



The Legal Side of Mexican Immigration

Integration into American society of millions of Mexicans with Legal Permanent Residence is a major chapter of the modern American immigrant experience and a key dimension of contemporary U.S.-Mexico relations. This is, however, an uneven process with advances and challenges that are obscured from view by an exaggerated image of Mexican migration as illegal.

This Mexico Institute Brief features new data obtained from the Office of Immigration Statistics of the Department of Homeland Security on the last twenty-five years of legal and legalized Mexican immigration.¹ The Institute organized a research workshop in Los Angeles using this data in October 2011, titled *The Challenge of Immigrant Integration*.²

The data principally reveal the leading role that Mexico plays as a source of *legal* immigration to the United States — over 5 million legal and legalized Mexican immigrants since 1985 — and how this immigration has increasingly settled across the country over time; how widely the rate at which these immigrants are becoming citizens varies between different regions of the country and even within single states; and consequently the large number — perhaps over 3 million — of these immigrants who would have been eligible but had not become citizens by the end of 2010.

These findings argue for the need to fashion policy and citizenship promotion efforts specifically addressed to unnaturalized immigrants in at least three distinguishable situations: the long-term eligible who may qualify to become citizens under an eased set of testing requirements; Mexican immigrants who have settled in non-traditional and rural areas of the country, at some distance from more established co-ethnic communities; and those immigrants who become newly eligible to apply for citizenship every year, but who may not be fully aware of their eligibility.

5.3 Million New Legal Mexican Immigrants, 1985–2010

Mexico is by far the largest contributor to the U.S. foreign-born population. Of the approximately 40 million immigrants estimated by the Census Bureau in 2010, nearly 12 million were from Mexico.³ Data gathered separately by the Office of Immigration Statistics indicate several basic characteristics of the more recent 5.3 million Mexicans who acquired permanent residency

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“The Challenge of Immigrant Integration”

October 11, 2011 ■ 12:30pm – 7:00pm
Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles

“The Challenge of Immigrant Integration” conference analyzed new, unpublished data on immigration and naturalization, in collaboration with U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) of the Department of Homeland Security, the University of Southern California and Loyola Marymount University. The Mexico Institute organized this workshop that took place at LMU in Los Angeles and involved researchers from Notre Dame, UC Berkeley and UC Santa Cruz, as well as representatives from community organizations, ethnic media and government.

Manuel Pastor, Director of the USC Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration, introduced the data obtained by the participating researchers from the Office of Immigration Statistics of USCIS. These revealed, for example, that of the 4.5 million Mexican immigrants who became Legal Permanent Residents from 1985–2005, just one third had become U.S. citizens by the end of FY 2010 — leaving over 3 million legal Mexican immigrants eligible for citizenship but not naturalized. The new data further revealed significant variations in immigrant naturalization rates across the country.

Jonathan Fox of UC Santa Cruz (and Senior Advisor to this Mexico Institute binational project on migration) presented an analysis of the data indicating that the cumulative naturalization rate of eligible Mexican immigrants to California since 1985 rose from 28% in 2004 to 36% in 2010. However, David Ayón (coordinator of this Mexico Institute project and a Senior Fellow at LMU) called attention to California’s decline as the initial state of residence for new legal Mexican immigrants — from 57% in the late 1980s to less than 40% since 2006.

The workshop was capped with a public panel featuring Adam Hunter, Senior Advisor to USCIS Director Alejandro Mayorkas; California State Assembly member Gilbert Cedillo; Monica Lozano, publisher of the Los Angeles daily *La Opinión* and CEO of ImpreMedia; and Arturo Carmona, Executive Director of the Council of Mexican Federations in North America (COFEM). Fernando Guerra, Director of the LMU Center for the Study of Los Angeles, served as moderator. The conference was the third installment of the Mexico Institute’s “U.S.-Mexico Migration Dialogue,” sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation.



(LPR) visas from fiscal years 1985 to 2010, such as the period in which they arrived, their initial county of residence, and how many became U.S. citizens by FY 2011. These data reveal the following insights and trends:

- Legal Mexican immigrants increasingly dispersed throughout U.S.
- Mexican naturalization rates vary widely across states and counties
- Millions of Mexican immigrants eligible for citizenship
- Strategic implications of delayed naturalization for immigrant integration

The policy challenge of immigrant integration divides into two broad categories, that of the undocumented population and that of Legal Permanent Residents. The single biggest step that legal and legalized immigrants take in fully integrating into American society is becoming U.S. citizens. In this regard, Mexican immigrants are commonly seen as presenting a significant challenge to the objective of immigrant integration: overall, they have the lowest naturalization rate of the major groups of immigrants while being by far the most numerous among them. This challenge, discussed further below, has become far more widely distributed across the country since 1985, as Mexican immigrants have increasingly elected to settle in new states and regions across the country. As we shall see, however, these immigrants' naturalization rates have varied widely among the states and regions in which they have settled. These variations have strategic implications for furthering immigrant integration.

Widening Dispersal of Immigrant Settlement

In the late 1980s, a clear majority of Mexicans who obtained permanent residency initially settled in California or were already living there. Twenty years later, however, the

picture had changed, with over 60% of new legal immigrants from Mexico landing in other states. Mexican immigrant integration is now a process unfolding in contiguous states that reach from coast to coast.

The first two periods in which the data obtained from the OIS is divided, covering fiscal years 1985–1998, includes a large number of immigrants legalized or admitted under provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. Just over two million Mexicans acquired LPR visas in this fashion by FY 1994 — about 61% of all those in the first two periods examined here and 38% of all legal Mexican immigrants since 1985.⁴

In the 1985–1991 period, a substantial majority (57%) of Mexicans who acquired LPR status designated California as their initial state of residence.⁵ By the most recent 2005–2010 cohort, however, a greater majority (62%) of new legal immigrants chose to settle in other states. Given that the vast majority of post-IRCA Mexican immigrants obtain visas based on family reunification provisions (called “preferences”) of immigration law, we may surmise that a significant number of the earlier immigrants had themselves moved from California to other regions of the country, and sponsored the immigration of close family members to those new states.

Within this overall increasing dispersal, the most notable trends are higher proportions of new legal Mexican immigrants opting to initially settle in the South, Arizona, the Mountain states, Midwestern states other than Illinois, and the Northeast. The South, in particular, can be seen on track to overtake the Midwest, even as the latter has also grown proportionately as a preferred region of settlement. Arizona rose to nearly equal Illinois, which declined somewhat as the initial destination of new immigrants from Mexico, as the states around it became more attractive.

Figure 1: State Shares of New Legal Permanent Residents from Mexico

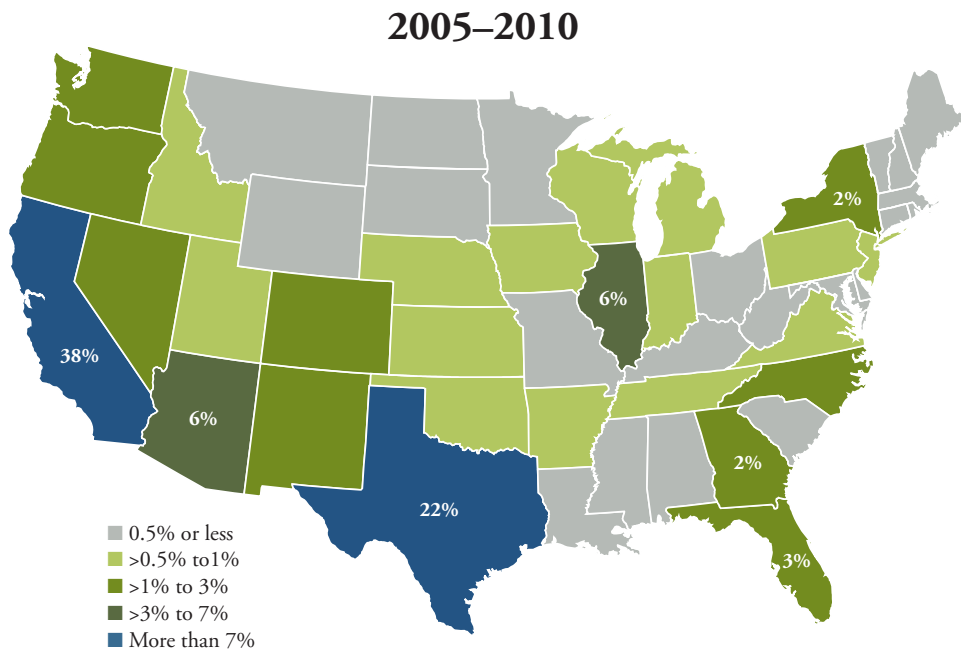
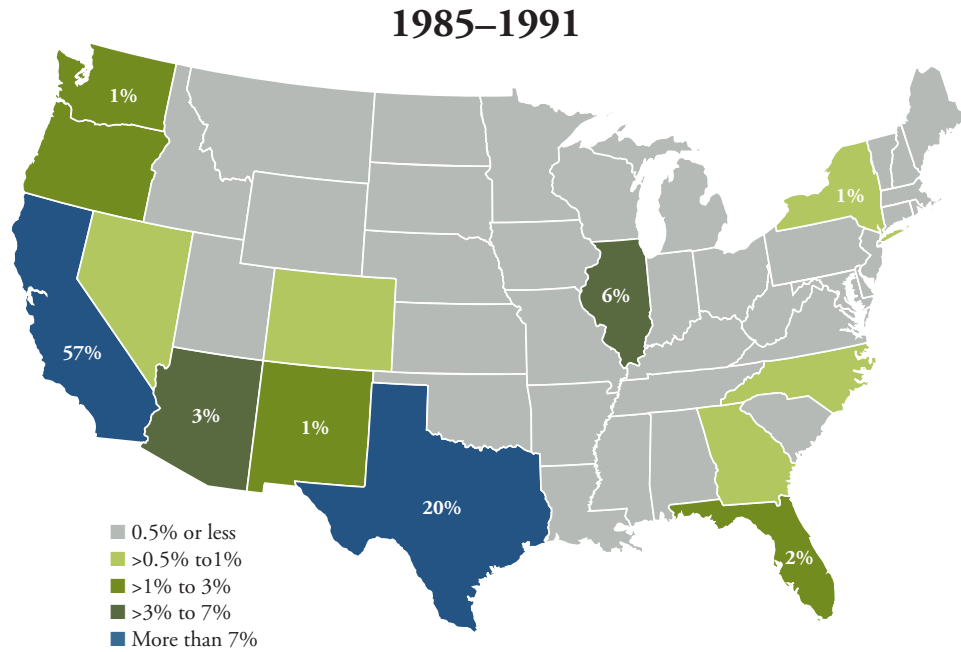
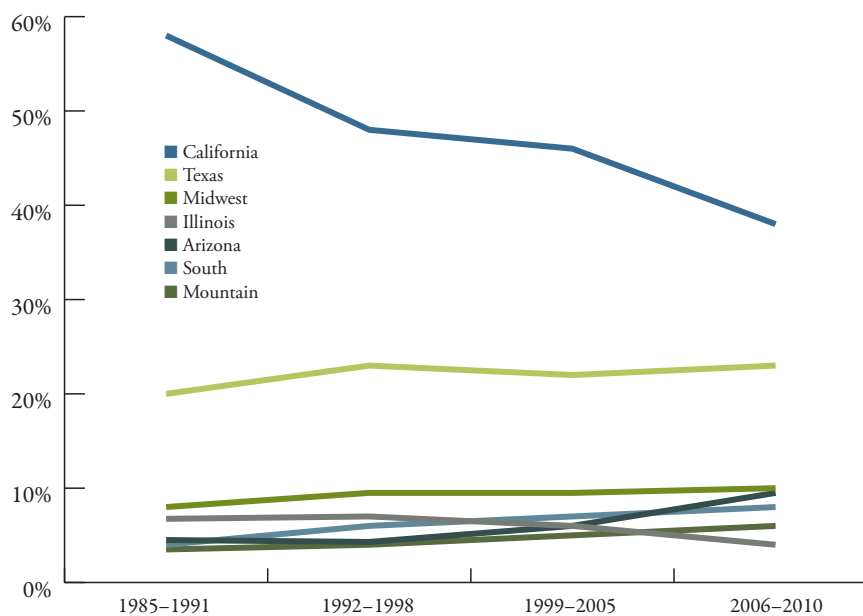


Figure 2: State/Regional Shares of 1985–1991 Mexican Legal Permanent Residents⁶



Naturalization Rates Across the Country

Mexican immigrants have historically been slow to naturalize and received little official encouragement or assistance to do so. Failure to achieve citizenship does not necessarily indicate a lack of attachment to or identification with the United States, but is a fundamental barrier to full civic participation and integration.⁷ Mexican immigrants since 1985 make up by far the largest national-origin group in the country eligible to become citizens and as such should be a priority focus of immigrant integration efforts and policy.

Legal Permanent Residents become eligible to apply for citizenship after five years (three, if married

to a U.S. citizen). The OIS data analyzed here includes the number of LPRs that had naturalized by the end of fiscal year 2010. When we examine the top ten countries of origin of those who obtained their visa from 1985–2005 — all but a handful of whom were eligible to naturalize by 2010 — we find that Mexican immigrants had the lowest rate of naturalization.

Of the nearly six million Legal Permanent Residents from these top ten countries of origin that were eligible but not naturalized by the end of 2010, more than half were from Mexico.⁸ If we add the four Latin American countries in this group together, we find that they account for two-thirds of the eligible population. Such numbers make a case for large-scale and tailored citizenship promotion efforts — in terms of language, ethnic media, messaging and the use of trusted messengers.

Figure 3: Immigrant Naturalization Rates, Top 10 Countries of Origin, 2010

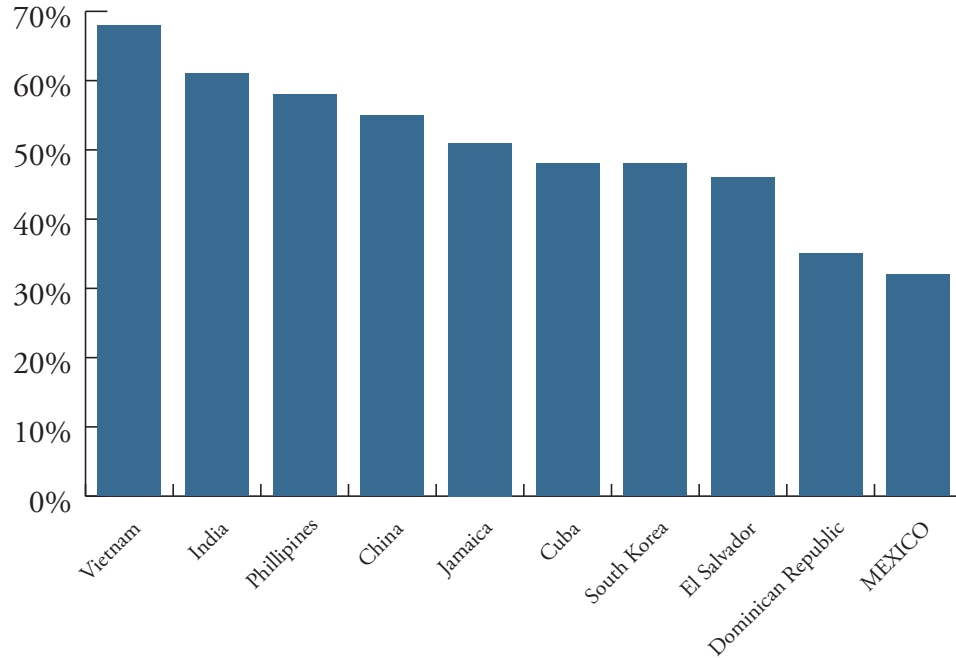


Figure 4: National Origin of Citizenship-Eligible Immigrants, Top 10 Countries, 2010

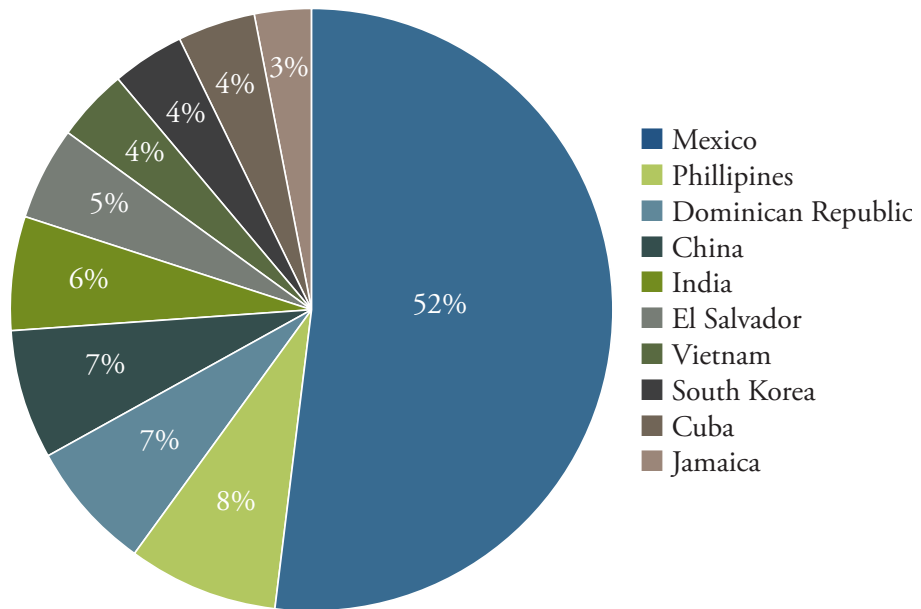


Table 1: Naturalization Rates of Long-Eligible Mexican Immigrants, by State or Region of Initial Residence⁹

	1985–1991 LPRs	Naturalized	Not Naturalized	% Naturalized
Illinois	147,422	72,742	74,680	49.3%
Northeast	33,739	14,921	18,818	44.2%
California	1,314,620	565,183	749,437	43.0%
Midwest	23,043	9,496	13,547	41.2%
Plains	21,998	8,981	13,017	40.8%
National	2,322,066	925,789	1,396,277	39.9%
Mountain	85,605	30,922	54,683	36.1%
Arizona	73,216	25,208	48,008	34.4%
Texas	465,839	153,271	312,568	32.9%
Pac-NW	57,685	18,258	39,427	31.7%
South	98,899	26,807	72,092	27.1%

Closer examination reveals that Mexican naturalization rates vary significantly by state and region of initial settlement. The difference is especially marked among those who have been eligible to naturalize the longest — LPRs from the first cohort, which also is by far the most numerous. For example, 49% of 1985–91 Mexican LPRs settling in Illinois had naturalized by the end of 2010, while only 27% of those who initially settled in the South in this period had done so. Such variation strongly suggests that Mexican immigrant integration is responsive to environmental conditions, such as state and local policy (see box on Naturalization Models) and other community characteristics.

Notable disparities in naturalization rates can also be found within states. Indications of some of the factors associated with higher and lower rates can be seen, for example, by examining the principal California counties that attracted legal Mexican immigration since 1985. In this

case, we can also see some meaningful changes over time.

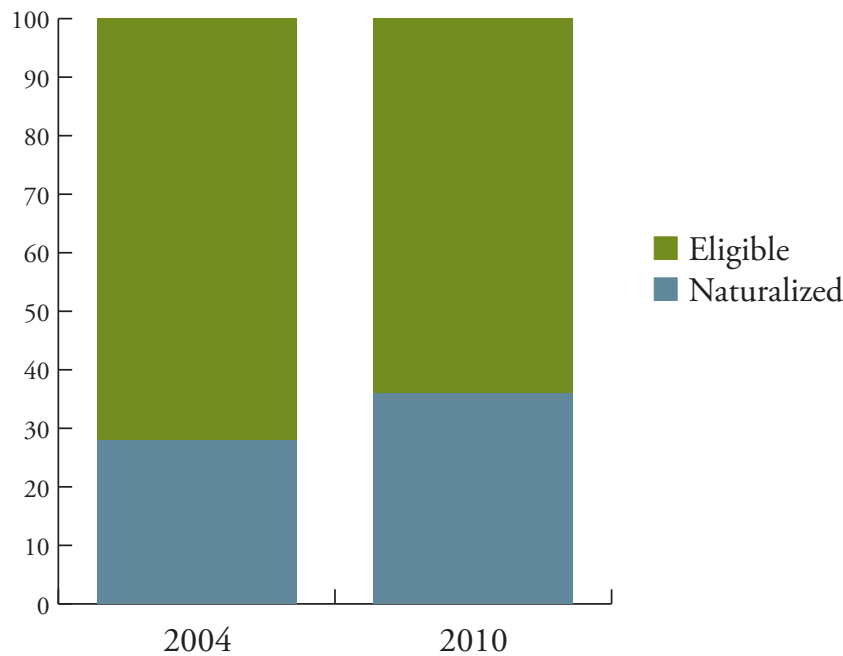
Relatively more urban California counties — especially those in the greater San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan areas — have shown higher naturalization rates among eligible Mexican immigrants than the predominantly agricultural counties of the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys. This finding is consistent with the extremes seen between states and regions: Mexican immigrants initially settling in Illinois (predominantly in the Chicago Area) and the Northeast (largely in the New York City area) have significantly higher naturalization rates than those who first settled in the South.

What Table 2 also shows, however, is that despite the sustained disparity in rates between these counties within California, the pace of naturalization appeared to grow proportionately faster in the agricultural counties than in the more urbanized regions. As a result, the disparity in

Table 2: Mexican Immigrant Naturalization Rates, 2004 & 2010, Top 20 California Counties¹⁰

COUNTY	Naturalized 1985–2004	Eligible post-85 LPRs, as of 2004	Naturalized as of 2010	Eligible post-85 LPRs as of 2010	Rate 2004	Rate 2010
Santa Clara	17,944	33,914	27,168	40,264	34.6%	40.3%
San Mateo	5,982	11,701	9,106	12,774	33.8%	41.6%
Los Angeles	263,270	520,106	397,687	541,438	33.6%	42.4%
Alameda	8,598	17,829	14,113	21,771	32.5%	39.3%
Orange	49,162	112,534	78,832	124,255	30.4%	38.8%
Contra Costa	4,124	10,504	7,123	13,388	28.2%	34.7%
San Bernardino	18,545	47,746	31,668	59,551	28.0%	34.7%
Sonoma	3,898	10,381	6,801	12,583	27.3%	35.1%
Santa Barbara	7,377	24,439	12,408	27,165	23.2%	31.4%
Ventura	10,981	36,655	19,910	41,180	23.1%	32.6%
San Diego	33,570	115,534	62,813	137,015	22.5%	31.4%
Riverside	12,059	48,142	23,971	65,318	20.0%	26.9%
Santa Cruz	4,879	20,712	8,357	22,892	19.1%	26.7%
Monterey	7,502	33,007	13,438	38,977	18.5%	25.6%
Stanislaus	4,187	18,746	7,454	22,115	18.3%	25.2%
Kern	6,840	32,328	12,137	37,688	17.5%	24.4%
San Joaquin	4,553	22,060	8,685	25,709	17.1%	25.3%
Fresno	11,170	55,271	19,681	63,289	16.8%	23.7%
Tulare	6,245	31,365	10,917	36,248	16.6%	23.2%
Imperial	5,655	36,086	11,361	38,251	13.5%	22.9%

Figure 5: Proportion Naturalized among Mexican Immigrants to California in 2004 & 2010¹¹



naturalization rates narrowed somewhat between the two by the end of 2010 as compared to 2004. The naturalization rate for all legal and legalized Mexican immigrants to California since 1985 grew from 28% to 36% in this period.

Previous Mexico Institute publications have examined some of the intervening factors that can account for the acceleration of Mexican immigrant naturalization rates between 2004 and 2010: the sharpening of the debate over immigration policy, intensification of enforcement measures, mobilization by immigrants in opposition to enforcement proposals, widely publicized campaigns encouraging immigrants to naturalize, and the prospect of a significant increase in fees charged in applying for citizenship.¹²

Strategic Implications for Immigrant Integration

The data examined here indicates that accelerating the integration of Mexican immigrants via increased attainment of U.S. citizenship might require addressing challenges and opportunities among at least three distinguishable subgroups. First, there is the large number of long-eligible immigrants who have yet to naturalize, many of whom qualify for eased requirements in the citizenship process. Second, there are those who settled in more rural areas within states and in regions of the country where they have less access to support services and

less exposure to efforts to encourage and facilitate their naturalization. Finally, there is the delay of the most recently eligible legal migrants in acting on their eligibility to acquire citizenship.

Of the more than 3 million legal and legalized Mexican immigrants since 1985 who would have become eligible to become citizens by the end of 2010 but had not, nearly half have now been eligible to naturalize for 15–25 years.¹³ The naturalization of just this group of long-term legal immigrants would nearly double the number of citizens among those Mexicans who became LPRs since 1985. For the vast majority of these immigrants, U.S. nationality law and regulations would allow for the English-language test to be waived and the civics test taken in their native language.¹⁴ Citizenship promotion efforts would do well to effectively convey these provisions to those whom it would apply and facilitate their naturalization.

Lower naturalization rates in relatively more rural and agricultural counties and states where increasing

numbers of Mexican immigrants have chosen to initially settle speak to a number of factors that distinguish these areas from those with larger and older immigrant and co-ethnic communities. Many of the newer areas of settlement have little or no tradition of in-migration; fewer and less developed community-based organizations, leaders and activists focused on the immigrant population; smaller populations of new immigrants that have relatively little or no voice in local institutions and less developed ethnic and native-language media. Taken together, these factors tend to correlate with less attention and responsiveness by local authorities and established community institutions who are able to decide whether or not to support English-language and civics education classes, legal services and citizenship promotion fairs and workshops. Geographic variation in naturalization rates are suggestive of a positive correlation between ethnic community development and higher levels of citizenship and immigrant integration into American society.

NATURALIZATION MODELS

Among the factors influencing the rate of immigrant naturalization is a range of governmental and non-governmental policies and approaches.

On the federal level a *laissez faire* attitude toward naturalization has prevailed for nearly a century, punctuated by occasional initiatives to promote citizenship and reduce bureaucratic backlogs.¹⁵

Some states have instituted their own citizenship-promotion programs. Most notable among them is Illinois, where the state government entered into a partnership with the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR) called the New Americans Initiative.¹⁶ Through this initiative the state subsidizes the ICIRR's ongoing naturalization support services and outreach to Legal Permanent Residents.

Non-governmental efforts have developed significantly since the 1990s, in some notable cases without the support of public funds. The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) pioneered the comprehensive citizenship workshop model in the 1980s. Working with a variety of community-based and media partners, this model served as the basis for increasingly large-scale citizenship fairs in a number of cities, culminating in an ongoing national campaign known as “Ya Es Hora.”¹⁷

The most recent immigrants who reach the stage of eligibility for naturalization raise other questions and possibilities. The institution with perhaps the most precise and authoritative personal access to immigrants following their acquisition of permanent residency is U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. USCIS encourages naturalization through media outreach and a grant program for community-based capacity building for the provision of citizenship preparation services.¹⁸ But after they receive their LPR visas, as a rule immigrants do not hear directly from USCIS again. They could. The

new LPRs could be personally notified some number of times over the subsequent five years regarding exactly when they will become eligible to apply for citizenship, what the requirements are, how to prepare, and where to find assistance. Implementing a policy of such followup contact would have to overcome a number of political, operational and legal concerns. But an enhanced focus on achieving citizenship would lead more immigrants, sooner rather than later, to classes in English and civics education and to apply for naturalization. It would enhance immigrant integration.

THE DATA

The depository and citation form for the data presented in this report is the “Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration (CSII), University of Southern California. 2011. LPR Status and Naturalization Data (raw data originally provided by the Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security).”

The data are comprised of two summary files, one listing LPRs from the top 30 countries of origin and their initial county of residence in the U.S.; the other lists the top 60 countries of origin and the LPRs initial Core Base Statistical Area (CBSA) of residence. Both files aggregate LPRs into four cohorts: 1985–91, 1992–98, 1999–2005, and 2006–10. Additionally, both list the number of LPRs (by country of origin, county or CBSA of initial residence and by cohort) that acquired U.S. citizenship by the end of fiscal year 2010.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York supported data processing by CSII.

Endnotes

- 1 Recipients of immigrant visas or “green cards” are Legal Permanent Residents (LPRs) and include both new arrivals that qualify under a number of immigration preference categories, or those already in country who qualify for adjustment of status under different provisions of immigration law.
- 2 See sidebar on this workshop for co-sponsors and other details.
- 3 *American Community Survey Briefs*: “The Foreign Born From Latin America and the Caribbean: 2010” by Yesenia D. Acosta and G. Patricia de la Cruz (September 2011; ACSBR/10-15), United States Census Bureau: www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/acsbr10-15.pdf. The total foreign-born population was estimated at 39.956 million and the Mexican-born at 11.711 million. (These estimates are based on the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey sample, not the 2010 Census.)
- 4 See Immigration and Naturalization Service data cited in Frank D. Bean, Rodolfo Corona, Rodolfo Tuirán, and Karen A. Woodrow-Lafield, “The Quantification of Migration between Mexico and the United States,” *Migration Between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study*, Vol. 1. (Mexico City and Washington, DC: Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, 1998), pp. 8–9: <http://www.utexas.edu/lbj/uscir/binpap-v.html>.
- 5 As indicated in the previous paragraph, many of these “new LPRs” were already residents of the U.S. prior to this period and gained immigrant visas through adjustment under provisions of IRCA.
- 6 See Appendix 2 for definition of regions and summary data for all states. The individual states in this chart are not included in any region.
- 7 A substantial body of research has documented the attachment to the U.S. of the great majority of Latino immigrants and their intention to become citizens. Louis DeSipio wrote the classic study of both this sentiment and the obstacles and frustrations Latino immigrants face in pursuing citizenship, in *Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate* (University of Virginia Press, 1996).
- 8 The OIS data show that 5.8 million immigrants from these countries since 1985 would have been eligible but still unnaturalized by end 2010. Of these, 3,040,726 were from Mexico. See table in Appendix. Note that these totals are not adjusted for either mortality or return to country of origin.
- 9 See Appendix for breakdown of regions and data by individual states. The naturalization totals and rates are not adjusted for either mortality or return to country of origin.
- 10 These are the California counties with the highest numbers of Mexican immigrants since 1985 that were eligible to naturalize as of 2004. This table was presented by Jonathan Fox to the Loyola workshop. The 2004 data was separately provided by the Office of Immigration Statistics and first published in Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Veronica Wilson, “Today We March, Tomorrow We Vote: Latino Migrant Civic Engagement in L.A.,” *Series on Latino Immigrant Civic Engagement*, Report No. 5, UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education/Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009, p.47: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/today-we-march-tomorrow-we-vote-latino-migrant-civic-engagement-la>
- 11 Percentages based on total number of Mexicans who both achieved LPR status since 1985 and who had been in this status for at least five years

in 2004 and 2010. The 2010 group thus includes all those counted in 2004, plus the additional Mexican LPRs that initially settled in California from 1999–2005 who had become eligible to naturalize by 2010. These totals and rates are not adjusted for either mortality or return to country of origin.

12 See Xóchitl Bada, Jonathan Fox, and Andrew Selee, eds. 2006, *Invisible No More: Mexican Migrant Civic Participation in the United States* (Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/invisible-no-more>); David R. Ayón, “Immigration and the 2006 Election,” *U.S.-Mexico Policy Bulletin* (December 2006) Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/mex.bulletin_81.pdf; David R. Ayón, “*Ya Es Hora* and the Rising Tide: Mobilizing Latino Immigrant Integration, 1987–2007,” (Latino Migrant Civic and Political Participation project, Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2008: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/ya-es-hora-and-the-rising-tide-mobilizing-latino-immigrant-integration-1987-2007>); Xóchitl Bada, Jonathan Fox, Robert Donnelly, and Andrew Selee, *Context Matters: Latino Immigrant Civic Engagement in Nine US Cities*, Reports on Latino Immigrant Civic

Engagement, National Report (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, April 2010: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Context%20Matters.pdf>)

- 13 The 3 million+ referred to here is unadjusted for either mortality or permanent return to Mexico.
- 14 See U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, *A Guide to Naturalization* (M-476; rev. 04/11), p. 26. www.uscis.gov/files/article/M-476.pdf
- 15 For an overview, see Tomás R. Jiménez, *Immigrants in The United States: How Well Are They Integrating Into Society?* (Migration Policy Institute, 2011): www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/integration-jimenez.pdf
- 16 See <http://icirr.org/content/new-americans-initiative-becoming-citizen>
- 17 See <http://ciudadania.yaeshora.info/about> and David R Ayón, *Mobilizing Latino Immigrant Integration: From IRCA to the Ya Es Hora Citizenship Campaign, 1987–2007* (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009): www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/mobilizing-latino-immigrant-integration-irca-to-the-ya-es-hora-citizenship-campaign-19-0
- 18 The capacity building program can especially help address the challenges faced by migrants in the newer areas of settlement discussed above. See “Background on USCIS Citizenship and Integration Grant Program”: www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/

Appendices

Workshop Participants

Jesús Andrade, National Council of La Raza

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Adam Hunter, Senior Advisor to Alejandro Mayorkas, Director, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), Department of Homeland Security

Monica Lozano, Publisher, La Opinión; CEO, ImpreMedia

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Nancy Ramirez, Western Regional Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Ricardo Ramírez, University of Notre Dame Associate Professor of Political Science

Vanessa Rodriguez, Associate Director, Alliance for a Better Community (ABC)

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Top 10 LPR Countries of Origin, Ranked by Naturalization Rate*

Country of Origin	LPRs 1985–2005	Naturalized by 2010	% Naturalized	Remaining Eligible
Vietnam	773,222	519,792	67.2%	253,430
India	896,197	551,799	61.6%	344,398
Phillipines	1,056,878	609,374	57.7%	447,504
China	881,120	488,227	55.4%	392,893
Jamaica	381,349	196,175	51.4%	185,174
Cuba	420,015	203,001	48.3%	217,014
South Korea	475,657	229,406	48.2%	246,251
El Salvador	540,617	249,376	46.1%	291,241
Dominican Republic	632,819	223,552	35.3%	409,267
Mexico	4,502,681	1,461,955	32.5%	3,040,726

Mexican Immigrant Naturalization Rates, by State or Region of Initial Residence^{19*}

STATE	LPRs 1985–2005	Naturalized by 2010	Unnaturalized	% Naturalized
California	2,335,343	835,697	1,499,646	35.8%
Texas	939,635	243,597	696,038	25.9%
Illinois	284,055	111,367	172,688	39.2%
Arizona	162,110	47,235	114,875	29.1%
South	209,724	52,229	157,495	24.9%
Northeast	92,138	32,320	59,818	35.1%
Midwest	84,614	25,327	59,287	29.9%
Plains	60,455	18,329	42,126	30.3%
Mountain	212,814	61,579	151,235	28.9%
Pac-NW	121,793	34,275	87,518	28.1%
National	4,502,681	1,461,955	3,040,726	32.5%

* These data are not adjusted for mortality or return to country of origin.

Breakdown of Regions by State

STATE	LPRs 1985–2005	Naturalized by 2010	Unnaturalized	% Naturalized
Connecticut	3,591	1,086	2,505	30.2%
Delaware	2,843	656	2,187	23.1%
District of Columbia	805	342	463	42.5%
Maine	324	124	200	38.3%
Maryland	7,502	2,351	5,151	31.3%
Massachusetts	3,151	1,443	1,708	45.8%
New Hampshire	695	231	464	33.2%
New Jersey	16,135	5,837	10,298	36.2%
New York	39,940	16,033	23,907	40.1%
Pennsylvania	15,674	3,663	12,011	23.4%
Rhode Island	802	343	459	42.8%
Vermont	136	64	72	47.1%
West Virginia	540	147	393	27.2%
Northeast	92,138	32,320	59,818	35.1%
Alabama	4,178	822	3,356	19.7%
Arkansas	9,880	2,211	7,669	22.4%
Florida	94,844	24,728	70,116	26.1%
Georgia	39,796	9,350	30,446	23.5%
Louisiana	3,933	1,118	2,815	28.4%
Mississippi	2,020	441	1,579	21.8%
North Carolina	28,217	6,589	21,628	23.4%
Puerto Rico	1,443	423	1,020	29.3%
South Carolina	5,145	1,146	3,999	22.3%
Tennessee	7,276	1,653	5,623	22.7%
Virginia	12,992	3,748	9,244	28.8%
South	209,724	52,229	157,495	24.9%

STATE	LPRs 1985–2005	Naturalized by 2010	Unnaturalized	% Naturalized
Minnesota	8,533	2,678	5,855	31.4%
Ohio	6,769	2,073	4,696	30.6%
Kentucky	2,879	776	2,103	27.0%
Iowa	10,189	2,936	7,253	28.8%
Missouri	7,972	2,501	5,471	31.4%
Indiana	15,339	4,673	10,666	30.5%
Wisconsin	15,631	5,087	10,544	32.5%
Michigan	17,302	4,603	12,699	26.6%
Midwest	84,614	25,327	59,287	29.9%
North Dakota	378	93	285	24.6%
South Dakota	506	155	351	30.6%
Montana	734	239	495	32.6%
Nebraska	12,950	4,084	8,866	31.5%
Oklahoma	22,927	6,457	16,470	28.2%
Kansas	22,960	7,301	15,659	31.8%
Plains	60,455	18,329	42,126	30.3%
Wyoming	2,229	780	1,449	35.0%
Utah	17,308	6,204	11,104	35.8%
Idaho	20,930	5,530	15,400	26.4%
Nevada	50,343	17,223	33,120	34.2%
New Mexico	61,680	14,590	47,090	23.7%
Colorado	60,324	17,252	43,072	28.6%
Mountain	212,814	61,579	151,235	28.9%
Oregon	48,638	11,926	36,712	24.5%
Washington	69,957	21,010	48,947	30.0%
Hawaii	1,279	546	733	42.7%
Alaska	1,919	793	1,126	41.3%
Pac-NW	121,793	34,275	87,518	28.1%

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