63,736</b>	<b>18.6</b>	<b>1,597,038</b>	<b>47.2</b>
Management	19,590	5.7	415,269	12.3
Business and Financial	11,066	3.2	235,409	7.0
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical	7,301	2.1	136,337	4.0
Education, Training, Library	6,424	1.9	201,865	6.0

Occupation (continued)	LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS		TOTAL POPULATION	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Computer and Mathematical	6,323	1.8	217,542	6.4
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media	3,633	1.1	100,518	3.0
Life, Physical, and Social Sciences	3,192	0.9	71,859	2.1
Legal	2,916	0.8	91,551	2.7
Architecture and Engineering	2,170	0.6	77,649	2.3
Community and Social Services	1,121	0.3	49,039	1.4
<b>Sales and Office</b>	54,874	16.0	788,382	23.3
Office and Admin. Support	30,246	8.8	472,131	13.9
Sales and Related	24,628	7.2	316,251	9.3
<b>Production, Transportation, and Material Moving</b>	28,946	8.4	202,035	6.0
Transportation and Material Moving	16,682	4.9	128,657	3.8
Production	12,264	3.6	73,378	2.2
Other***	1,800	0.5	30,505	0.9

^Includes "some other race" and "two or more races."

\*LEP is defined as speaking English less than "very well."

\*\*In July 2006 dollars

\*\*\*Includes Farming, Fishing and Forestry, and Military occupations

Source: Author's calculations of ACS 2006 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS)

The Latin American immigrant population is dominated by adults of working ages (18–64). Over 86 percent are in that age group, while only 66 percent of the region's total population is in that range. The Latin American immigrant population has proportionally fewer children than the total population (8 percent versus 26 percent), while 6 percent are elderly, compared with 10 percent of the total population. In the working ages, there are 13 percent more men than women, not a trend one sees in the total population, which has fewer than 100 men to every 100 women.

The educational attainment of Latin American immigrants reflects their status as immigrants who come to the United States and largely work in lower-skilled jobs. Although

the immigrant population looks similar to the total population in terms of the percentage that has graduated from high school (25 percent), a much higher proportion has no high school degree (38 percent). In addition, they are less likely to have a college degree or graduate degree than the total population. These trends reflect the lower compulsory educational standards in many Latin American countries.

Fully two-thirds of this population is considered to be limited in their English proficiency (that is, they report speaking English less than "very well"). Given the recentness of their arrival, this is not surprising. The share classified as "limited English proficient" is higher than the regional average, which includes immigrants from other world regions who

have a different skill composition and who have been in the United States longer.

Household income is 30 percent lower among households headed by Latin American immigrants (\$55,456) as compared with the region's median household income (\$79,223).<sup>10</sup> In addition, household size is larger than the metropolitan-wide average, 3.36 as compared with 2.51. At the metropolitan level, there is no evidence of overcrowding as measured by the standard of more than one person per room. Levels of poverty (9 percent) are higher for Latin American immigrants than the total population (6 percent); 28 percent of Latin American immigrants live below 200 percent of the official poverty line, compared to 16 percent of the total metropolitan population. Despite the trends in poverty, more than half (56 percent) of Latin American householders own their own homes as compared with 68 percent of all householders in the region.

The working lives of Washington's Latin American immigrants are both very similar to and very different from the region's profile. Latin American immigrants have very high rates of employment (95 percent), and low unemployment (5 percent), identical to the regional averages. Where Latin Americans differ greatly from the total population is in their occupations. One-third of Latin American immigrants work in a service occupation, twice the rate of the total regional population. They are overrepresented in the occupations that clean and maintain buildings and grounds, and they also are highly represented in food service occupations. Also striking is the 24 percent of Latin American immigrants in construction jobs, more than three times the proportion seen among the total population. They are slightly more likely to hold jobs in production, transportation, and material moving occupations, which include drivers and freight handlers. Latin Americans are less like-

ly to be working in white collar management and sales jobs than the total population.

## CONCLUSION

Washington's Latin American immigrants have a relatively recent history of settlement in the region, marked by a small early flow of professionals and continuing with a larger flow primarily from the ravaged countries of Central America. Immigrants live in jurisdictions all across the region, but they are relative newcomers to some of the outer suburbs. In those places, including Prince William County, the Latin American immigrant population has grown quickly over a very short period. Additionally, there is some evidence that Latin American immigrants are leaving the core of the region for the suburbs, and media reports suggest that this trend is related to housing affordability, particularly for first-time homebuyers.

Although this chapter only examines foreign-born Latin American immigrants, their U.S.-born children raise their profile in local schools and neighborhoods. This next generation will be an important part of the region's labor force in the future. Thus, the economic and social integration of Latin American immigrants into the Washington region is vital for its viability to grow in the globalized economy to which the region is attached.

It is in the interest of local institutions, leaders, and the public—as well as immigrants and their children—for incorporation to take place on a grand scale. This should be accomplished (and should be achievable) through the two-way process known broadly as immigrant integration. This includes immigrants adapting to their new homes and learning English and becoming actively involved in their communities. The integration process also entails a reciprocity on the part of existing local institutions, leaders, and community members,

whose involvement is essential to creating a welcoming environment for these immigrants.

New policies proliferating across the United States and in some areas of the Washington Metropolitan Area in part result from the newness of immigration to those places and partly are tied to the larger, acrimonious national immigration debate. The public is understandably wary about the changes they see happening around them, and local policy and legislative changes are designed to address that uncertainty. Some local officials are feeling pressure to control immigration at the local level, leading to some highly charged political debates. Others local leaders are decrying practices designed to deflect immigrants elsewhere. Local officials and other leaders should take the next step in leading the public to an awareness of their local immigrant populations while working within communities—with newcomers and long-term residents alike—to better understand the changes and to progress together toward inclusive and sustainable communities regionwide.

#### NOTES

1. Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell (eds.) *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press 2008).
2. Audrey Singer and Amelia Brown, "Washington, D.C.," in James Ciment (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American Immigration*. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001).
3. Olivia Cadaval, "The Latino Community: Creating an Identity in the Nation's Capital," in *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington DC*, ed. Francine Curro Cary (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
4. Terry A. Repak, *Waiting on Washington: Central American Workers in the Nation's Capital* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).
5. Olivia Cadaval, "The Latino Community: Creating an Identity in the Nation's Capital," in *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington DC*, ed. Francine Curro Cary (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
6. Many observers would argue that census coverage is not complete and that the size of the Salvadoran and other foreign-born populations are larger than the estimates suggest. However, we do not have reliable estimates of how many immigrants—from any origin group—avoid participating in census and survey questionnaires.
7. Audrey Singer, "At Home in the Nation's Capital: Immigrants in Metropolitan Washington, D.C." (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2003); Marie D. Price and Audrey Singer, "Edge Gateways: Immigrants, Suburbs, and the Politics of Reception in Metropolitan Washington," in *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).
8. These proportions do not take into account length of time in the United States or eligibility for U.S. citizenship. They are simply a gross proportion of the total naturalized in each group.
9. The extent to which the undocumented (or any other status that renders immigrants ineligible for U.S. citizenship) are included in these data would bring down the proportions of immigrants who have naturalized.
10. Still, at \$55,456 it is higher than the national median income, \$48,451.



## CHAPTER TWO

### Latinos in the Washington Metropolitan Area: Findings from the 2006 Latino National Survey

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#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the public opinion, attitudes, and behaviors of Latinos in the Washington, D.C., region as the basis for a discussion of their civic and political organization and mobilization. The first section describes the demographic changes that have occurred there over the past three decades. The second section briefly describes the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS), which had a stand-alone sample of four-hundred Latinos in the Washington Metropolitan Area (D.C. Metro Area). The third section highlights findings from the LNS, briefly discussing Latino demographic characteristics, immigration and naturalization, discrimination, schools, bilingual services, inter- and intraethnic relations, ties with immigrants' countries of origin, political and civic engagement, and public opinion.

These data indicate that the Latino community in the Washington Metropolitan Area is composed largely of first-generation immigrants who are actively engaged in the labor market, many with children in local public

schools. Experiences of immigration, naturalization, and ties to home countries play out similarly for many new arrivals; as they settle, Latino immigrants for the most part encounter similar issues across the D.C. Metro Area.

Some key findings from these data include:

- Two-thirds of Latinos in the Washington Metropolitan Area are foreign-born, two-thirds of whom are not yet citizens (half the total sample).
- Foreign-born non-citizens are more likely to indicate that their friends and co-workers are mostly Hispanics, and that they feel few commonalities with either whites or blacks. Friendship networks, job settings, and feelings of commonality all change over time in the United States—but as Latinos feel more commonalities, they also feel more competition with other ethnic/racial groups and perceive more discrimination.
- High proportions of both native- and foreign-born Latinos, both citizens and non-citizens, are active in their churches and in the schools their children attend, but relatively few are engaged in civic associations.



- First-generation immigrants have strong ties with kin in their countries of origin, but this transnationalism does not preclude interest in civic and political life in the United States, nor is it the main determinant of this interest.
  - Among citizens, four out of five in the D.C. Metro Area are registered, and voter turnout among this group is high—more than seven in ten indicated they voted in 2004.
- Yet despite political engagement among Latinos, only a third of citizens and half of registered voters were contacted by political parties and asked to contribute prior to the 2004 election.
- Although Latinos tilt toward the Democratic Party, first-generation Latinos have weak party attachment and conservative views on key issues: more than half identify as “born again,” most favor English-language immer-

sion in schools, and large majorities are against abortion and same-sex marriage provisions. The combination of weak party identification and conservative social values indicates the possibility for some recruitment by the Republican Party. However, this is countered by large majorities who also favor some pathway to citizenship for undocumented migrants in the United States and in-state tuition for undocumented residents wishing to attend state universities. Immigration issues may well be the determining factor in party identification.

Latinos will continue to integrate into the social, economic, and political fabric of the Washington Metropolitan Area. Yet the signs of integration are counterbalanced by indications that among the first generation, and non-citizens in particular, integration into the larger community is slow and uneven.

#### **DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA**

Like other immigrant gateways (see Singer, this volume), the Washington Metropolitan Area has experienced rapid demographic change. Between the 1990 and 2000 censuses its population grew by 16 percent (a larger increase than that for any comparable metropolitan area, outstripping growth in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, for instance). In 2000 the metropolitan area numbered 5.4 million people, up from 4.7 million in 1990, making it among the dozen largest in the United States (though not nearly as large as the two behemoths of New York and Los Angeles). The D.C. Metro Area is also overwhelmingly subur-

ban: Washington, D.C., accounts for only 10 percent of the region's population. Although the population of the District of Columbia itself has continued to shrink (by 6 percent between 1990 and 2000), the northern Virginia suburbs grew by 25 percent, and those in Maryland by 17 percent.

In short, over the past thirty years the Washington Metropolitan Area has undergone sizeable shifts in its population. The region as a whole has considerably more racial and ethnic minorities—both native and foreign-born—and these new populations are expected to be a majority of the area's residents by the 2010 decennial census. These demographic changes have introduced a host of new actors (and new issues) into local politics. One important subset of these—among the fastest growing ethnic groups both nationally and in the metropolitan area—has been the Latino population, that is individuals of Latin American origin.

#### **THE 2006 LATINO NATIONAL SURVEY**

The Latino National Survey contains 8,634 completed interviews with self-identified Latino/Hispanic residents of the United States.<sup>1</sup> Respondents were selected from a random sample of Latino households in each of fifteen states in the United States, plus the Washington Metropolitan Area (D.C. Metro Area).<sup>2</sup> The survey sample is state-stratified, meaning that each state sample, including that of the D.C. Metro Area, is a valid, stand-alone representation of that state's (or region's) Latino population.<sup>3</sup> Four-hundred individuals were interviewed in the D.C. Metro Area, with the greatest number residing in the suburban counties of Virginia and Maryland.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter discusses the findings drawn from these data and, in particular, from tables describing the public opinion, attitudes, and

behavior of Latinos in the D.C. Metro Area. Readers interested in reviewing the complete data are advised to turn to Appendix B: Results of the 2006 Latino National Survey.<sup>5</sup> The sections that follow briefly discuss the findings presented in that appendix's tables.

### Demographics

The sample of first-generation immigrant respondents from the D.C. Metro Area is almost evenly split between males and females (51 percent male, 49 percent female for first-generation immigrants; evenly split for respondents born in the United States). *Non-citizen* first-generation immigrants are more likely to be male (57 vs. 43 percent), and *citizen* first-generation immigrants are disproportionately female (61 percent vs. 39 percent male; see Table T1). Although a plurality of Latinos in the sample is married, single Latinos are disproportionately first-generation non-citizens— young adults who have migrated to the United States—or young adults born in the United States (see Table T2).

The Washington Metropolitan Area, like many on the Eastern seaboard but unlike metropolitan areas elsewhere in the country, has a diverse Latino population, with residents hailing from many Latin American countries. According to Table T4, the largest Latino populations are from El Salvador, accounting for one-third of all first-generation Latino immigrants in the area. Two other national origin groups with relatively long-standing ties to the area—Guatemalans and Bolivians—are represented in the sample as well. Note, however, that Mexican-origin Latinos account for 17 percent of all first-generation immigrants in the sample, and for 21 percent of all first-generation non-citizens. This suggests that more recent immigrants to the D.C. Metro Area

are increasingly Mexican in origin. This finding confirms other demographic data reflecting the “nationalization” of Mexican immigration to the United States—the dispersal of Mexican and other Latin American immigrants have made Latinos a *national* minority.

There is a striking bimodal distribution for education among Latino immigrants in the sample—28 percent have an eighth-grade education or less, but 39 percent have at least some college education (see Table T5). A plurality of first-generation non-citizens has at least some high school. Both the high school and college education figures for Latinos indicate higher education rates among first-generation immigrants in the D.C. Metro Area than those found nationally. This may reflect the premium placed on education in the area's service-driven economy, which attracts a pool of more highly educated immigrants. The desire among employers for a more educated workforce may be the reason why a majority (52 percent) of first-generation Latinos in the D.C. Metro Area indicated they completed their education in the United States rather than in their countries of origin (see Table T6).

A very high percentage of all adult Latino immigrants in the D.C. Metro Area sample, both foreign- and native-born, are in the workforce (see Table T7), and this percentage does not vary significantly between citizens and non-citizens (67 percent vs. 69 percent). Workforce participation is high for women as well as for men. Only a very small proportion (7 percent or below) of respondents indicated they do not work outside the home—there are very few stay-at-home moms in the sample. The controversies about day-labor sites in Maryland and Virginia potentially touch a number of first-generation non-citizens. An estimated 6.4 percent of them, as well as 2 percent of first-generation citizens, indicated they are primar-

ily employed through day-labor sites. However, there is also some union membership among Latinos—even among non-citizens; 7 percent of the D.C. area sample has family members who are in unions. The unionization rate of Latinos in Maryland (perhaps unsurprisingly, given its more liberal political climate) is substantially higher than that of Latinos in Virginia (but keep in mind the very small number of respondents presented in Tables T8–T10).

Household income for respondents is higher than the national average (Table T11). As with education, there is a bimodal distribution, with clustering at both the high and low ends of the scale. The clustering at the high end is particularly pronounced for first-generation citizens and for the native-born. On average, respondent household size is somewhat larger than the national mean; the mean for first-generation respondents is close to four persons (Table T12). Education and income are reflected in homeownership: about one-third of non-citizen respondents in the sample are homeowners (Table T13). Seventy-three percent of first-generation citizens and native-born respondents own their homes—an extraordinary percentage considering the high housing costs in the D.C. Metro Area. As income, education, and homeownership are all highly correlated with political engagement, these findings indicate the potential for a significant involvement in the political process among area Latinos.

Two-thirds of the sample is Roman Catholic (Table T14). This does not vary much by non-citizen/citizen or by generation in the United States. Among first-generation immigrants, the largest group is “no religious denomination.” Six percent are Pentecostals, 6 percent “other Protestant,” and 8 percent “other.” Note however that a majority of all non-citizens, and a plurality (48 percent) of the first generation indicate they are “born again” (Table

T15). Fifty-four percent of all first-generation respondents say they attend church once every week or more; 28 percent say they attend church only on major holidays or never (Table T16). High rates of attendance make the church many respondents’ primary voluntary association and a key mobilizing institution among Latinos.

Finally, although the U.S. census indicates that 40 percent or more of Latinos nationally now identify as “some other race,” the LNS indicates majorities across all Hispanic national origin groups choose “other race” as their preferred option for racial identification (except among Cubans; but even among Cubans “other race” is a close second to “white” as a race option). The D.C. Metro Area is no exception: 67 percent of all first-generation immigrants choose “some other race” as their preferred race option (Table T3).

### Citizenship

U.S. citizenship is a significant factor correlating with civic and political participation in the United States. Not surprisingly, first-generation respondents’ modal response for their reason for coming to the United States is primarily economic (Table T17; note that this question simplifies what are often very complicated decisions). Two-thirds of first-generation respondents are not yet citizens (Table T18), which of course limits their engagement in U.S. electoral politics; those in the sample who *have* chosen to become citizens acquired their citizenship only recently (Table T19). Although there have been arguments that Latino immigrants acquire citizenship primarily to acquire benefits or for other instrumental reasons, the data indicate that a majority of first-generation citizen respondents (52 percent) point instead to the right to vote or the acquisition

of other legal or civil rights as the primary rationale for acquiring U.S. citizenship (Table T20). Reasons for not naturalizing among the first generation are varied. Approximately 22 percent note they do not have the necessary documents, but the cost, the length of time to process the application, and lack of language skills are all significant factors (38 percent of respondents cite these reasons); 13 percent cite attachment to their county of origin (either plans to return or simply loyalty to their country of origin; Table T21).

### Discrimination

The literature on the effects of discrimination on civic and political participation is mixed; some argue that the experience of discrimination has an alienating effect, resulting in individuals pulling back from social contact and civic engagement. A second literature argues, to the contrary, that discrimination can lead to a response of greater civic and political participation. Other research finds that discrimination increases over time and across generations in the United States. However, this may be a function of the question wording, with first-generation immigrants in particular increasingly recognizing and categorizing their experiences as “discrimination” rather than their experiences with discrimination increasing over time. With this in mind, the LNS asked respondents about “unfair treatment” rather than “discrimination.”

A number of questions asked about respondents’ encounters with police and crime (Tables T22–T24). A relatively small percentage of first-generation respondents—8 percent—believe they themselves have been treated unfairly by police; this percentage more than doubles, to 23 percent, for those in the second generation. Thirty-nine percent of first-

generation respondents believe that Latinos generally are not treated fairly by police—but a plurality (and almost a majority of 47 percent) believes police are fair. The data on crime show a similar pattern: only 6 percent of non-citizens say they have been a victim of a crime, but 17 percent of first-generation citizens have, and 40 percent of second-generation respondents. These are striking differences, which suggest the need for further investigation. Is indicating being a target of crime partly a factor of length of time in the United States? Does a willingness to report crime increase with time in the United States and/or legal status? Or do lower reported crime rates among non-citizens indicate greater social cohesion among more recent immigrants?

Respondents were asked a number of questions about their perceptions of unfair treatment in their employment, housing situation, or in receiving service at a restaurant or store (see Tables T25–T27). Sixteen percent of first-generation immigrants felt they had been unfairly treated at work, and 10 percent at a restaurant or store, but only 4 percent reported the same experience with a landlord or realtor. Note again that the percentages of reported unfair treatment are higher among the second generation in each case—25 percent, 38 percent, and 6 percent, respectively, for job, service, and housing discrimination. Again this raises questions of why perception of unfair treatment rises with time spent in the United States. One hypothesis might be that recent immigrants may not recognize the situations they encounter as being discriminatory. Recognizing discrimination may be, ironically, an indication of acculturation. Another possibility might be that simply by virtue of living longer, and living longer in the United States, individuals will encounter some unfair treatment. Multivariate analysis controlling for age

of respondent (results not presented here) suggests the former is more likely to be true than the latter: perceiving discrimination is linked to acculturation, not simply age or time in the United States itself.

The LNS also asks respondents to report the race of the person involved in their most recent experience with discrimination (Table T28). Because the question is asked only of those who experienced discrimination, the number of responses is significantly lower—only 115 respondents out of approximately 400 in the D.C. Metro Area sample. About half of the respondents report being discriminated against by whites, 15 percent by blacks, and substantially lower percentages by Asians and other Latinos. Note that 23 percent either did not know or gave no answer. The breakdown of these responses reflects, to some extent, the ethnic breakdown of the region's demographics, but also points to respondents' sense that unfair treatment is more likely to come from those they encounter in workplaces and public places who hold positions of authority—white Americans, for the most part—rather than blacks or other Hispanics.

### Evaluation of Public Schools

Education is a major vehicle for upward mobility in American society, and good public schools are a major reason why immigrants choose to live in relatively expensive suburbs like Fairfax and Montgomery counties. Respondents were asked to “grade” the public schools their children attended (Tables T29–T32). Two findings stand out: first, native-born respondents are significantly harsher in their assessments of public schools than their first-generation counterparts; second, respondents in the District rated their schools much more negatively than their counterparts in the metro area's suburbs. Neither of

these findings is surprising. Immigrants, who are likely to compare schools in the United States with schools in their countries of origin, tend to rate U.S. public education more favorably than do the native-born, who compare their children's schools with other schools in the United States. This partly explains the relatively low ranking of D.C. schools, which are underfunded and underperform compared with the suburban school systems of Maryland and northern Virginia.

Spanish-speaking parents were asked if there were programs for teaching English to Spanish speakers in their children's schools (Tables T33–T35). Versions of these programs seem to be widely available, but possible differences across jurisdictions cannot be reliably interpreted due to the small pool of respondents to this question. Despite strong majority support (not reported) for the retention of the Spanish language among respondents in the LNS, English-immersion programs attract support from about half the D.C. Metro Area sample, spread pretty evenly across generations (Table T36).

### Availability of Public Services in Spanish

About three-quarters of respondents say that public services in the areas of policing, social services, and schools are provided in Spanish, with some slight variation by jurisdiction (Tables T37–T48). There is very little variation in the sample between respondents in Virginia and Maryland, despite that fact that the Virginia state legislature continues to take a more conservative tack toward immigration than its Maryland counterpart. The absence of differences may reflect, however, the more immigrant-friendly policies of most of the northern Virginia jurisdictions covered by the survey (the anti-immigrant policies implemented in Manassas took effect after the



survey was conducted). Provision of services in Spanish are more likely to be reported by second-generation immigrants than by first-generation respondents, and by citizens more than non-citizens, which may indicate a lack of familiarity with bilingual services provided in the D.C. Metro Area by more recent arrivals.

### Interethnic Relations

The LNS asks a series of questions regarding commonalities with African-Americans and whites, and of ethnic patterns in the workplace and among respondents' friends. A majority of citizens and non-citizens, immigrants and native-born, all indicate some or a lot of commonalities with blacks in the economic sphere (Table T49). However, a third of the first generation feels little or no commonality with blacks; this percentage is substantially lower in the second generation. Feelings toward whites are more evenly divided between those who feel there is commonality and those feeling there is none: 45 percent of first-generation respondents feel they have few or no commonalities with whites economically; 48 percent feel they do (Table T50). Latino respondents are similarly divided when asked if there are commonalities with blacks and whites in the political realm—first-generation Latinos, again, split between those feeling they have little in common politically with blacks and whites, and those feeling commonalities exist (Tables T51–52). Note that second-generation respondents are more likely to see commonalities with blacks and less likely to see commonalities with whites than their first-generation counterparts. In general what these findings suggest is that a sense of commonality evolves over time in the United States and that new arrivals are not so much *hostile* to other racial and ethnic groups as *disconnected* from them.

These views of commonalities with whites and blacks may well be shaped by ethnic/racial patterns in respondents' workplaces and among respondents' friendship networks. Friendships, for instance, seem to become more ethnically diverse with time in the United States for Latinos in the D.C. Metro Area: 32 percent of non-citizens describe their friendships as "completely mixed," while 39 percent of citizens and 42 percent of the native born describe their friendships this way (Table T53). Forty-two percent of non-citizens describe their friends as mostly other Latinos, but only 23 percent of first-generation *citizens* and 8 percent of second-generation respondents describe their friendships this way (keep in mind that the number of second-generation respondents is very small). The next largest group of respondents describes their friendships as mixed Latinos and whites; few respondents say their friendships are with mostly whites or other races. Since many adults form friendships in their workplaces, the ethnic diversity of Latino respondents' friendship networks is likely influenced by the ethnic/racial diversity found there. About 30 percent across generations describe their workplaces as "completely mixed" (Table T54). There is some evidence in the D.C. sample that respondents' workplaces, like their friendships, become less homogeneously Latino, and more racially diverse, over time and generations in the United States.

### Intraethnic Relations

The fact that many Latinos, particularly as immigrants, have workplaces and friendships largely shared with other Latinos may explain the fairly strong sense of commonality many respondents feel they share with other Hispanics. Among first-generation immigrants in the D.C. Metro Area 45 percent feel they



have “a lot” in common with other Latinos with regard to economic issues (another 26 percent say they feel they have “some” in common), and 33 percent feel they have a lot in common with regard to political issues (another 30 percent say they have “some” in common; Tables T55–56). Interestingly, these feelings are, if anything, weaker when respondents are asked about their specific country-of-origin group (Table T57, for example, shows that only 26 percent of respondents felt they had “a lot” in common with their co-nationals regarding political issues). Similarly, feelings of linked fate, while strong toward both respondents’ national origin group and Latinos as a whole, are slightly stronger for Latinos/Hispanics (Tables T58–59). The strength of this feeling—the sense of being a part of a larger “pan-ethnic” group of Latinos—is a significant shift from findings in surveys of Latinos conducted in the 1990s. Though this finding is reflected in the national LNS data as well, the demographic diversity of Hispanics in the D.C. Metro Area—with no one national origin group predominant, and immigration from across Latin America present in some numbers—may well reinforce pan-ethnic sentiment among Latinos.

### Transnationalism

A great deal has been written about immigrants’ continuing ties to their countries of origin, and some authors have pointed to the possible effects these ties might have on immigrants’ civic and political mobilization in the United States. Others have argued that the processes of incorporation and assimilation into American society for new immigrants are still in place. The LNS provides evidence for both views—transnationalism exists and persists, and assimilation into American society

occurs over time. For instance, 69 percent of non-citizen first-generation respondents in the D.C. Metro Area sample have contact with persons in their country of origin (by mail, phone, etc.) at least once a week or more, but this is true for only 44 percent of first-generation citizens, and for only 13 percent of the second generation: contact declines with time spent in the United States (Table T60). The frequency of trips to respondents’ countries of origin, on the other hand, actually is greater among first-generation citizens (see Table 61), and is still higher among second-generation respondents than it is for first-generation non-citizens (national data, not shown). This makes sense: first-generation non-citizens have many possible restrictions on their travel: if they are illegal, they might of course forgo travel in order to remain in the United States; if they are green card holders, that legal status carries with it its own restrictions on travel and stay outside the United States.

Scholars often point to remittances—money sent back to friends, family, and hometowns in immigrants’ countries of origin—as a key indicator of transnationalism. The frequency of remittances respondents send to their countries of origin is highest among first-generation immigrant non-citizens—57 percent send remittances at least once a month. This figure drops substantially among naturalized immigrants, to 28 percent, and to 15 percent for the native-born (Table T62; note the small *n* in both cases; however, analysis of the national LNS data indicates the same pattern, and a similar pattern for time in the United States among the foreign-born: the longer respondents had spent in the United States, the less likely they were to remit). Respondents’ views on their plans to return to live in their countries of origin change over time as well: 39 percent of first-generation non-citizens in

the D.C. Metro Area indicated an intention at some point to return to live permanently in their countries of origin, but this figure drops to 22 percent for first-generation citizens, and to 4 percent for native-born respondents (Table T63). Perhaps a good part of these patterns of transnational behavior might be explained by the fact that many first-generation immigrants still have children whom they are supporting financially abroad: 31 percent of non-citizens in the D.C. Metro Area sample, for instance, but only of 5 percent of citizens (Table T64). The data suggest that the process of reuniting close family in the United States is likely associated with weaker transnational ties.

Very few Latino immigrants are directly engaged in country-of-origin politics. Only 6 percent of first-generation immigrants in the sample had voted in an election in their country of origin since being in the United States, and less than 2 percent had donated funds to the campaign of a politician in their country of origin (Table T64). These figures are not unsubstantial, in relative terms, but they pale in comparison with indicators for the civic and political participation of Latino immigrants in the United States.

### Civic and Political Participation

Forty-two percent of the first-generation non-citizens in the D.C. Metro Area sample are not interested in U.S. politics, but that declines to 28 percent among first-generation citizens. Note, however, that 21 percent of first-generation immigrants say they are “very interested” and 38 percent indicate they are “somewhat interested” in politics in the United States (Table T68). Even among non-citizens a majority indicate at least some interest in the politics of their new country of residence. There is a high level of disinterest (though per-

haps comparable to the population as a whole), but this is counterbalanced by a majority who follow American politics.

Actual participation in civic, cultural, or religious groups—de Tocqueville’s civil society—is more rare. Only 14 percent of non-citizens participate in these kinds of organizations; less than 2 percent in more than one (Table T69). But these figures double for first-generation citizens: 26 percent participate in at least one organization, 19 percent in more than one. Among second-generation respondents 46 percent participate in at least one organization, 19 percent in more than one. Civic participation increases with time in the United States. Similarly, contact with public officials doubles, from 21 percent for non-citizens to 41 percent for first-generation citizens, and triples to 65 percent for native-born respondents (Table T70).

The LNS includes a battery of questions asking individuals to identify which avenues they would use to address common problems (Tables T71–T73). Native-born respondents are more likely to use organizational avenues (53 percent would turn to organizations to address problems, or to these combined with informal contacts). Foreign-born respondents are as likely to use informal avenues as to turn to organizations (30 percent say they would turn to each, with another 9 percent saying they would use both avenues). One in five immigrant-born respondents say they would do nothing, compared with one in eight among Latinos born in the United States. These patterns of responses hold true for both Maryland (Table T72) and Virginia (Table T73). In sum, citizens and the native-born are more engaged in civic organizations and more likely to work through them to resolve local issues; non-citizen Latino engagement—typified by the March 2006 immigrant marches—

is more likely to be informal and ad hoc. Non-citizens have yet to be brought into the web of nongovernmental organizations, citizens' groups, and the like that make up the foundation of local politics.

A majority of respondents said they had volunteered in their children's schools; this ranged from 53 percent among first-generation non-citizens to 64 percent for first-generation citizens, to 67 percent for the native born (Table T74). Because the sample sizes are small, the findings can only be suggestive; nevertheless, they suggest that the percentage volunteering is higher in Virginia than in Maryland (Tables T75–76). More than four out of five parents in the sample say they have attended a Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meeting at their children's school—86 percent of non-citizens, 82 percent of citizens (one of the few instances in which non-citizens seem to be more engaged than citizens—but again, this could be a function of the small sample sizes), and 89 percent of the native-born. Note that Tables T78–T80 suggest that PTA attendance is higher in Maryland and D.C. than in Virginia (again, these numbers should be interpreted with caution). In general, the LNS findings suggest that Latino parents in the D.C. Metro Area are very involved in their children's educations—and that this is one arena in which non-citizen Latinos are as engaged as their citizen peers.

Now we shift our focus to electoral politics. Although Latinos identify more strongly with the Democratic Party than with the Republican Party, party identification as a whole is weaker among first-generation immigrants and, understandably, particularly among non-citizens (Table T81). Fifty-six percent of the native-born sample identify as Democrats, as do 44 percent of foreign-born citizens, but only 27 percent of non-citizens. Much of these differences can be accounted for by a lack of

familiarity and a detachment from American party politics among new immigrant arrivals. Twenty-six percent of non-citizens indicate they “don't care,” and another 23 percent say they “don't know” or have some other preference when asked about their choice between the Democratic and Republican parties. These figures decline substantially among first-generation citizens, but note that 20 percent of this group still say they “don't know” or “don't care” about their preferences for a political party, a sign that new citizens' partisan attachments are still in formation. On the whole, however, Democrats in the D.C. Metro Area have a 2-to-1 registration advantage over Republicans among new citizen voters (and a 4-to-1 advantage among native-born Latinos; Table T82); again, these numbers are small, and so should be taken with a grain of salt.

Two-thirds of first-generation respondents said having a Latino candidate would be “very important” to them in how they cast their vote, a view that weakens among citizens, and is substantially reduced among the native-born (Table T83). Even higher percentages express preferences for Spanish-speaking candidates, again a preference that declines with time and generation in the United States (Table T84). Not surprisingly, there is almost universal support for candidates sharing respondents' views of the issues (Table T85).

Among citizens, 4 out of 5 indicate they are registered to vote, which is high compared to Latinos nationally, but which perhaps reflects the socioeconomic characteristics of Latinos in the D.C. Metro Area. These figure do not change across generations: foreign-born citizens are as politically interested as their native-born counterparts (Table T86). Eighty-one percent of the native-born said they voted, a response given by only 69 percent of foreign-born citizens (Table T87). Turnout is higher

among Latinos in Maryland than among those in Virginia (Tables T88–T89). This may reflect the likelihood of having a Latino on the ballot in Montgomery County versus the corresponding suburban Virginia jurisdictions such as Fairfax or Loudoun counties.

Although 4 out of 5 Latino citizens were registered, and almost 2 out of 3 of those registered voted, only 1 in 3 citizens (and 1 in 2 voters) were contacted by a political party and asked to contribute to support the party's candidates. This may reflect the impression that Latinos are not involved in electoral politics, despite evidence to the contrary, at least in the D.C. Metro Area. There is a gap between Maryland and Virginia in the percentages of those asked to contribute: party contact is about 15 percentage points higher in Maryland for foreign-born citizens, and 8 points higher for native-born Latinos (see Tables T90–T92; again, with small numbers of respondents these figures are suggestive, not definitive). On the whole the contact and voting data indicate greater electoral incorporation among Latinos in Maryland than their peers in Virginia.

### Policy Positions

A number of LNS items summarize Latino respondents' position on a number of selected policy questions (Tables T93–T98). The preferred immigration policy for first-generation non-citizens is the immediate legalization of all undocumented immigrants, with 58 percent supporting this option. But this particular preference declines to 34 percent among foreign-born citizens, and to 8 percent among native-born Latino respondents in the D.C. Metro Area. In the latter two groups some kind of guest worker program with a "pathway to legalization" is the preferred policy.

In-state tuition for undocumented immi-

grants is by far the preferred policy for Latino respondents; with three-quarters or more across all groups indicating they are in favor of allowing in-state tuition (Table T94). Opposition to school vouchers increases with time in the United States and across generations: only 19 percent of first-generation non-citizens oppose or strongly oppose the idea; but this increases to 37 percent among first-generation citizens and to 70 percent among native-born Latinos (Table T95). A strong majority of respondents support or strongly support standardized school testing (see Table T96), but 'strong' support is softer among native-born respondents.

On two other front-burner social issues, almost half of all first-generation respondents reported they would like to see abortion allowed only in cases where the mother's life was in danger; this view does not shift markedly for naturalized citizens. However a majority of native-born respondents would like to see abortion allowed in most circumstances (see Table T97). A plurality of first-generation respondents would like to see no legal recognition for same-sex marriage, but a strong majority of native-born respondents would like to see recognition of civil unions or marriage for gay couples (Table T98). Both these policy areas suggest ones in which first-generation Latinos, like other ethnic/racial groups including African-Americans, are substantially more socially conservative than the native-born. Although they lean Democratic in their party affiliation, their party allegiances are still in formation, and their preferences on key policy issues might indicate an opening for Republican appeals (as evidenced by President George W. Bush's success with Hispanic voters in 2004). However, this openness might well be trumped by the anti-immigrant policies espoused by segments of the Republican Party.

## CONCLUSIONS

Latinos in the Washington Metropolitan Area are not monolithic. There is a great deal of demographic diversity—by national origin, by recency of arrival, by education, and so on—but also diversity of ideology as well. Recall the high percentages of born-again Christians, the significant minority of Latino Republicans, and the majorities against both gay marriage and unrestricted abortion. This is a population of both native-born residents and recent arrivals, of the highly educated and low skilled, of citizens, legal residents, and undocumented. Nonetheless, there are a great many similarities across this population.

Latino immigrants to the United States are often portrayed as transient and unlikely to adapt to American society. Nonetheless, despite indications of some continuing transnational ties, the direction of the evidence from the LNS points to the opposite: a continued deepening of ties to the United States with time spent in the United States and across generations. These conclusions are reflected as well in the results presented here from the D.C. Metro Area sample. Latinos here are diverse in terms of national origin, education, and income, but overall they follow similar patterns of incorporation into American society: many complete their education in the United States, buy homes, and have children in this country. If they have children, they follow their progress through school, with majorities volunteering at these schools and attending PTA meetings. Their participation in other voluntary activities is relatively low, but increases over time (only attending church as a social or civic activity is as high in the first generation as among the native-born). Much higher percentages are interested in and are involved in U.S. politics than in sending-country politics. High majori-

ties of citizens are registered and vote, even though they are contacted by political parties less frequently than their numbers would suggest they should.

In many cases immigrant incorporation in the D.C. Metro Area seems to be facilitated by the provision of bilingual services by police, social agencies, and schools. However, as much as a third of first-generation respondents either reports no services in Spanish or a lack of knowledge of these services, which signals a problem in either communicating the existence of these services, or in the universality of their provision. There are signs of some resistance to Latino participation and incorporation, which are reflected in respondents' reporting of unfair treatment by the police, with regard to work and housing, and in public places like restaurants and stores. Respondents report discrimination in the workplace in particular. Yet it is the workplace where Latinos also encounter a range of ethnicities and races. This diversity in the workplace increases with time in the United States, and perhaps not coincidentally, the reporting of ethnic diversity in friendships also increases with time in the United States. Latinos are being incorporated into American society, civic life, and politics, but could, with the right policies, be encouraged to participate more fully and more quickly than they are. This is the challenge facing local actors—non-profit organizations, elected officials, churches, schools, and service providers—in the D.C. Metro Area.

## NOTES

1. Interviewing began on November 17, 2005, and continued through August 4, 2006. A hiatus in the interviewing occurred from December 15 to January 10 to account for the large number of potential respondents in the sample who were likely to be unavailable in

that period. Completed interviews in that time frame represent only callbacks of interviews begun on an earlier date.

2. The survey sample was drawn by Geoscape International, a marketing research and sampling firm, from their household database of approximately eleven million households in the United States that were identified as Latino or Hispanic. The survey, conducted by Interviewing Service of America in both English and Spanish, contains approximately 165 distinct items ranging from demographic descriptions to political attitudes and policy preferences, as well as a variety of social indicators and experiences, and resulted in a mean interview length of 40.6 minutes with a response rate of 11.7 percent and a cooperation rate of 35.1 percent. The response rate is the number of completed interviews divided by the number of total phone numbers in the pool, whether working or nonworking, good or bad. The cooperation rate is the number of completed interviews divided by the number of calls in which an individual answered the phone.

The universe of analysis contains approximately 90 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population. States were selected based, first, on the overall size of the Latino/Hispanic population. Four more states, Arkansas, Georgia, Iowa, and North Carolina, were added to the sample to capture the evolving nature of emerging populations in states with more recent histories of Latino populations.

The author was one of the principal investigators of the survey, along with Luis Fraga, University of Washington; John Garcia,

University of Arizona; Rodney Hero, Notre Dame University; Valerie Martinez-Ebers, Texas Christian University; and Gary Segura, University of Washington.

3. The national margin of error is approximately  $\pm 1.05$  percent. The smallest sample size for any state or region sampled was 400, yielding a margin of error no greater than  $\pm 5$  percent for any single state or region.
4. A brief note on the tables: each of the tables in the Appendix presents cross-tabulations of a single variable (e.g., marital status) by immigrant generation. In addition the tables break down first-generation immigrants by citizen and non-citizen. Each table, therefore, has columns for first-generation citizens, first-generation non-citizens, all first-generation, and second-generation and beyond (respondents born in the United States). This allows for some distinctions to be drawn both across generations and within the first generation. The tables report both number of respondents and column percentages for each cell and for the row totals. The reader should note that because of the relatively small number of interviews conducted in each jurisdiction, the survey results presented in the sections that follow should be interpreted with some caution.
5. Readers who would like access to the complete LNS data will find the survey instrument and various presentations of the national data at <http://depts.washington.edu/uwiser/LNS.shtml>. The LNS survey data will be posted at the University of Michigan's ICPSR website, <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/>.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Key Issues for Latino Immigrant Engagement: A Dialogue among Leaders of the Local Community

On November 7, 2007, voters in the Washington Metropolitan Area went to the polls to vote for state legislators, city commissioners, school board members, and other local officials. Leading up to this election, political discourse and local media in communities throughout the region, and especially in Virginia's Prince William and Loudoun counties, were dominated by the issue of immigrants and what kind of local legislation should be in place to regulate their presence. During this period, local organizations such as CASA de Maryland, the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN), the National Capital Immigrant Coalition (NCIC), and others led voter registration drives and encouraged the Latino immigrant community to come out and participate in the political process that would determine who would fill the positions that make decisions affecting their lives.

One week before the election took place, immigration experts, community leaders, elected officials, activists, local media, union representatives, and members of religious and other immigrant-serving organizations from the region gathered at the Woodrow Wilson Center. They convened to shed light on the challenges that deter Latin American immi-

grant civic and political participation in the Washington Metropolitan Area, as well as what has been successful in promoting engagement, and to offer recommendations on where there is space for further progress.

The conference included a panel with public officials such as Maryland State Delegate **Ana Sol Gutierrez**, Arlington County Board Vice Chair (now Chairman) **Walter Tejada**, and the director of the D.C. Mayor's Office on Latino Affairs, **Mercedes Lemp**; scholars **Audrey Singer**, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and **Michael Fix**, Vice President and Director of Studies of the Migration Policy Institute; and advocacy leaders **Cecilia Muñoz**, Senior Vice President in the Office of Research, Advocacy, and Legislation at the National Council of la Raza (NCLR), **Pedro Avilés**, the executive director of NCIC, and **Leni González**, President of the Virginia chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). The public session was followed by a closed-door roundtable. During the roundtable, participants discussed issues such as the role of the media, unions, and religious organizations in integrating and educating immigrants, as well as how the political context affects immigrants in the area and



their willingness to become politically active. The following outlines the major themes that were emphasized, as well as suggestions made to improve and increase civic and political participation.

#### **GEOGRAPHY AND THE D.C.-MARYLAND-VIRGINIA DIVIDE**

It is impossible to discuss the Washington Metropolitan Area without recognizing one important fact: the region is comprised of two states that have distinct histories, populations, and political leadership and a city that is also the capital of the United States. This unique environment provides a context for immigrants unlike anywhere else in the country, and it is important to take into account the divergent attributes found in the region's communities when analyzing how immigrant populations there are engaging. Maryland and Virginia do share one commonality that is found in many immigrant-receiving metropolitan areas around the country: the immigrant population geography, once concentrated in the District of Columbia, has seen a significant migration over the years from the city into the surrounding inner and outer suburbs, where housing is more affordable and public schools are better. In fact, the areas that have seen the most rapid increase in immigrants in recent years, as Audrey Singer points out, are these outer suburbs. Although the inner suburbs maintain higher percentages of Latino immigrants overall in the population, the outer suburbs have seen more rapid growth. In Virginia, the outer suburbs of Prince William and Loudoun counties saw their immigrant populations more than triple between 2000 and 2006, and in Maryland, Frederick County reported that its foreign-born population had increased 250 percent in that same period.<sup>1</sup>

The way the two states have dealt with their foreign-born residents, however, is dramatically different. A number of factors come into play when analyzing why Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia have had such dissimilar reactions to their burgeoning Latino immigrant populations. One explanation is the historical North/South divide. Virginia is a Southern state that has a history of strained race relations that date back to slavery. In this state where the Republican Party has played a dominant and influential role, it has historically been the Democratic Party that has had a more active political base among Latinos. The takeover of the Virginia Senate by the Democrats in the November 2007 elections followed a decade of Republican control. Virginia has also recently seen two Democratic governors, a sign that the northern, more politically moderate portion of the state is beginning to gain more political influence. In this state, where 6 percent of the population is of Latin American heritage,<sup>2</sup> there is only one Latino elected official at the state level. Delegate Jeff Frederick, first elected to office in 2003, is a Republican born of a Colombian mother who represents Virginia's 52nd district of eastern Prince William County.<sup>3</sup> Locally, there are only three elected officials in the state, including Walter Tejada, the Chairman of the Arlington County Board.

In Virginia, and particularly in the northern counties that have seen especially rapid growth of the Latino immigrant population in recent years, the increase has led to the creation of organizations to meet the needs of the community. These include business alliances like the Virginia Hispanic Chamber of Commerce established in 2000, community groups such as the Virginia Coalition of Latino Organizations (VACOLAO) founded in 2002, and the Governor's Virginia Latino



Advisory Commission created in 2003. It has also, however, led to the introduction of some of the nation's most restrictive policies toward immigrants.

Proposals have included bills that would allow employers to fire employees for speaking languages other than English, require that drivers' license exams be conducted in English only, require that defendants pay for interpreters in court if convicted, allow police to check immigration status of people who report or are victims of crime, and severely fine any organizations (including churches and the Salvation Army) that provide any services to undocumented immigrants.<sup>4</sup> In Prince William County, legislation was passed prohibiting certain county services to undocumented immigrants who are elderly, homeless, or addicted to drugs, and that allows local police to check the immigration status of anyone who breaks the law in any way, including a traffic violation such as jaywalking. In the city of Herndon, which saw its foreign-born population increase 169 percent from 1990 to 2000,<sup>5</sup> a highly contested government-funded center for day laborers was shut down amid protests from members of the community and a locally founded chapter of the Minutemen.

Although the most stringent legislation introduced has not been passed on the state level, a clear message has been sent to the immigrant populations in these counties: they are not welcome. Organizations, such as Help Save Herndon and Help Save Fairfax, and some local politicians have made it a priority to create an environment that is unwelcoming to undocumented immigrants. Many in the immigrant community see this stance as hostile to all immigrants, regardless of legal status, and to Latinos in general. By contrast, cities such as Maryland's Takoma Park, Mount Rainier, and Gaithersburg have

been labeled "sanctuary" cities, either officially or unofficially, due to their inclusive policies toward all immigrants, documented and undocumented alike. In Takoma Park, police and other municipal employees are forbidden from enforcing federal immigration law. Police do not inquire about legal status during police stops or on calls, city services are available to all residents, noncitizens are allowed to vote in municipal elections, and election information and other important city documents are available in Spanish. In Montgomery County, immigrants can use identification cards issued by foreign countries.<sup>6</sup>

In Maryland, a Northern state that is historically Democratic, several Latinos serve in the state General Assembly and others have been elected locally. In this state, particularly in the inner suburbs surrounding Washington, D.C., there is a well-organized and well-funded network of immigrant- and Latino-serving organizations that have a tradition of political activism.<sup>7</sup> Much of this may be due to the fact that Maryland has a history of coalition politics, where Democrats have consistently made an effort to engage the Latino community in the region. Their outreach efforts have resulted in a Latino population that is politically connected, and knows how to work within coalitions and to advocate for the issues important to them. As a result, state-run programs, such as the Maryland Office for New Americans, and locally run programs in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, which offer English and citizenship classes, as well as information on health and housing services, have established a precedent of acceptance and inclusion in this state.

Washington, D.C., has its own history that affects the city's attitude and policy toward immigrants. At the center of the civil rights movement, D.C. has long been a city of politi-

cal activism. Over 60 percent of Latino-serving organizations in the region are located there,<sup>8</sup> including offices for powerful national organizations such as the National Council of La Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). In 2004 the Language Access Act was signed into law, requiring that vital government documents be translated into the five most common foreign languages spoken in the District, the availability of oral language services, the hiring of bilingual public contract personnel, and the training of D.C. employees in multicultural awareness. In addition, the Mayor's Office on Latino Affairs has been very proactive in engaging the Latin American community in the city.

Although Maryland and the District of Columbia have generally been more welcoming to immigrants, another pattern can be seen in the Washington Metropolitan Area that is consistent with other cities nationally that have growing immigrant populations: the farther from the metropolitan core, the more restrictive immigration policy is. Despite the differences in Maryland and Virginia, this phenomenon can be seen in both places. In Maryland, although clearly more open to immigrant populations than its southern counterpart, there is a geographic trend where the farther a place is from the capital, the less welcoming the attitude towards immigrants. In Frederick County, fifty miles from the nation's capital, officials considered proposals to crack down on immigration by denying public services, although in the end nothing was passed. Currently, Republican leaders there are working to require all drivers' license applicants to submit documents proving their legal status.<sup>9</sup> In contrast, Virginia's Arlington County, bordering on the District of Columbia, condemned the harsh

legislation being proposed in its surrounding counties of Loudoun and Prince William,<sup>10</sup> and in September 2007 approved a resolution proposed by Vice Chairman (now Chairman) Walter Tejada to protect immigrants and promote integration.<sup>11</sup>

This national trend of urban versus outer suburbs attitudes towards immigrants parallels the fact that immigration destinations have historically been primarily urban areas. Cities have longer histories of immigration, and therefore are often more accepting, whereas in many outer suburbs, such as those in the D.C. Metro Area, the phenomenon of a rapid influx of immigrants is more recent.

#### RESPONDING TO LOCAL HOSTILITIES

It was a response to the type of legislation that would later be proposed in northern Virginia that brought roughly 180,000 people from across the region and the country to Washington, D.C., to participate in marches on the National Mall.<sup>12</sup> Like the legislation that would follow it in cities around the nation, the Sensenbrenner-King Bill, HR 4437, passed in the House of Representatives in the winter of 2005, proposed to severely limit the rights of those in the country without documents, as well as to punish the people who aid them. The protests and marches in opposition to this bill that took place on March 6 and April 10 in Washington, D.C., marked a turning point in Latino immigrant participation in the region. Not only did it bring to light the massive organizational and outreach capacity of immigrant networks and advocacy groups, it included many people who previously had never been politically active. Of those who participated for the first time, many did so because they felt that their livelihood, their families, and their community were being directly threatened.

The anti-immigrant sentiment many felt nationwide as a result of the passage of HR 4437 has also been felt in the Washington Metropolitan Area, particularly in northern Virginia's Prince William and Loudoun counties. Since the spring of 2006, the Virginia Assembly has considered legislation aimed at making life more difficult for undocumented immigrants, and a number of bills have been passed either in the House of Delegates or passed into law by the full Assembly. The contentious and often offensive rhetoric of the debate over immigration in the region has created an environment hostile not only to Latin American immigrants, but to the Latino community in general.<sup>13</sup> The entire community feels threatened by a "politics of hate,"<sup>14</sup> which has in turn served as motivation for many people to come out of the shadows and take a stand on these issues.

This is not the first time that the social and political environment has inspired the community to unite and speak out. In May of 1991, riots broke out in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of the District of Columbia after a police officer shot a Salvadoran man during a Cinco de Mayo celebration. This event highlighted the tenuous relationship between the recent Central American immigrant community in the District and the city police. The riots mobilized the Latino community and prompted the creation of many Latino-serving organizations and the consolidation of others to deal with issues such as access to health care, education, and legal services.<sup>15</sup> It also encouraged the District police department to train its officers in cultural awareness, hire more Spanish-speaking personnel, and create a Latino Liaison Unit in order to maintain better rapport with Latin American immigrants.<sup>16</sup>

Now, once again, the Latino community, although internally fragmented on strategy

and message, has united in solidarity against the strict legislation that has been proposed. Since the spring of 2006, immigrants with and without legal status have participated in political activities ranging from rallies, boycotts, and walk-outs to local municipal hearings. Through increased efforts by community leaders and activists, many people have participated in citizenship and voter registration drives. There was a particular push to register voters for the elections that took place in November 2007, as many felt it was their opportunity to have a say on immigration policy and specific issues that affect the community, such as day-laborer sites and access to education. Local organizations followed the lead of national coalitions, such as the We Are America Alliance, and took advantage of the local offices of national organizations such as NALEO, National Council of la Raza, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and the National Capital Immigrant Coalition.<sup>17</sup>

These local organizations are the backbone of Latino immigrant political engagement in the region. Many of them were founded by people from the religious community in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. They were formed initially with the purpose of addressing the needs of the thousands of refugees who arrived in the Washington Metropolitan Area after fleeing the wars in Central America. Over time these organizations have multiplied, developed immigrant leadership, and begun to engage Latin American immigrants in many ways. They have gone beyond providing social services and now lead the way in community organizing around political issues. CASA de Maryland and CARECEN are two of the region's most prominent immigrant-led and immigrant-serving organizations. Along with other local organizations, such as the Virginia

Justice Center, Ayuda, the Woodbridge Workers' Committee, and Mexicanos Sin Fronteras, they encourage political participation as well as advocate for immigrants' needs in areas such as housing, social policy, education, and health. Both CASA de Maryland and CARECEN offer classes in applying for citizenship, support "get out the vote" drives, and are vocal in the debate over immigrants' rights in the region. Furthermore, leading up to the November 2007 elections, alliances such as One Gaithersburg were formed to encourage eligible Latino immigrants to register to vote and support immigrant-friendly candidates.

The rise in immigrant political activism since the 2006 protests has not always been well-received by the local non-Latino population in some areas. Just as the spring protests brought people out of the shadows nationwide, boycotts, rallies, and other political efforts locally in the following years have highlighted the density of Latino immigrant populations in the region. There has been a negative reaction from many people in some counties, and some participants noted that there is a cycle in which restrictive immigration policy leads to protests, which in turn lead to community reactions and further restrictive immigration policy. Therefore, an important part of being successful politically is changing the perceptions that the local population have of Latino immigrants through educating people and dispelling the misinformation that fuels fears.<sup>18</sup>

Although about 80 percent of immigrants are here legally and pay taxes at nearly the same rate as those who are native-born,<sup>19</sup> there is a general perception, especially in places like northern Virginia, that they have come without documents and are taking advantage of the system. Nonetheless, immigrant households account for about 21 percent of those in the region and for about 18 percent of all taxes

paid.<sup>20</sup> Michael Fix noted that immigrants pay about one-fourth of all taxes in Maryland's Montgomery and Fairfax counties. Ana Sol Gutierrez, Cecilia Muñoz, and Audrey Singer asserted that it is this type of information that needs to be widely disseminated and used in order to have constructive conversations on the issue of immigrants in the region.

#### **BUILDING POLITICAL POWER AND ENHANCING CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: CHALLENGES AND THE WAY FORWARD**

Although there has been an increase in the political activity of Latino immigrants around the region as a response to restrictive legislation, leaders such as Ana Sol Gutierrez and Walter Tejada have pointed out that the great challenge before the Washington Metropolitan Area community is to turn that momentum into sustained participation. Many conference participants commented that there was no clear leadership or stable coalition that could take the achievements of 2006 and move forward toward consolidated political action. In order to do this, these challenges of leadership and organization must be addressed, and a culture of political engagement and understanding of how the political system works should be promoted. It was noted that although the Latin American immigrant community has developed its own civic society through the social networks of churches, schools, soccer leagues, and hometown groups, it still lacks the organization and know-how to be fully politically engaged.

#### **Civic Engagement and Established Networks**

It is often within the civic realm that immigrants learn about the communities in which they live and begin to develop social roles that

help integrate them into society. Churches, labor unions, and other civic organizations in the Washington Metropolitan Area have served to help immigrants gather together, participate civically, and, by learning from the experiences of others, slowly become familiar with their new homes and society. Public schools are also an important resource for immigrant families: for instance, Escuela Bolivia in Arlington, VA, offers English classes to parents after school and on the weekends; and the Boar Parent Resource Center at a Gaithersburg, MD, elementary school, goes so far as to offer a clinic and information on where parents can access other community resources.<sup>21</sup>

Places of worship have historically been the initial space where immigrants form their social networks and become involved civically in an area. As mentioned before, most immigrant-serving organizations in the region were founded by church groups. Churches not only serve as places for community-gathering, they offer English and citizenship classes, job training, and information on housing and health services. In the Washington Metropolitan Area there are Adventist, Baptist, Catholic, Episcopalian, Evangelical, Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian Latino-serving congregations.<sup>22</sup> Here, religious leaders such as the Rev. Mario Dorsonville, Director of Immigrant and Refugee Services at the Spanish Catholic Center in Washington; the Rev. David Rocha of Camino de Vida United Methodist Church in Gaithersburg; Arlington's Fr. Gerry Creedon of St. Charles Borromeo Catholic Church; and Fr. Eugenio Hoyos, Director of the Spanish Catholic Apostolate of the Diocese of Arlington, are well-known for their outreach efforts to involve the church in providing services to Latino immigrants. Moreover, Reverend Rocha was one of the most vocal proponents of the county-funded day-laborers

centers that were established in Montgomery County in 2007 and was politically active in the One Gaithersburg alliance promoting pro-immigrant candidates for the November 2007 local election.<sup>23</sup>

Many people characterized faith-based organizations as the principal locus of civic engagement in the Washington area, but not the only one. Another form of civic involvement can be found in the participation in labor organizations and unions. One union representative noted that the majority of the six-thousand carpenters represented in unions are Latinos. These members are exposed to the structure of the organization, through which they learn about the process of participation and the importance of electing good leaders to represent them. Unions encourage participation in civic activities locally as well as at the state and federal level, and through the endorsement of political candidates they involve their members in the political process.<sup>24</sup> The lessons immigrants learn through the infrastructure of the union can be applied to broader political engagement in the community.

Unfortunately, there is still much reluctance to get involved in leadership positions within the union; of the sixty delegates from the region represented in his union, only two are Latino. This hesitancy can be due to a number of factors. For many immigrants, the idea of participating in political activities in the workplace is something new and intimidating. Furthermore, barriers such as lack of English skills, legal status, and time (many work multiple jobs) prevent them from dedicating any time outside the job itself to political or civic activities. These challenges notwithstanding, union leadership makes an effort to incorporate and educate its immigrant constituency into the civic and political process, and there is great potential for growth.<sup>25</sup>

Outside of religious and labor organizations, there are other, less formal places where the Latino immigrant population is active. Latino soccer leagues have flourished in the Washington region in recent years. Teams comprised of players both with and without documents make up over thirty leagues based on nationality, county, or both.<sup>26</sup> Games that take place every weekend from April to November serve as community gathering places where families bring their children to watch soccer, listen to live music, and socialize. However, since the restrictive laws passed in Prince William County, many leagues have moved to other counties or ceased to play altogether out of fear of being targeted by local authorities.<sup>27</sup>

Immigrant-run organizations such as hometown associations also have a presence in the area, especially among the Salvadoran community. These organizations were originally formed to send financial support back to their home countries, often specifically to their hometown, but over time many have also become centers for civic engagement locally as well. This is reflective of a trend seen in many places around the country, where the longer an immigrant community has been in the United States, the more it begins to socialize within the local community and engage civically.<sup>28</sup> The United Salvadoran Communities of the D.C. Metro Area, a coalition of many of the Salvadoran hometown associations that exist in the D.C. area, is an example. It was created in 2001 in response to the earthquake that devastated El Salvador, and today serves to promote education, civic participation, social and economic development, cultural awareness, and the health and welfare of the Salvadoran community in the region as well as continuing to provide support for those back home.<sup>29</sup> The Bolivian community also has a network of organizations throughout the region that serve

primarily to preserve Bolivian culture, promote folkloric traditions, and maintain ties with home communities.<sup>30</sup>

Most immigrant-run associations in the region focus on providing services and engaging the immigrant community civically, but some have crossed over into the political realm as well. One such organization is Mexicanos Sin Fronteras (MSF). Founded to defend the rights of Latino immigrants, it relies on volunteers to run its projects, including community organization and advocacy, English classes, food distribution, and cultural activities. Unlike other immigrant-run organizations in the area, whose activities are mainly social and cultural, MSF has been extremely active in the political debate over immigrant legislation in Prince William County. It has been a primary organizer in the protests, boycotts, and marches that have taken place in the region since restrictive legislation was introduced. Also distinct from other immigrant-run organizations, Mexicanos Sin Fronteras promotes a transnational political agenda. It advocates on issues in Mexico ranging from the Mexican government's treatment of migrants from Central America, to issues such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and indigenous rights.<sup>31</sup>

### From Civic to Political

Immigrant participation in civic networks often provides a platform for broader participation in the community at large. Immigrant-led organizations such as CASA de Maryland, CARECEN, and others have been able to build a bridge between civic and political engagement. In May 2008, CASA—along with the Coordination Council of Chinese American Associations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Tenants and Workers United of Northern



Virginia, and others—launched the campaign for the New Americans Initiative to promote citizenship and political engagement in the region through encouraging the 270,000 citizenship-eligible immigrants in Virginia, Maryland, and D.C. to become naturalized citizens in order to play a more active social and political role in society.<sup>32</sup>

Many local Latino leaders first became engaged through participating in civic groups in the area. This is especially the case for those of Salvadoran descent, who are well-represented among Latino leaders regionally. Due to the political nature of their immigration to the United States, it is not surprising that many in the Salvadoran community are very politically aware, and that this group has produced a number of people who have taken on leadership positions and become active in government.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, schools have served as places where Latino students, both native-born and immigrants, have learned leadership skills and organized to become politically active. School programs such as Escuela Bolivia's Emerging Leaders Program<sup>34</sup> promote leadership and communication skills among high school students. Indeed, much of the successful mobilization of people that led to the mass turnout in the spring 2006 protests came from students who organized by sending text messages, calling their networks, and posting to social network Internet pages such as MySpace and Facebook.<sup>35</sup>

This new wave of student leadership is significant but, as with other efforts that were seen in the spring of 2006, it can be difficult to keep up momentum. Part of the challenge in the continuing struggle to promote political engagement lies in the differences within the Latino community itself on strategy, leadership, and organization. Although many different groups within the community were able to

rally around the looming threat of restrictive legislation, the lack of a cohesive strategy on how to successfully lobby for pro-immigrant legislation among an extremely diverse group of people continues to be an obstacle.

The Washington Metropolitan Area's Latino immigrant community is, in fact, one of the most diverse in the nation, made up of people from all over Latin America, particularly El Salvador, Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, Peru, and Honduras. It is stratified based on income, legal status, length of time lived in the United States, and home-country politics. This fragmentation has served to prevent sustained success in fighting anti-immigrant rhetoric and policy. Furthermore, the lack of centralized or coordinated leadership has led to divergent approaches from different groups that have often clashed, impeding the ability to unite under one strong coalition.

Successes in Latino community unification were seen in 1991 after the Mt. Pleasant riots, in 2006 surrounding national legislation, and most recently in the Virginia suburbs where restrictive legislation has been introduced. These concrete challenges forged unity from diversity due to the sense that there was a common identity being threatened. However, aside from the 2006 protests, these isolated moments of consolidated mobilization have not been sustainable regionwide efforts. In 1991 it was the Washington, D.C., community that joined together, and currently it is mainly those suburbs under attack in northern Virginia that have seen the most recent rise of political activism.<sup>36</sup> The lack of a common, region-wide threat has produced pockets where people and organizations are fighting for different, more targeted causes instead of a broader goal with a coordinated strategy.

In addition to inconsistencies in political strategies, many argued that leadership itself

is lacking strength at both the individual and institutional level. Participants emphasized the need for those who are currently active in the community to take on more formal leadership positions. Others added that strong leadership should not only come from individuals, but organizations as well. It was noted that many local organizations still focus primarily on providing services. These groups are encouraged to continue to redefine themselves to serve in promoting political empowerment, as well as in addressing immediate needs.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, the task of expanding from offering necessary services to encouraging greater participation is not always feasible for organizations lacking in resources. Many participants argued that to work in outreach simply goes beyond the capacity of many organizations.

It is educational outreach, however, that is often the most critical element in getting people involved politically. In the face of increasing legislation to limit immigrants' access to the rights citizens possess, many are unaware of the rights they have simply by being in this country, regardless of their legal status.<sup>38</sup> A critical task is educating the immigrant population about how the political system works, how it affects them, and how they can be involved. Participants emphasized that often it is not the cost that prevents people from applying for citizenship, but rather the lack of knowledge of how to do it.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, many participants commented that a lack of English skills is one of the most significant barriers that immigrants face. Of the noncitizen Latino immigrants who arrived in Virginia in the last five years, 69 percent do not speak English well or at all; of those who have lived in the United States for six to ten years, the figure is 44 percent.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, it is the inability to communicate or understand one's environment that inhibits them from engaging. This can be seen in fact that the rate

of taxes paid by immigrants is directly correlated not only with legal status and education, but with English proficiency as well.<sup>41</sup>

Educational outreach and community motivation go beyond what can be done by immigrant-run organizations. Participants agreed that the churches are perhaps some of the most important places where Latin American immigrants can be encouraged to participate in their community. While many churches in the area offer classes and other resources, some argued it is not enough, and suggested that church leaders take advantage of the wide audience they have to promote political engagement.<sup>42</sup>

The media have also played an important role in both informing and mobilizing the community, particularly local Spanish-language television and radio. A representative of a large Spanish-language media company pointed out that the media act as facilitators and educators, informing the community so immigrants can better understand and function within American society. Programs like Telemundo's *Línea Directa* educate immigrants as to how the system functions in the United States and what their rights are, as well as provide information on important health, legal, education, and social service issues.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, many local media companies have been active in broadcasting information regarding political activities in the area. Local Spanish-language radio in particular was especially crucial in spreading the word about the 2006 marches. Some participants noted, however, that Spanish-language media would have had an even greater impact if they aired public service and educational programming during prime time, when more viewers could have been reached.<sup>44</sup>

Elected officials and community leaders agreed that a key element in successfully building political power is forming coalitions.



These coalitions must go beyond the traditional Latino immigrant community—which itself must become fully united—to include other local groups whose support is essential to having political clout. Alliances are critical for supporting and electing Latino- and immigrant-serving leaders, as well as creating community support for issues of common interest. Walter Tejada emphasized that the Latino vote on its own is not enough to elect Latino officials to office; they must be supported by broader coalitions.

Building alliances in the Washington Metropolitan Area has not always been an easy task. Historically, there have been tensions between Latino immigrants and the black community, Washington, D.C.'s largest minority, over the perception that Latino immigrant day laborers were taking jobs away from blacks. However, many participants commented that although there have been disagreements, there is an opportunity to work together on issues important to both groups, such as on poverty, education, health care, and wages. Leaders like Walter Tejada and Maryland House Delegate Victor Ramirez have made it a priority to represent not only the Latino community, but also the coalitions that have elected them.<sup>45</sup> Alliances with non-Latino actors have also been helpful. The Virginia Coalition of Latino Organizations (VACOLAO) has worked with groups such as the American Jewish Committee's D.C. Chapter, the Korean-American Coalition, and Muslim groups in the region.<sup>46</sup> In fact, it was VACOLAO's lobbying effort in partnership with the American Jewish Committee that played a significant role in preventing much of the anti-immigrant legislation that has been introduced since 2006 from being passed.<sup>47</sup>

## NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of Census, 2006 American Community Survey.
2. Tim Craig, "Va. House Approves Bill on Illegal Immigration," *Washington Post*, January 31, 2007.
3. Delegate Frederick is Virginia's first Latino to be elected to a statewide office. In August 2007 he proposed legislation to prohibit any form of state funding to Virginia counties, cities, or towns that had policies in place disregarding a person's illegal status for the purposes of providing services or engaging in law enforcement activities (press release, <http://va52.com/news.asp?DocID=102>).
4. "Illegal Immigration Issues Attract Little Interest Outside N. Va.," *Washington Post*, March 15, 2008.
5. Singer, "Edge Gateways," 154.
6. Singer, "Edge Gateways," 160.
7. Jennifer Johnson (Latin American Working Group) interview by the author, January 26, 2007.
8. Guillermo Cantor, *Nonprofits Serving the Latino Community in the Washington DC Metropolitan Area: A Portrait of Their Features and Activities* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 2008), 4.
9. "Illegal Immigration: Brinkley Fights for License Bill," *The Frederick News-Post Online, Frederick County Maryland Daily Newspaper*, March 28, 2008, <http://www.fredericknewspost.com>.
10. "Arlington Condemns Region's Immigrant Crackdown," *Washington Post*, September 19, 2007.
11. "Tejada Vence en Arlington," *El Tiempo Latino*, November 9, 2007, [http://www.eltiempolatino.com/edic\\_Ant./07/nov/2/ind\\_window/tejada.html](http://www.eltiempolatino.com/edic_Ant./07/nov/2/ind_window/tejada.html).
12. Xóchitl Bada, Jonathan Fox, and Andrew Selee, eds., *Invisible No More: Mexican Migrant Civic Participation in the United States* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2006), 8.
13. Comment from Cecilia Muñoz, "Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the D.C.-Metro Area," conference held at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., November 1, 2007.

14. Kristin Downey, "Hispanic Officials Urge Immigrant Voters to Get to Polls," *Washington Post*, October 30, 2007.
15. Cantor, *Nonprofits Serving the Latino Community*, 5.
16. Mary Beth Sheridan, "Time, Effort Closing Rift in Mt. Pleasant; 15 Years After Clashes, Latinos, Police Talking," *Washington Post*, May 7, 2006.
17. The We Are America Alliance was formed in the aftermath of the mobilizations seen around the country from March to May 2006 to create a "culture of participation" among immigrant communities. For more information on the Alliance as well as a list of its partners, see <http://www.weareamericaalliance.org>.
18. Comment from Leni González, "Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the DC-Metro Area," November 1, 2007.
19. Michael Fix presentation, "Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the DC-Metro Area," November 1, 2007.
20. *Ibid.*, PowerPoint slide 3.
21. Singer, "Edge Gateways," 159.
22. Cantor, *Nonprofits Serving the Latino Community*, 6.
23. "Leggett Wants Day-Laborers' Center Near Shady Grove Metro," *Washington Post*, January 19, 2007; and Sebastian Montes and Patriciaq Murret, "Outside Group Works to Get Immigrants to the Polls In Gaithersburg," *Maryland Gazette*, November 2, 2007.
24. Participant comment, "Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the DC-Metro Area," conference held at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, November 1, 2007; hereafter, "Participant comment."
25. *Ibid.*
26. Nick Miroff, "Constructing Lives Off the Soccer Field," *Washington Post*, August 7, 2006.
27. "Crackdown on Illegal Immigration Quiets Soccer Fields in Prince William," *Washington Post*, March 12, 2008.
28. Saúl Solórzano (Director, CARECEN), interview by the author, May 21, 2008.
29. <http://www.cusdc.org/>.
30. Emma Violand-Sánchez (Co-founder and Board Member, Escuela Bolivia) interview by the author, April 9, 2008.
31. Mexicanos Sin Fronteras mission statement, <http://www.mexicanossinfronteras.org>.
32. CASA de Maryland, press release, "New Report Highlights Untapped Wave of Potential New Citizens in Maryland, Virginia and DC," May 28, 2008.
33. Solorzano, interview.
34. <http://www.escuelaboliva.org/programs/youth-programs/emerging-leaders-program.html>.
35. Participant comment.
36. An exception would be the alliance forged by CASA de Maryland and the Tenants and Workers United of Northern Virginia for the New Americans Initiative campaign.
37. Comment from Pedro Avilés, "Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the DC-Metro Area," conference held at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, November 1, 2007.
38. Participants' comments.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Cai, "Hispanic Immigrants and Citizens in Virginia."
41. Fix presentation, PowerPoint slides 9-11, Adjusted Census 2000 PUMS.
42. Participants' comments.
43. "Línea Directa is an award-winning Spanish-language television series that provides Latino families living in the Washington metropolitan area with information on their rights, as well as on important health, legal, education and social service issues," EVS Communications, <http://www.evstv.org/ldhistory.html#>.
44. Participant comment.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. Leni González (LULAC-Virginia) interview by the author, May 29, 2008.

## CONCLUSION

In the past two decades, the Washington Metropolitan Area has seen its Latin American immigrant population grow exponentially, dramatically changing the face of the region, especially that of the suburbs. In these years, Latino immigrants have created a space for themselves both in the civic and political spheres, from the strip malls of Latino-run storefronts, to the Latino soccer leagues that bring out hundreds of fans from around the region every weekend, to the more than one-hundred Latino churches, to the immigrant-serving organizations that have mobilized Latin American immigrants to come out and protest restrictive legislation. The region has seen new leadership develop from traditional service providers into Latino public officials, immigrant activists, and youth who have motivated the community to become active in speaking out and advocating their cause.

However, the Latin American immigrant community, still young in its time in the region and its development, faces many challenges and has much room to grow within the political realm. Because Latino immigrants represent both a new and diverse community, with a majority of first-generation immigrants from a multitude of countries, they have yet

to find their place among a challenging and mixed political environment. Although many in the community successfully came together in the spring of 2006 to protest harsh immigration legislation proposed both nationally and locally, efforts in the following years have been varied due to stratifications within the community and the lack of a uniform strategy or message. Although Spanish-language media have been successful in informing Latin American immigrants of local opportunities for engagement, the lack of organized leadership has prevented this community from going beyond reactive political organizing, both strategically and socially.

The 2007 General Assembly session in Virginia saw more than 128 immigrant-related bills introduced.<sup>1</sup> Although the most extreme proposals were not passed at the state level, counties like Prince William have passed ordinances that have alienated the entire Latino community, causing many families to consider moving away. It remains to be seen whether the efforts of local immigrant advocacy organizations, Spanish-language media, and other groups were successful in their campaign to register eligible Latinos to apply for citizenship and vote. In the November 2007 local

elections, none of the challenging Latino candidates won, and while some outspoken anti-immigrant candidates lost, others maintained their positions of power.

The challenge that lies ahead is how to continue to further engage and unite the Latin American immigrant population, going beyond civic involvement to increased political participation. This will take coalition-building both within the Latino community and with other groups, an energized leadership, a continued media effort to educate and motivate,

and a campaign to change negative perceptions of Latin American immigrants in local communities throughout the region, and particularly in the outer suburbs.

#### NOTES

1. Claire Guthrie Gastañaga, CG2 Consulting, Richmond Sunlight, Photosynthesis bill-tracking, Virginia Interfaith Center for Public Policy, <http://www.richmondsunlight.com/photosynthesis/7mlxg/>.

## APPENDIX A

### Latin American Immigrants: Civic and Political Participation in the Washington, D.C. -Metro Area

Thursday, November 1, 2007  
6th Floor Flom Auditorium  
Woodrow Wilson Center

#### WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

Philippa Strum, Director, Division of United States Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center (currently a Senior Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center)

Andrew Selee, Director, Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

Xóchitl Bada, Consulting Coordinator, Initiative on Latin American Immigrant Civic and Political Participation, Woodrow Wilson Center, and Researcher, University of Notre Dame (currently Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago)

#### THE D.C. LANDSCAPE: HOW IMMIGRANTS ARE INTEGRATING IN OUR NATION'S CAPITAL AND THE CHALLENGES THEY FACE

Audrey Singer, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Cecilia Muñoz, Senior Vice President, Office of Research, Advocacy, and Legislation, National Council of La Raza

Michael Fix, Vice President and Director of Studies, Migration Policy Institute

Gustavo Torres, Director, CASA de Maryland  
Moderator: Leni González, Chair, Virginia Latino Advisory Board

#### CIVIC AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: FROM THE SHADOWS TO THE STATEHOUSE

Ana Sol Gutierrez, Delegate, Maryland House of Delegates

Walter Tejada, Vice Chairman (now Chairman), Arlington County Board

Pedro Avilés, Executive Director, National Capital Immigrant Coalition

Mercedes Lemp, Director, Office on Latino Affairs, Office of the Mayor of Washington, D.C.

Moderator: Marcela Sánchez, Columnist, *The Washington Post*

**AFTERNOON ROUNDTABLES**

5th Floor Conference Room

**PANEL III: STRONGHOLDS OF D.C. IMMIGRANT CIVIL SOCIETY: THE ROLE OF FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS, SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA, LABOR UNIONS, AND WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP**

Rev. Mario E. Dorsonville, Vice-President for Mission and Director of Immigrant and Refugee Services, Catholic Charities, Spanish Catholic Center

Jose Frias, Mid-Atlantic Regional Council of Carpenters (MARCC)

Ronald Gordon, President, ZGS Communications, Inc.

Mariela Olivares, Managing Attorney, Domestic Violence/Family Law, Ayuda, Inc.

Eugenio Arene, President and CEO, Latino Federation of Greater Washington

Moderator: Xóchitl Bada, Woodrow Wilson Center and Notre Dame University (currently at University of Illinois at Chicago)

**PANEL IV: NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP: TOWARDS A LARGER LATINO VOTING BLOC?**

Victor Ramírez, Delegate, Maryland House of Delegates

Andres Tobar, Chairman, Virginia Coalition of Latino Organizations

Saul Solórzano, Director, CARECEN

Ricardo Juárez, Director, Mexicanos Sin Fronteras

Ricardo Cabellos, Pueblo Unido

Moderator: Kate Brick, Program Associate, Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

## APPENDIX B

### Results from the 2006 Latino National Survey

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

##### T1: Sex

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non- citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
FEMALE	66 60.55	94 43.12	160 48.93	24 50
MALE	43 39.45	124 56.88	167 51.07	24 50
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

##### T2: Marital Status

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
SINGLE	17 15.6	72 33.03	89 27.22	26 54.17
LIVING TOGETHER	4 3.67	18 8.26	22 6.73	2 4.17
MARRIED, LIVING SEPARATELY	6 5.5	17 7.8	23 7.03	0 0
MARRIED	68 62.39	92 42.2	160 48.93	19 39.58
DIVORCED	13 11.93	10 4.59	23 7.03	1 2.08
WIDOWED	1 0.92	9 4.13	10 3.06	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T3: Racial Identification**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all
WHITE	26 23.85	50 22.94	76 23.24
BLACK, AFRICAN-AMERICAN	1 0.92	1 0.46	2 0.61
AMERICAN INDIAN	4 3.67	1 0.46	5 1.53
PACIFIC ISLANDER	1 0.92		1 0.31
SOME OTHER RACE (SPECIFY)	71 65.14	149 68.35	220 67.28
REFUSED	6 5.5	17 7.8	23 7.03
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100

**T4: Country of Origin**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+gen all
ARGENTINA	2 1.83	3 1.38	5 1.53	0 0
BOLIVIA	14 12.84	16 7.34	30 9.17	0 0
CHILE	2 1.83	2 0.92	4 1.22	0 0
COLOMBIA	5 4.59	3 1.38	8 2.45	0 0
COSTA RICA	1 0.92	1 0.46	2 0.61	0 0
CUBA	6 5.5	2 0.92	8 2.45	6 12.5
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	6 5.5	9 4.13	15 4.59	1 2.08
ECUADOR	6 5.5	0 0	6 1.83	1 2.08
EL SALVADOR	32 29.36	78 35.78	110 33.64	5 10.42



**T4: Country of Origin (cont'd.)**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+gen all
GUATEMALA	9 8.26	25 11.47	34 10.4	0 0
HONDURAS	1 0.92	13 5.96	14 4.28	1 2.08
MEXICO	12 11.01	45 20.64	57 17.43	22 45.83
NICARAGUA	4 3.67	7 3.21	11 3.36	1 2.08
PANAMA	1 0.92	0 0	1 0.31	0 0
PARAGUAY	0 0	1 0.46	1 0.31	0 0
PERU	4 3.67	6 2.75	10 3.06	1 2.08
PUERTO RICO	0 0	5 2.29	5 1.53	5 10.42
SPAIN	2 1.83	2 0.92	4 1.22	3 6.25
URUGUAY	1 0.92	0 0	1 0.31	0 0
DON'T KNOW	1 0.92	0 0	1 0.31	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T5: Highest Level of Education Completed**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
NONE		14 6.42	14 4.28	0 0
EIGHTH GRADE OR BELOW	9 8.26	14 6.42	76 23.24	1 2.08
SOME HIGH SCHOOL	13 11.93	67 30.73	47 14.37	1 2.08
GED	4 3.67	34 15.6	7 2.14	0 0
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	15 13.76	3 1.38	57 17.43	5 10.42
SOME COLLEGE	28 25.69	42 19.27	58 17.74	11 22.92
4 YEAR COLLEGE DEGREE	22 20.18	30 13.76	36 11.01	17 35.42
GRADUATE/ PROFESSIONAL DEGREE	18 16.51	14 6.42	32 9.79	13 27.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T6: Where Highest Level of Education was Completed**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all
U.S.	57 52.29	31 14.22	88 26.91
ELSEWHERE	52 47.71	187 85.78	239 73.09
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100

**T7: Employment Status**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
EMPLOYED FULL TIME	73 66.97	151 69.27	224 68.5	33 68.75
WORKING MORE THAN ONE JOB	2 1.83	3 1.38	5 1.53	0 0
EMPLOYED PART-TIME	7 6.42	11 5.05	18 5.5	3 6.25
OCCASIONAL/DAY LABOR	2 1.83	14 6.42	16 4.89	0 0
CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED	3 2.75	20 9.17	23 7.03	1 2.08
FULL TIME STUDENT	4 3.67	1 0.46	5 1.53	3 6.25
RETIRED OR PERMANENTLY DISABLED	14 12.84	3 1.38	17 5.2	5 10.42
NOT WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME	4 3.67	15 6.88	19 5.81	3 6.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T8: Family Member in Union**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
YES	9 8.26	15 6.88	24 7.34	7 14.58
NO	99 90.83	199 91.28	298 91.13	40 83.33
DK/REFUSED	1 0.92	4 1.83	5 1.53	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

T9: Union Participation, Maryland

relative in union	first gen	second+ generation	total
YES	15 10.56	2 11.76	17 10.69
NO	125 88.03	15 88.24	140 88.05
DK/REFUSED	2 1.41	0 0	2 1.26
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	17 100	159 100

T10: Union Participation, Virginia

relative in union	first gen	second+ generation	total
YES	6 4.38	4 19.05	10 6.33
NO	129 94.16	17 80.95	146 92.41
DK/REFUSED	2 1.46	0 0	2 1.27
<b>TOTAL</b>	137 100	21 100	158 100

T11: Household Income

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
BELOW \$15,000K	8 7.34	38 17.43	46 14.07	0 0
\$15,000–24,999	11 10.09	53 24.31	64 19.57	0 0
\$25,000–34,999	9 8.26	25 11.47	34 10.4	1 2.08
\$35,000–44,999	11 10.09	23 10.55	34 10.4	4 8.33
\$45,000–54,999	9 8.26	10 4.59	19 5.81	2 4.17
\$55,000–64,999	11 10.09	8 3.67	19 5.81	6 12.5
ABOVE \$65,000	36 33.03	15 6.88	51 15.6	28 58.33
REFUSED	14 12.84	46 21.1	60 18.35	7 14.58
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T12: Number of Individuals Supported by Reported Income**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
1	13 11.93	25 11.47	38 11.62	8 16.67
2	25 22.94	35 16.06	60 18.35	16 33.33
3	22 20.18	42 19.27	64 19.57	6 12.5
4	23 21.1	49 22.48	72 22.02	7 14.58
5	18 16.51	31 14.22	49 14.98	6 12.5
6	3 2.75	13 5.96	16 4.89	3 6.25
7	1 0.92	2 0.92	3 0.92	1 2.08
8	0 0	3 1.38	3 0.92	0 0
9	1 0.92	0 0	1 0.31	0 0
10	0 0	3 1.38	3 0.92	0 0
11	1 0.92	0 0	1 0.31	0 0
NO ANSWER	2 1.83	15 6.88	17 5.2	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T13: Home Ownership**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
OWN	79 72.48	69 31.65	148 45.26	35 72.92
RENT	26 23.85	146 66.97	172 52.6	9 18.75
OTHER	1 0.92	3 1.38	4 1.22	4 8.33
REFUSED	3 2.75	0 0	3 0.92	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T14: Religious Identification: With what religious tradition do you identify?**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
CATHOLIC	70 64.22	143 65.6	213 65.14	32 66.67
ASSEMBLIES OF GOD	1 0.92	4 1.83	5 1.53	0 0
SOUTHERN BAPTIST	0 0	6 2.75	6 1.83	3 6.25
PENTECOSTAL	8 7.34	11 5.05	19 5.81	2 4.17
OTHER PROTESTANT	4 3.67	16 7.34	20 6.12	3 6.25
MORMON	3 2.75	1 0.46	4 1.22	0 0
JEWISH	1 0.92	0 0	1 0.31	0 0
NO RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	11 10.09	19 8.72	30 9.17	4 8.33
JEHOVAH'S WITNESS	0 0	3 1.38	3 0.92	0 0
OTHER	11 10.09	15 6.88	26 7.95	4 8.33
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T15: Identification as Born Again: Do you consider yourself a born-again, spirit-filled Christian or involved in the charismatic movement?**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
YES	43 39.45	115 52.75	158 48.32	9 18.75
NO	56 51.38	79 36.24	135 41.28	38 79.17
DON'T KNOW	9 8.26	18 8.26	27 8.26	1 2.08
REFUSED	1 0.92	6 2.75	7 2.14	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T16: Church Attendance: How often to you attend services**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second+ generation
MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK	20 18.35	41 18.81	61 18.65	1 2.08
ONCE A WEEK	39 35.78	78 35.78	117 35.78	16 33.33
ONCE A MONTH	18 16.51	38 17.43	56 17.13	7 14.58
ONLY MAJOR RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS	20 18.35	29 13.3	49 14.98	15 31.25
NEVER	11 10.09	31 14.22	42 12.84	9 18.75
DON'T KNOW	1 0.92	1 0.46	2 0.61	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

## CITIZENSHIP

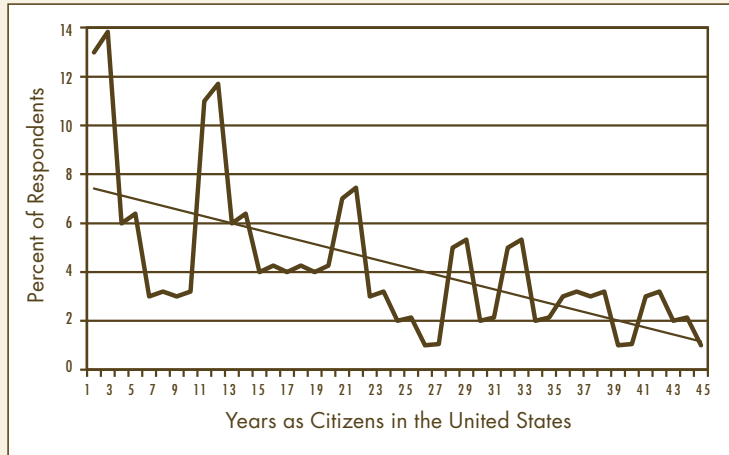
**T17: Reasons for Immigration, First-Generation Immigrants**

	MD	VA	DC
EDUCATION	15 10.56	8 5.84	4 8.33
FAMILY REUNIFICATION	17 11.97	12 8.76	2 4.17
ESCAPE POLITICAL TURMOIL	14 9.86	14 10.22	9 18.75
MY PARENTS BROUGHT ME	18 12.68	15 10.95	5 10.42
IMPROVE ECONOMIC SITUATION	63 44.37	79 57.66	20 41.67
OTHER	15 10.56	9 6.57	8 16.67
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	137 100	48 100

**T18: Citizenship, First-Generation Immigrants**

	MD	VA	DC	All
YES	52 36.62	44 32.12	13 27.08	109 33.33
NO	90 63.38	93 67.88	35 72.92	218 66.67
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	137 100	48 100	327 100

**T19: Duration of Citizenship**



**T20: Reasons for Naturalizing, First-Generation Immigrants**

	MD	VA	DC	All
TO BE ABLE TO VOTE	19 35.85	15 32.61	3 21.43	37 33.94
LEGAL, POLITICAL RIGHTS OR CIVIL RIGHTS	9 16.98	8 17.39	3 21.43	20 18.35
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY	4 7.55	8 17.39	2 14.29	13 11.93
TO RECEIVE GOVERNMENT BENEFITS	3 5.66	4 8.7	1 7.14	8 7.34
TO REUNITE WITH SPOUSE, FAMILY, ETC.	5 9.43	2 4.35	1 7.14	8 7.34
TO BECOME MORE AMERICAN	6 11.32	3 6.52	0 0	9 8.26
OTHER	7 13.21	6 13.04	4 28.57	14 12.84
<b>TOTAL</b>	53 100	46 100	14 100	109 100



**T21: Reasons for Not Naturalizing, First-Generation Immigrants**

	MD	VA	DC	All
IT COSTS TOO MUCH	20 9.52	10 11.24	2 5.88	32 9.76
I DON'T KNOW HOW	13 6.19	3 3.37	1 2.94	17 5.18
IT TAKES TOO LONG	30 14.29	14 15.73	3 8.82	47 14.33
I DO NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY DOCUMENTS	45 21.43	20 22.47	6 17.65	71 21.65
PLANNING ON RETURNING TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	25 11.9	11 12.36	7 20.59	38 11.59
AFFECTION/LOYALTY TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	3 1.43	2 2.25	0 0	5 1.52
LANGUAGE SKILLS LACKING	29 13.81	7 7.87	9 26.47	45 13.72
OTHER	28 13.33	13 14.61	3 8.82	44 13.41
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED TO ANSWER	17 8.1	9 10.11	3 8.82	29 8.84
<b>TOTAL</b>	210 100	89 100	34 100	328 100

## DISCRIMINATION

**T22: Fair Police Treatment, Personal**  
*Have you ever been treated unfairly by the police?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	10 9.17	17 7.8	27 8.26	11 22.92
NO	97 88.99	197 90.37	294 89.91	37 77.08
DK/NA	2 1.83	4 1.83	6 1.83	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T23: Fair Police Treatment of Latinos***Do you believe Latinos are treated fairly by the police?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	53 48.62	99 45.41	152 46.48	29 60.42
NO	40 36.7	88 40.37	128 39.14	14 29.17
DON'T KNOW	16 14.68	31 14.22	47 14.37	5 10.42
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T24: Victim of a Crime**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	18 16.51	14 6.42	32 9.79	19 39.58
NO	91 83.49	203 93.12	294 89.91	29 60.42
DON'T KNOW	0 0	1 0.46	1 0.31	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T25: Job Discrimination***Have you ever been unfairly fired or denied a job or promotion?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	22 20.18	30 13.76	52 15.9	12 25
NO	86 78.9	183 83.94	269 82.26	35 72.92
DK/NA	1 0.92	5 2.29	6 1.83	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T26: Housing and Discrimination**

*Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because a landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	6 5.5	6 2.75	12 3.67	3 6.25
NO	102 93.58	208 95.41	310 94.8	44 91.67
DK/NA	1 0.92	4 1.83	5 1.53	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T27: Discrimination in a Restaurant**

*Have you ever been unfairly treated at a restaurant or store?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	15 13.76	17 7.8	32 9.79	18 37.5
NO	93 85.32	197 90.37	290 88.69	30 62.5
DK/NA	1 0.92	4 1.83	5 1.53	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T28: Race of Person Discriminating**

*In the most recent incident of discrimination, what was the race of the other person?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
WHITE	22 57.89	19 37.25	41 46.07	13 50
BLACK	10 26.32	16 31.37	26 29.21	4 15.38
ASIAN	1 2.63	4 7.84	5 5.62	2 7.69
LATINO	3 7.89	5 9.8	8 8.99	1 3.85
DK/NA	2 5.26	7 13.73	9 10.11	6 23.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	38 100	51 100	89 100	26 100

## EVALUATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**T29: What grade would you give your community's public schools?**

Grade	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
A	40 36.7	99 45.41	139 42.51	11 22.92
B	34 31.19	65 29.82	99 30.28	16 33.33
C	22 20.18	26 11.93	48 14.68	13 27.08
D	6 5.5	12 5.5	18 5.5	4 8.33
FAILED	7 6.42	16 7.34	23 7.03	4 8.33
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T30: School Grades, Maryland**

grade	first generation	second+ generation	total
A	61	4	65
	42.96	23.53	40.88
B	45	6	51
	31.69	35.29	32.08
C	20	4	24
	14.08	23.53	15.09
D	7	2	9
	4.93	11.76	5.66
FAILED	9	1	10
	6.34	5.88	6.29
<b>TOTAL</b>	142	17	159
	100	100	100

**T31: School Grades, Virginia**

grade	first generation	second+ generation	total
A	66	7	73
	48.18	33.33	46.2
B	35	10	45
	25.55	47.62	28.48
C	20	2	22
	14.6	9.52	13.92
D	6	0	6
	4.38	0	3.8
FAILED	10	2	12
	7.3	9.52	7.59
<b>TOTAL</b>	137	21	158
	100	100	100

**T32: School Grades, DC**

grade	first generation	second+ generation	total
A	12	0	12
	25	0	20.69
B	19	0	19
	39.58	0	32.76
C	8	7	15
	16.67	70	25.86
D	5	2	7
	10.42	20	12.07
FAILED	4	1	5
	8.33	10	8.62
<b>TOTAL</b>	48	10	58
	100	100	100

**T33: ESOL Program**

*Was there a specialized program for teaching English to Spanish-speaking children in your child's school?*

bilingual programs	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	22 75.86	61 88.41	83 84.69	1 50
NO	7 24.14	8 11.59	15 15.31	1 50
<b>TOTAL</b>	29 100	69 100	98 100	2 100

**T34: ESOL Maryland**

bilingual programs	first generation	second+ generation
YES	43 87.76	N/A
NO	6 12.24	N/A
<b>TOTAL</b>	49 100	N/A

**T35: ESOL Virginia**

bilingual programs	first generation	second+ generation	Total
YES	31 79.49	1 50	32 78.05
NO	8 20.51	1 50	9 21.95
<b>TOTAL</b>	39 100	2 100	41 100

**T36: End Bilingual Education After One Year**

*Replace multi-year bilingual instruction in schools with instruction only in English after one year?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
STRONGLY OPPOSE	13 22.81	20 16.81	33 18.75	7 25.93
OPPOSE	12 21.05	21 17.65	33 18.75	11 40.74
SUPPORT	17 29.82	21 17.65	38 21.59	5 18.52
STRONGLY SUPPORT	13 22.81	31 26.05	44 25	1 3.7
NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW	2 3.51	26 21.85	28 15.91	3 11.11
<b>TOTAL</b>	57 100	119 100	176 100	27 100

#### AVAILABILITY OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN SPANISH

**T37: Are police services available in Spanish in your community?**

police service in Spanish	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	79 72.48	148 67.89	227 69.42	37 77.08
NO	16 14.68	34 15.6	50 15.29	1 2.08
DON'T KNOW	14 12.84	34 15.6	48 14.68	10 20.83
REFUSED	0 0	2 0.92	2 0.61	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T38: Police Services, Maryland**

police service in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	97 68.31	14 82.35	111 69.81
NO	20 14.08	0 0	20 12.58
DON'T KNOW	25 17.61	3 17.65	28 17.61
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	17 100	159 100

**T39: Police Services, Virginia**

police service in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	97 70.8	16 76.19	113 71.52
NO	22 16.06	1 4.76	23 14.56
DON'T KNOW	16 11.68	4 19.05	20 12.66
REFUSED	2 1.46	0 0	2 1.27
<b>TOTAL</b>	137 100	21 100	158 100

**T40: Police Services, D.C.**

police service in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	33 68.75	7 70	40 68.97
NO	8 16.67	0 0	8 13.79
DON'T KNOW	7 14.58	3 30	10 17.24
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	48 100	10 100	58 100



**T41: Social Services in Spanish***Are social services available in Spanish in your community?*

social services in Spanish	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	91 83.49	166 76.15	257 78.59	41 85.42
NO	10 9.17	27 12.39	37 11.31	0 0
DON'T KNOW	8 7.34	22 10.09	30 9.17	7 14.58
REFUSED	0 0	3 1.38	3 0.92	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T42: Social Services, Maryland**

social services in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	112 78.87	16 94.12	128 80.5
NO	13 9.15	0 0	13 8.18
DON'T KNOW	16 11.27	1 5.88	17 10.69
REFUSED	1 0.7	0 0	1 0.63
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	17 100	159 100

**T43: Social Services, Virginia**

social services in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	105 76.64	18 85.71	123 77.85
NO	18 13.14	0 0	18 11.39
DON'T KNOW	12 8.76	3 14.29	15 9.49
REFUSED	2 1.46	0 0	2 1.27
<b>TOTAL</b>	137 100	21 100	158 100

**T44: Social Services, DC**

social services in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	40 83.33	7 70	47 81.03
NO	6 12.5	0 0	6 10.34
DON'T KNOW	2 4.17	3 30	5 8.62
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	48 100	10 100	58 100

**T45: School Information in Spanish**

*Is information about/from local public schools available in Spanish?*

public school Info in Spanish	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	84 77.06	151 69.27	235 71.87	40 83.33
NO	14 12.84	33 15.14	47 14.37	3 6.25
DON'T KNOW	11 10.09	33 15.14	44 13.46	5 10.42
REFUSED	0 0	1 0.46	1 0.31	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T46: School Information, Maryland**

public school Info in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	101 71.13	14 82.35	115 72.33
NO	26 18.31	2 11.76	28 17.61
DON'T KNOW	15 10.56	1 5.88	16 10.06
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	17 100	159 100

**T47: School Information, Virginia**

public school Info in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	101 73.72	20 95.24	121 76.58
NO	15 10.95	0 0	15 9.49
DON'T KNOW	20 14.6	1 4.76	21 13.29
REFUSED	1 0.73	0 0	1 0.63
<b>TOTAL</b>	137 100	21 100	158 100

**T48: School Information, DC**

public school Info in Spanish	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	33 68.75	6 60	39 67.24
NO	6 12.5	1 10	7 12.07
DON'T KNOW	9 18.75	3 30	12 20.69
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	48 100	10 100	58 100

INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

**T49: Commonality with Blacks re: Jobs**

*How much do Latinos/Hispanics have in common with blacks when it comes to opportunities, jobs, etc.?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first-gen all	second gen
NOTHING	14 12.84	33 15.14	47 14.37	1 2.08
LITTLE	24 22.02	52 23.85	76 23.24	6 12.5
SOME	37 33.94	62 28.44	99 30.28	26 54.17
A LOT	24 22.02	45 20.64	69 21.1	12 25
DON'T KNOW	10 9.17	26 11.93	36 11.01	3 6.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T50: Commonality with Whites re: Jobs**

*How much do Latinos/Hispanics have in common with whites when it comes to opportunities, jobs, etc.?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	11 10.09	34 15.6	45 13.76	4 8.33
LITTLE	38 34.86	63 28.9	101 30.89	16 33.33
SOME	33 30.28	52 23.85	85 25.99	19 39.58
A LOT	21 19.27	51 23.39	72 22.02	6 12.5
DON'T KNOW	6 5.5	18 8.26	24 7.34	3 6.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T51: Commonality with Blacks re: Politics**

*How much do Latinos/Hispanics have in common with blacks when it comes to politics, representation?*

	firs-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	12 11.01	30 13.76	42 12.84	3 6.25
LITTLE	30 27.52	60 27.52	90 27.52	6 12.5
SOME	42 38.53	55 25.23	97 29.66	24 50
A LOT	17 15.6	45 20.64	62 18.96	13 27.08
DON'T KNOW	8 7.34	28 12.84	36 11.01	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T52: Commonality with Whites re: Politics**

*How much do Latinos/Hispanics have in common with whites when it comes to politics, representation?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	17 15.6	34 15.6	51 15.6	4 8.33
LITTLE	38 34.86	64 29.36	102 31.19	18 37.5
SOME	31 28.44	56 25.69	87 26.61	18 37.5
A LOT	18 16.51	38 17.43	56 17.13	6 12.5
DON'T KNOW	5 4.59	26 11.93	31 9.48	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T53: Racial Makeup of Friends**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
COMPLETELY MIXED	43 39.45	69 31.65	112 34.25	20 41.67
MOSTLY LATINO/HISPANIC	25 22.94	91 41.74	116 35.47	4 8.33
MOSTLY WHITE	4 3.67	3 1.38	7 2.14	9 18.75
MIXED LATINO/HISPANIC AND WHITE	27 24.77	39 17.89	66 20.18	9 18.75
MIXED LATINO/HISPANIC AND BLACK	9 8.26	8 3.67	17 5.2	4 8.33
OTHER	1 0.92	1 0.46	2 0.61	1 2.08
NO ANSWER	0 0	7 3.21	7	1 2.14
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T54: Racial Composition of Co-Workers**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
COMPLETELY MIXED	35 32.11	64 29.36	99 30.28	14 29.17
MOSTLY LATINO/HISPANIC	23 21.1	73 33.49	96 29.36	0 0
MOSTLY WHITE	15 13.76	13 5.96	28 8.56	13 27.08
MIXED LATINO/HISPANIC AND WHITE	21 19.27	31 14.22	52 15.9	2 4.17
MOSTLY BLACK	2 1.83	3 1.38	5 1.53	4 8.33
MIXED LATINO/HISPANIC AND BLACK	1 0.92	12 5.5	13 3.98	0 0
OTHER	2 1.83	4 1.83	6 1.83	8 16.67
NO ANSWER	10 9.17	18 8.26	28 8.56	7 14.58
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

## INTRAETHNIC RELATIONS

**T55: Commonalities with Other Latinos re: Economics**

*Thinking about issues like job opportunities, education, or income, how much does [R's ethnic subgroup] have in common with other Latinos or Hispanics?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	2 1.83	16 7.34	18 5.5	1 2.08
LITTLE	15 13.76	34 15.6	49 14.98	3 6.25
SOME	38 34.86	48 22.02	86 26.3	24 50
LOT	47 43.12	101 46.33	148 45.26	19 39.58
DK/NA	7 6.42	19 8.72	26 7.95	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T56: Commonalities with Other Latinos re: Politics**

Thinking about issues like political representation, how much does [R's ethnic subgroup] have in common with Latinos/Hispanics?

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	7 6.42	14 6.42	21 6.42	2 4.17
LITTLE	20 18.35	53 24.31	73 22.32	7 14.58
SOME	36 33.03	61 27.98	97 29.66	21 43.75
LOT	43 39.45	65 29.82	108 33.03	15 31.25
DK/NA	3 2.75	25 11.47	28 8.56	3 6.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T57: Commonalities among Country-of-Origin Group re: Politics**

Thinking about issues like political representation, how much does [R's ethnic subgroup] have in common with Latinos/Hispanics?

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	13 11.93	38 17.43	51 15.6	1 2.08
LITTLE	28 25.69	56 25.69	84 25.69	11 22.92
SOME	30 27.52	53 24.31	83 25.38	24 50
LOT	33 30.28	52 23.85	85 25.99	10 20.83
DK/NA	5 4.59	19 8.72	24 7.34	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T58: Linked Fate with Country-of-Origin Group**  
*How much of R's well-being tied to others in R's ethnic subgroup?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	16 14.68	26 11.93	42 12.84	15 31.25
LITTLE	10 9.17	32 14.68	42 12.84	12 25
SOME	22 20.18	34 15.6	56 17.13	11 22.92
LOT	52 47.71	108 49.54	160 48.93	10 20.83
DK/NA	9 8.26	18 8.26	27 8.26	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T59: Linked Fate with Other Latinos**  
*How much is R's well-being tied to other Latino/Hispanics' well-being?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOTHING	7 6.42	15 6.88	22 6.73	5 10.42
LITTLE	11 10.09	27 12.39	38 11.62	9 18.75
SOME	25 22.94	37 16.97	62 18.96	20 41.67
LOT	56 51.38	117 53.67	173 52.91	12 25
DK/NA	10 9.17	22 10.09	32 9.79	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100



## TRANSNATIONALISM

**T60:** *Contact with Country of Origin*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
ONCE A WEEK OR MORE	48 44.04	151 69.27	199 60.86	6 12.5
ONCE A MONTH OR MORE	30 27.52	43 19.72	73 22.32	7 14.58
ONCE EVERY SEVERAL MONTHS	20 18.35	11 5.05	31 9.48	13 27.08
NEVER	11 10.09	10 4.59	21 6.42	22 45.83
DON'T KNOW/NA	0 0	3 1.38	3 0.92	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T61:** *Frequency of Return Trips*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all
MORE THAN ONCE A YEAR	7 6.42	16 7.34	23 7.03
ONCE A YEAR	28 25.69	28 12.84	56 17.13
ONCE IN THE PAST THREE YEARS	30 27.52	22 10.09	52 15.9
ONCE IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS	11 10.09	12 5.5	23 7.03
MORE THAN FIVE YEARS AGO	21 19.27	21 9.63	42 12.84
NEVER	11 10.09	115 52.75	126 38.53
DK/NA	1 0.92	4 1.83	5 1.53
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100

**T62: Frequency of Remittances**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen all
MORE THAN ONCE A MONTH	11 10.09	35 16.06	46 14.07	1 2.08
ONCE A MONTH	19 17.43	90 41.28	109 33.33	6 12.5
ONCE EVERY FEW MONTHS	15 13.76	24 11.01	39 11.93	1 2.08
ONCE A YEAR	9 8.26	7 3.21	16 4.89	2 4.17
LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR	4 3.67	6 2.75	10 3.06	4 8.33
NEVER	50 45.87	48 22.02	98 29.97	33 68.75
DK/NA	1 0.92	8 3.67	9 2.75	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T63: Plans to Permanently Return**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen all
YES	24 22.02	84 38.53	108 33.03	2 4.17
NO	75 68.81	110 50.46	185 56.57	44 91.67
DON'T KNOW	9 8.26	22 10.09	31 9.48	2 4.17
N/A	1 0.92	2 0.92	3 0.92	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T64: Children Overseas Supported Financially***Children in Country of Origin Being Financially Supported by Parent in the United States*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all
YES	3 4.76	48 30.97	51 23.39
NO	60 95.24	107 69.03	167 76.61
<b>TOTAL</b>	63 100	155 100	218 100

**T65: Amount of Attention to Home Country Politics**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen all
A LOT	21 19.27	51 23.39	72 22.02	6 12.5
SOME	28 25.69	40 18.35	68 20.8	15 31.25
LITTLE	19 17.43	53 24.31	72 22.02	13 27.08
NONE	37 33.94	66 30.28	103 31.5	14 29.17
DK/NA	4 3.67	8 3.67	12 3.67	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T66: Vote in Country-of-Origin Election***Since being in the United States, have you voted in an election in your country of origin?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all
YES	7 6.42	14 6.42	21 6.42
NO	100 91.74	202 92.66	302 92.35
NA	2 1.83	2 0.92	4 1.22
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100

**T67: Political Donations to County-of-Origin Campaign**

Since being in the United States, have you donated to a political campaign in your country of origin?

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all
YES	2 1.83	4 1.83	6 1.83
NO	106 97.25	209 95.87	315 96.33
DK/REF	1 0.92	5 2.29	6 1.83
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100

## CIVIC AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

**T68: Level of Political Interest in U.S. Politics**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW	2 1.83	11 5.05	13 3.98	0 0
NOT INTERESTED	30 27.52	91 41.74	121 37	1 2.08
SOMEWHAT INTERESTED	43 39.45	81 37.16	124 37.92	18 37.5
VERY INTERESTED	34 31.19	34 15.6	68 20.8	29 60.42
REFUSED	0 0	1 0.46	1 0.31	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T69: Participation in Social, Cultural, or Political Groups**  
*Do you participate in social, cultural, or political groups?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES, ONE	7 6.42	26 11.93	33 10.09	13 27.08
MORE THAN ONE	21 19.27	4 1.83	25 7.65	9 18.75
NONE	80 73.39	185 84.86	265 81.04	23 47.92
DON'T KNOW	1 0.92	3 1.38	4 1.22	2 4.17
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T70: Contact with Public Officials**  
*Have you ever contacted a public official?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	45 41.28	45 20.64	90 27.52	31 64.58
NO	63 57.8	170 77.98	233 71.25	17 35.42
DON'T KNOW	1 0.92	3 1.38	4 1.22	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T71: Avenues for Resolving Problems***How do you act when you are presented with a problem that needs to be addressed?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
USE EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS	37 33.94	60 27.52	97 29.66	19 39.58
GET TOGETHER INFORMALLY	33 30.28	66 30.28	99 30.28	10 20.83
BOTH	10 9.17	18 8.26	28 8.56	6 12.5
DO NOTHING	18 16.51	45 20.64	63 19.27	6 12.5
DON'T KNOW	10 9.17	26 11.93	36 11.01	5 10.42
REFUSED	1 0.92	3 1.38	4 1.22	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T72: Solving Problems, Maryland**

	first gen all	second gen	total
USE EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS	49 34.51	5 29.41	54 33.96
GET TOGETHER INFORMALLY	41 28.87	5 29.41	46 28.93
BOTH	12 8.45	3 17.65	15 9.43
DO NOTHING	23 16.2	2 11.76	25 15.72
DON'T KNOW	17 11.97	2 11.76	19 11.95
REFUSED	0 0	0 0	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	142 100	17 100	159 100

**T73: Solving Problems, Virginia**

	first gen all	second gen	total
USE EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS	36	10	46
	26.28	47.62	29.11
GET TOGETHER INFORMALLY	43	3	46
	31.39	14.29	29.11
BOTH	13	2	15
	9.49	9.52	9.49
DO NOTHING	31	2	33
	22.63	9.52	20.89
DON'T KNOW	13	3	16
	9.49	14.29	10.13
REFUSED	1	1	2
	0.73	4.76	1.27
<b>TOTAL</b>	137	21	158
	100	100	100

**T74: Volunteer at School**

*Have you volunteered at your child's school?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	25	39	64	6
	64.1	53.42	57.14	66.67
NO	14	34	48	3
	35.9	46.58	42.86	33.33
<b>TOTAL</b>	39	73	112	9
	100	100	100	100

**T75: Volunteer at School, Maryland**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	29	3	32
	52.73	60	53.33
NO	26	2	28
	47.27	40	46.67
<b>TOTAL</b>	55	5	60
	100	100	100

**T76: Volunteer at School, Virginia**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	29 64.44	3 75	32 65.31
NO	16 35.56	1 25	17 34.69
<b>TOTAL</b>	45 100	4 100	49 100

**T77: Attended a PTA Meeting**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	32 82.05	63 86.3	95 84.82	8 88.89
NO	7 17.95	10 13.7	17 15.18	1 11.11
<b>TOTAL</b>	39 100	73 100	112 100	9 100

**T78: Attend PTA, Maryland**

	first generation	second+ generation	Total
YES	49 89.09	4 80	53 88.33
NO	6 10.91	1 20	7 11.67
<b>TOTAL</b>	55 100	5 100	60 100

**T79: Attend PTA, Virginia**

	first generation	second+ generation	Total
YES	35 77.78	4 100	39 79.59
NO	10 22.22	0 0	10 20.41
<b>TOTAL</b>	45 100	4 100	49 100



**T80: Attend PTA, DC**

	first generation	second+ generation
YES	11 91.67	no obs
NO	1 8.33	no obs
<b>TOTAL</b>	12 100	no obs

**T81: Party Identification**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
DEMOCRATIC	48 44.04	59 27.06	107 32.72	27 56.25
REPUBLICAN	15 13.76	9 4.13	24 7.34	8 16.67
INDEPENDENT	24 22.02	42 19.27	66 20.18	9 18.75
DON'T CARE	9 8.26	57 26.15	66 20.18	1 2.08
DON'T KNOW/ OTHER	13 11.93	51 23.39	64 19.57	3 6.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T82: Party Registration**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
DEMOCRATIC	35 38.89	1 50	36 39.13	20 50
REPUBLICAN	15 16.67	1 50	16 17.39	5 12.5
INDEPENDENT	15 16.67	0 0	15 16.3	9 22.5
SOME OTHER PARTY	3 3.33	0 0	3 3.26	0 0
NO STATE REQUIREMENT	9 10	0 0	9 9.78	2 5
DON'T KNOW	13 14.44	0 0	13 14.13	4 10
<b>TOTAL</b>	90 100	2 100	92 100	40 100

**T83: Preference for Latino Candidate***How important is it that a candidate you like be Latino?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOT IMPORTANT	32 29.36	37 16.97	69 21.1	27 56.25
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	15 13.76	27 12.39	42 12.84	12 25
VERY IMPORTANT	62 56.88	154 70.64	216 66.06	9 18.75
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T84: Preference for Spanish-Speaking Candidate**  
How important is it that a candidate you like speak Spanish?

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOT IMPORTANT	14 12.84	16 7.34	30 9.17	25 52.08
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	27 24.77	27 12.39	54 16.51	16 33.33
VERY IMPORTANT	68 62.39	175 80.28	243 74.31	7 14.58
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T85: Preference for Candidate Sharing Issues**  
How important is it that a candidate you like has the same issue stances?

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
NOT IMPORTANT	4 3.67	9 4.13	13 3.98	2 4.17
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	11 10.09	19 8.72	30 9.17	9 18.75
VERY IMPORTANT	94 86.24	190 87.16	284 86.85	37 77.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T86: If Citizen, Registered to Vote?**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	92 81.42	40 83.33	132 81.99
NO	19 16.81	6 12.5	25 15.53
DON'T KNOW	1 0.88	2 4.17	3 1.86
NA	1 0.88	0	1 0.62
<b>TOTAL</b>	113 100	48 100	161 100

**T87: If Citizen, Vote in 2004?**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	78 69.03	39 81.25	117 72.67
NO	33 29.2	8 16.67	41 25.47
DON'T KNOW/ REFUSED	2 1.77	1 2.08	3 1.86
<b>TOTAL</b>	113 100	48 100	161 100

**T88: Vote in Maryland, 2004**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	40 74.07	15 88.24	55 77.46
NO	13 24.07	2 11.76	15 21.13
DON'T KNOW	1 1.85	0 0	1 1.41
<b>TOTAL</b>	54 100	17 100	71 100

**T89: Vote in Virginia, 2004**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	30 65.22	15 71.43	45 67.16
NO	15 32.61	5 23.81	20 29.85
DON'T KNOW	1 2.17	1 4.76	2 2.99
<b>TOTAL</b>	46 100	21 100	67 100

**T90: Asked to Contribute***In the '04 election were you contacted to contribute or vote by any party?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
YES	33 30.28	1 25	34 30.09	28 58.33
NO	73 66.97	3 75	76 67.26	19 39.58
DON'T KNOW	3 2.75	0 0	3 2.65	1 2.08
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	4 100	113 100	48 100

**T91: Asked to Contribute, Maryland**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	21 38.89	11 64.71	32 45.07
NO	31 57.41	6 35.29	37 52.11
DON'T KNOW	2 3.7	0 0	2 2.82
<b>TOTAL</b>	54 100	17 100	71 100

**T92: Asked to Contribute, Virginia**

	first gen all	second gen	total
YES	11 23.91	12 57.14	23 34.33
NO	34 73.91	8 38.1	42 62.69
DON'T KNOW	1 2.17	1 4.76	2 2.99
<b>TOTAL</b>	46 100	21 100	67 100

## POLICY POSITIONS

**T93: Immigration Policy***What is your preferred policy on undocumented or illegal immigration?*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
IMMEDIATE LEGALIZATION OF CURRENT UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS	37 33.94	126 57.8	163 49.85	4 8.33
GUEST WORKER PROGRAM LEADING TO LEGALIZATION	39 35.78	51 23.39	90 27.52	33 68.75
GUEST WORKER PROGRAM PERMITS TEMPORARY PRESENCE	16 14.68	16 7.34	32 9.79	3 6.25
CLOSE THE BORDER	6 5.5	6 2.75	12 3.67	5 10.42
NONE OF THESE	11 10.09	19 8.72	30 9.17	3 6.25
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T94: In-State Tuition for Undocumented Immigrants***Undocumented immigrants attending college should be charged a higher tuition rate at state colleges and universities, even if they grew up and graduated high school in the state.*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
STRONGLY OPPOSE	66 60.55	119 54.59	185 56.57	24 50
OPPOSE	26 23.85	55 25.23	81 24.77	12 25
SUPPORT	6 5.5	8 3.67	14 4.28	5 10.42
STRONGLY SUPPORT	8 7.34	15 6.88	23 7.03	5 10.42
NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW	3 2.75	21 9.63	24 7.34	2 4.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	109 100	218 100	327 100	48 100

**T95: School Vouchers**

*Provide school vouchers to pay for a portion of the cost to send children to private schools, even if that would take some money away from public schools.*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
STRONGLY OPPOSE	14 24.56	8 6.72	22 12.5	12 44.44
OPPOSE	7 12.28	14 11.76	21 11.93	7 25.93
SUPPORT	13 22.81	30 25.21	43 24.43	3 11.11
STRONGLY SUPPORT	17 29.82	32 26.89	49 27.84	3 11.11
NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW	6 10.53	35 29.41	41 23.3	2 7.41
<b>TOTAL</b>	57 100	119 100	176 100	27 100

**T96: Standardized School Tests**

*Use standardized tests to determine whether a child is promoted to the next grade or graduates from high school*

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
STRONGLY OPPOSE	8 14.04	11 9.24	19 10.8	4 14.81
OPPOSE	7 12.28	19 15.97	26 14.77	6 22.22
SUPPORT	17 29.82	30 25.21	47 26.7	12 44.44
STRONGLY SUPPORT	17 29.82	29 24.37	46 26.14	5 18.52
NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW	8 14.04	30 25.21	38 21.59	0 0
<b>TOTAL</b>	57 100	119 100	176 100	27 100

**T97: Abortion**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
LEGAL IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES	5 9.43	8 7.08	13 7.83	7 28
LEGAL IN MOST CIRCUMSTANCES	5 9.43	7 6.19	12 7.23	8 32
LEGAL ONLY TO SAVE MOTHER'S LIFE	22 41.51	52 46.02	74 44.58	5 20
NO OPINION	13 24.53	33 29.2	46 27.71	3 12
UNSURE	8 15.09	13 11.5	21 12.65	2 8
<b>TOTAL</b>	53 100	113 100	166 100	25 100

**T98: Same-Sex Marriage**

	first-gen citizens	first-gen non-citizens	first gen all	second gen
LEGALLY MARRY	6 11.32	17 15.04	23 13.86	9 36
ENTER INTO CIVIL UNIONS	5 9.43	9 7.96	14 8.43	9 36
RECEIVE NO LEGAL RECOGNITION	28 52.83	38 33.63	66 39.76	3 12
NO OPINION	14 26.42	49 43.36	63 37.95	4 16
<b>TOTAL</b>	53 100	113 100	166 100	25 100



**KATE BRICK**

Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

While program associate of the Mexico Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars from 2006 to 2008, Kate Brick's area of specialization was Latin American immigrant integration, and she served as staff coordinator for the Institute's initiative on Latin American immigrant civic and political participation. Kate also organized and led a major study on Latino immigration in the Washington Metropolitan Area. As program associate Kate also organized three congressional delegation trips to Mexico City, which included the participation of prominent members of the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Relations and of the Immigration Subcommittee. Kate holds a Bachelor's degree in Latin American Studies from The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. She is currently a Master's candidate at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

**AUDREY SINGER**

Brookings Institution

Audrey Singer is a senior fellow in the Brookings Institution's Metropolitan Policy Program. Her work focuses on the new geography of immigration and on the social, economic, political, and civic integration of immigrants. Her recent co-edited book, *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, focuses

on the fastest-growing immigrant populations among second-tier metropolitan areas, including Washington, D.C.; Atlanta, GA; Dallas, TX; Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN; Sacramento, CA; and Charlotte, NC. She holds a Ph.D. in Sociology, with a specialization in demography, from the University of Texas at Austin.

**MICHAEL JONES-CORREA**

Cornell University

Michael Jones-Correa is Professor of Government and Director of the American Studies Program at Cornell University. Professor Jones-Correa is the author of *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City* (Cornell, 1998), the editor of *Governing American Cities: Inter-Ethnic Coalitions, Competition and Conflict* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), and the author of more than two dozen articles and chapters on immigration, race, ethnicity and citizenship in the United States. Jones-Correa has contributed to and coordinated several major research projects, among them one that examines the increasing ethnic diversity of the suburbs, and the consequences of this trend on local and national politics; another that analyzes the results of the 2006 Latino National Survey; and other research on new fast-growing immigrant receiving areas. Jones-Correa has been a visiting fellow at the Wilson Center (2003–2004) and at the Russell Sage Foundation (1998–1999). In 2004–2005 he served on a committee tasked with redesigning the U.S. naturalization test, convened by the National Academy of Sciences.

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