Recent Immigration to Philadelphia:
Regional Change in a Re-Emerging Gateway

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"Philadelphia's re-emergence as an immigrant gateway brings both opportunities and challenges for policymakers, service providers, and communities throughout the region."

Findings

An analysis of the growth and characteristics of the foreign born in the Philadelphia metropolitan area between 1970 and 2006 finds:

■ **Among its peer regions, metropolitan Philadelphia has the largest and fastest growing immigrant population, which now stands at over 500,000, comprising 9 percent of the total population.** Between 2000 and 2006, greater Philadelphia's immigrant population grew by 113,000, nearly as many as had arrived in the decade of the 1990s.

■ **Metropolitan Philadelphia has a diverse mix of immigrants and refugees from Asia (39 percent), Latin America and the Caribbean (28 percent), Europe (23 percent) and Africa (8 percent).** The 10 largest source countries are India, Mexico, China, Vietnam, Korea, Italy, Ukraine, Philippines, Jamaica, and Germany.

■ **Immigrant growth in suburban Philadelphia has outpaced the city's growth, but numerically, the city has the largest population of all local jurisdictions.** Outside the city, Montgomery County had the earliest post-World War II suburban settlement of the foreign born and has the largest number of immigrants among jurisdictions, while Chester County saw the fastest growth during the 1970 to 2006 time period.

■ **Nearly 60 percent of the foreign-born living in metropolitan Philadelphia arrived in the United States after 1990.** Although their naturalization rates and educational levels reflect their recentness of arrival, on the whole, greater Philadelphia's immigrants are doing well on these measures as compared with some other U.S. metropolitan immigrant populations.

■ **Nearly 75 percent of greater Philadelphia's labor force growth since 2000 is attributable to immigrants.** Immigrants' contributions to the labor force are considerably higher in this period than in the 1990s, when just 36 percent of the growth was due to immigrants.

A long history of immigration to Philadelphia stalled in the mid-20th century and the region became nearly entirely native born. In the past 15 years, however, immigration is emerging again as a prominent feature of life in the region. The varied immigrant groups—high-skilled professionals, refugees, and laborers from a diverse set of origin countries—bring both opportunities and challenges for policy makers, service providers, and communities throughout greater Philadelphia.

Introduction

After a long history of European immigration, dating back to the founding of the United States, immigration to greater Philadelphia stalled in the mid-20th century and the region's inhabitants became nearly entirely native born. Recently, the Delaware Valley has begun to re-emerge as an immigrant destination, though it is still a low-immigration region compared to neighboring New York and other metropolitan areas such as Chicago and Washington, DC. The Second Great Migration of African Americans and the Great Migration of Puerto Ricans from the 1940s to 1970s remain the two largest migrations of minorities to the region since World War II.[1]

Yet, beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present, the region has seen several distinctive waves of immigration. Various groups of refugees have been resettled in greater Philadelphia, starting with Southeast Asians, continuing with Eastern Europeans, and more recently African refugees. During the 1980s and 1990s, significant numbers of Korean, Jamaican, Chinese, Indian, and Mexican immigrants have also come to live and work in the city, suburbs, and outlying agricultural areas. Since the 1990s, Philadelphia has experienced relatively fast growth in its immigrant population, and the pace of immigration appears to have quickened since 2000. Areas within the metropolitan area that historically were strongly identified with European immigrants now house a more diverse population.

Like immigrants themselves, the reasons people choose greater Philadelphia are diverse. Family reunification draws Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese, and other immigrants today, much like earlier reunification of Italian, German, and Irish families in the early and mid-twentieth century. Immigrants come to work in the Delaware Valley's hospitals, high-tech firms, universities, warehouses, construction sites, and restaurants, bringing a range of skills to the regional labor market. Like many of the region's U.S.-born residents, immigrants find greater Philadelphia's relatively affordable housing and cost of living attractive, especially compared to other destinations like New York.

The recent congressional and public debate about immigration has raised awareness of both the costs and benefits of immigration. The failure to reach consensus on reforming the federal system has stimulated state and local proposals and policies, particularly in areas with new influxes of immigrants. Locally, cities and towns have responded to new immigrants with a range of actions. Riverside, NJ and Bridgeport, PA have passed Illegal Immigration Relief Acts, modeled after Hazleton, PA's landmark legislation passed in the summer of 2006.[2] Other policies in the cities of Philadelphia and Norristown help immigrants maintain access to local services and connote a more welcome stance.

However, Philadelphia's current flow of immigrants is sizable, varied, and has grown at a moderately fast clip. These newcomers bring important opportunities and challenges for the region and its many communities across four states. Indeed, many local institutions and organizations are just beginning to understand the changes in broader patterns of migration to the region. How greater Philadelphia understands its immigrant and refugee population, and their role in the metropolitan economy, will influence the future of immigrant and receiving communities alike.

To that end, this report examines the growth and change of greater Philadelphia's immigrant population from its low point in 1970 to the present, using data from the U.S. Census Bureau. At a time when the region's immigrant and refugee population is growing but not well understood, this report provides reliable data about its numbers, diverse origins, economic statuses, and role in the region's economy. It aims to supply the information for evidence-based discussion of the issues raised by greater Philadelphia's re-emergence as an immigrant destination. It discusses ways the region can foster immigrant growth and further develop the infrastructure needed to support the immigrant and refugee population so that the region can continue to grow in economically healthy and socially sustainable ways.

Methodology

Data
This report is based on 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial data and the 2006 American Community Survey (ACS) from the U.S. Census Bureau. Decennial Census data are based on a large sample of the U.S. population. The ACS, however, relies on estimates from a smaller sample than the decennial

Census and there is some degree of error associated with them. The numbers we report from the 2006 ACS are estimates and should be considered as such. We do not publish the margin of error for each estimate.[3]

As this report went to press, the Census Bureau released the results of the ACS for 2007. A cursory review of 2007 ACS estimates show no statistical difference in the estimate of the total number of foreign-born persons in greater Philadelphia between 2006 and 2007.[4]

Data on refugee admissions come from a special data tabulation of the Worldwide Refugee Application Processing System obtained from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and include all refugees admitted to the United States and initially resettled in metropolitan Philadelphia during the 1983–2004 period. Although the U.S. refugee program predates this period, records that include metropolitan area data were made available to us from October 1983 to June 2004.

Geography

The Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington PA-NJ-DE-MD metropolitan area consists of 11 counties across four states and follows the definition set by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 2003. The Philadelphia metropolitan area includes: Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, and Montgomery counties in Pennsylvania; Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, and Salem counties in New Jersey; New Castle County (Wilmington) in Delaware; and Cecil County in Maryland.[5]

We use the terms metropolitan Philadelphia, greater Philadelphia, and the Delaware Valley interchangeably to refer to the OMB definition of the region. For analytical and presentation purposes, we break out four subdivisions of the metro: the city of Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania suburbs, the New Jersey suburbs including Camden city, and the Wilmington metropolitan division (which includes Wilmington along with the rest of New Castle County, Salem, and Cecil Counties). Due to sample and population survey limitations with the 2006 ACS, we primarily use these groupings for our units of analysis. This limits more recent comparisons at smaller levels of geography to the 2000 Census.

Although the cities of Camden and Wilmington are included in suburban counties "outside the city of Philadelphia" or "suburban" in this analysis, we recognize that they are cities in their own right. However, we maintain the distinction of the city of Philadelphia as the core city of focus due to its size and history of immigrant settlement.

Likewise, we recognize that grouping all counties outside of the city of Philadelphia as "suburban" reduces the economic, demographic, and spatial distinctions among them and within them. We distinguish local geographies as much as we can in the analysis; however, we examine county level data in order to be able to make comparisons over time.

For mapping purposes, we use census tracts from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2000 Census as our unit of analysis, typically a subdivision of a county that approximates a neighborhood. Nationally, Census tracts have an average population of 4,000 residents. The Philadelphia metro area has 1,329 tracts with an average population of 3,838. In 2000, nearly all had at least one foreign-born resident, and in 188 tracts more than 11 percent of residents were foreign born. Census 2000 provides the most recently available data at this level of geography.

Other recent demographic characteristics of the foreign born population were obtained through analysis of the 2000 Census' Public-Use Microdata Sample, a five percent sample of the total U.S. population and the 2006 ACS Public-Use Microdata Sample, a roughly one percent sample of the total U.S. population. These sources help to paint a more detailed picture of the foreign born in terms of country of origin, language spoken at home, period of entry, industry and occupation, and labor force participation.

Terminology

The terms *immigrant* and *foreign born* are used interchangeably. The *foreign-born* population encompasses all 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 a person has become a naturalized U.S. citizen. Thus the data analyzed in this report 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 be counted in the

Census; however we have no estimates of how many 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 consistently identifiable in the Census data and cannot be fully included in this analysis.

In addition, this analysis of immigrants in Philadelphia does not include the large Puerto Rican population residing in the region. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a self-governing territory of the United States and those born there are accorded U.S. citizenship at birth. For that reason, Puerto Ricans can move from the Caribbean island to the United States without a visa. Approximately 190,000 Puerto Ricans live in greater Philadelphia, the third largest such population in the United States after New York and Orlando. Approximately one-third of that population was born on the island. Puerto Ricans share some of the characteristics and service needs of both immigrants as well as U.S.-born minorities.

Comparisons

We compare Philadelphia to other metropolitan areas around the country in parts of the analysis. We also compare the foreign-born population to the native-born population, and in some places we also disaggregate that population into two minority groups, blacks and Puerto Ricans. In 2006, metropolitan Philadelphia is 68 percent white, 20 percent black, 6 percent Hispanic (3 percent Puerto Rican), 4 percent Asian, and about 2 percent "other" (including Native American, Pacific Islander, two or more races, and other race). The city's composition is quite different with 39 percent white, 44 percent black, nearly 11 percent Hispanic (7 percent Puerto Rican), 5 percent Asian, and about 2 percent "other." Furthermore, in some parts of the analysis we compare differences in demographic, social, and economic characteristics across country of origin groups.

Findings

A. Among its peer regions, Philadelphia has the largest and fastest growing immigrant population, which now stands at over 500,000, comprising 9 percent of the total population.

Immigrant destinations have changed considerably during the course of the 20th century.

Until recently, Philadelphia fit into a class of metropolitan areas that, by virtue of their 20th century immigration trends, are classified as *former immigrant gateways*.[6] The former gateways—now largely aging, older industrial cites—are areas that attracted immigrants in great numbers in the early

Table 1. Central-City Immigrant Gateways, 1900 and 2006

	1900	Population	Foreign-Born Population	Percent Foreign-Born		2006	Population	Foreign-Born Population	Percent Foreign-Born
1	New York	3,437,202	1,270,080	37.0	1	New York	8,214,426	3,038,139	37.0
2	Chicago	1,698,575	587,112	34.6	2	Los Angeles	3,773,846	1,507,032	39.9
3	Philadelphia	1,293,967	295,340	22.8	3	Chicago	2,749,283	599,802	21.8
4	Boston	560,892	197,129	35.1	4	Houston	2,074,828	576,035	27.8
5	Cleveland	381,768	124,631	32.6	5	San Jose	916,220	353,905	38.6
6	San Francisco	342,782	116,885	34.1	6	San Diego	1,261,251	335,431	26.6
7	St. Louis	575,238	111,356	19.4	7	Phoenix	1,429,637	334,143	23.4
8	Buffalo	352,387	104,252	29.6	8	Dallas	1,192,538	321,253	26.9
9	Detroit	285,704	96,503	33.8	9	San Francisco	744,041	270,357	36.3
10	Milwaukee	285,315	88,991	31.2	10	Miami	358,091	206,485	57.7

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Gibson & Lennon, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850–1990", February 1999; American Community Survey

1900s, but no longer do so (**Table 1**). Philadelphia–along with Baltimore, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis–was among the cities with the largest foreign-born populations in 1900.[7] By the middle of the century, these metropolitan areas were largely native born and most have remained that way until this day.

Some places, such as New York and Chicago, have maintained their status as major immigrant gateways throughout the 20th century, while others such as Miami and Los Angeles began to draw immigrants in large numbers only after World War II. A host of metropolitan areas with scant histories of immigration, such as Atlanta, Las Vegas, and Washington, DC, only recently have emerged as major immigrant destinations. Still other places, such as the Twin Cities, Seattle, and Sacramento, have recently re-emerged as immigrant gateways, having heavily attracted immigrants in the early part of the 20th century, having lost that attraction by mid-century, but now rebounding. There is also a group of rapidly developing metropolitan areas, with smaller but very fast growing foreign-born populations, including Austin and Charlotte.[8]

Greater Philadelphia's re-emergence as an immigrant destination reflects certain national trends, including the dispersal of immigrants away from more established gateways. The decade of the 1990s brought more immigrants to the United States than any other on record. A strong economy and growth in "new economy" jobs, such as information technology and services, spurred on job growth in associated sectors such as construction, manufacturing and services. Many metropolitan areas, particularly newer destinations in Southeastern states, saw remarkably high rates of foreign-born growth during the 1990s. For example, Charlotte, NC's immigrant population grew by more than 300 percent, and Las Vegas' grew by more than 250 percent.

While Philadelphia's foreign-born population was not as fast growing in the 1990s as many of the emerging immigrant gateways, it still experienced a 45 percent growth in that decade. After losing rank to newer post-World War II metropolitan gateways, including Miami, Los Angeles, and Houston, by 2006 Philadelphia ranked 16th in the number of foreign-born residents among all metropolitan areas. However, the rest of the former immigrant gateways in the industrial Northeast and Midwest placed farther down the list.


Figure 1. Foreign-Born Population of Former Immigrant Gateways, 1970–2006
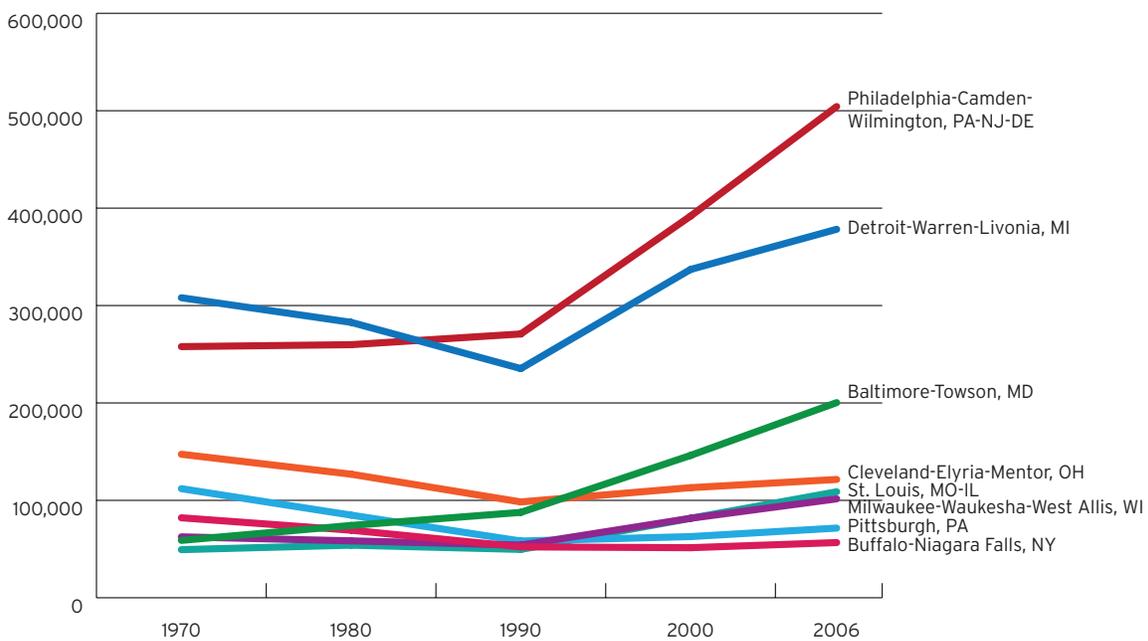
Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census decennial and American Community Survey data

Table 2. The Ten U.S. Metropolitan Areas with the Largest Foreign-Born Population, 1970 and 2006

	1970	Total Foreign-Born	Percent of Population Foreign-Born		2006	Total Foreign-Born	Percent of Population Foreign-Born
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	2,285,773	13.7	1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	5,304,270	28.2
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	876,612	10.6	2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	4,432,288	34.2
3	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	604,073	7.8	3	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	2,023,711	37.0
4	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	384,539	17.7	4	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	1,695,417	17.8
5	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	344,134	9.0	5	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1,235,778	29.6
6	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	339,314	11.2	6	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	1,193,931	21.5
7	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	308,016	7.1	7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1,078,552	18.0
8	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE	257,824	5.0	8	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1,063,033	20.1
9	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	147,318	6.5	9	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	898,235	22.3
10	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	132,551	4.3	10	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	706,586	15.9
				16	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	504,317	8.7

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau decennial and American Community Survey data

Between 1880 and World War I, European immigrants poured into the United States. In 1910, the U.S. foreign-born population was nearly 15 percent of the total population, the highest ever recorded.[9] World War I and the imposition of nationality-based quotas in the 1920s reduced immigration which stalled during the worldwide depression of the 1930s and World War II. By 1970, the United States population was almost entirely native born. Fewer than 10 million immigrants lived in the United States, and less than 5 percent of the population—partially a reflection of high post-war birth rates—was born outside the country, the lowest rate during the 20th century.

In 1970, greater Philadelphia's own foreign-born population mirrored the national trend, with the foreign born making up only 5 percent of the region's total. By 2006, the immigrant population had doubled to over 500,000, comprising nearly 9 percent of the total population. More importantly, between 2000 and 2006, greater Philadelphia's immigrant population grew by 113,000, nearly as many, in absolute terms, as in the entire prior decade. **Figure 1** shows that most of the former gateways had fewer than 150,000 immigrants residing in them in 1970. Philadelphia's 250,000 and Detroit's 300,000 set them apart.

Between 2000 and 2006, metropolitan Philadelphia's immigrant population increased by 29 percent, one of the highest percentage changes across large metropolitan areas and 8 percentage points higher than the total change in the foreign-born population in the United States. As shown on Figure 1, Detroit's immigrants grew at a slower pace in that period (12 percent), while the foreign-born population in other former gateways such as Baltimore and St. Louis had significantly smaller absolute numbers.

Although immigration to Philadelphia increased much more than in other former gateways, it still did not match, in size, the largest long-established gateways. New York and Los Angeles loomed large over all other areas with 5.3 million and 4.3 million immigrants each in 2006. Third-ranked Miami had over 2 million immigrants, Chicago had 1.7 million and metropolitan San Francisco, Houston, Washington, and Dallas-Ft. Worth all registered more than one million.

By 2006, greater Philadelphia ranked 16th among all metropolitan areas with just over half a million foreign-born residents (**Table 2**).[10] Thus, in contrast to its former immigrant gateway peers, the Philadelphia region has experienced significant gains in its immigrant and refugee population, especially in recent years. However, Philadelphia's immigration does not begin to match immigrant growth rates of gateways that quickly emerged in the 1990s, as in Atlanta, Dallas-Ft. Worth, or Phoenix.

Thus, with post-2000 immigrant growth rates as the measure, immigration levels in Philadelphia

currently most resemble those of the re-emerging immigrant gateways, which include rebounding Denver, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Sacramento, and Seattle, all with post-2000 immigrant growth rates similar to Philadelphia. With the exception of Seattle, metropolitan Philadelphia has the largest number of immigrants among this group.

B. Metropolitan Philadelphia has a diverse mix of immigrants and refugees from Asia (39 percent), Latin America and the Caribbean (28 percent), Europe (23 percent), and Africa (8 percent).

Until the middle of the 20th century, most of the immigrants arriving in the United States hailed from Europe. With the exception of the Southwestern states, which had a sizable number of Mexicans, immigrants were located almost exclusively in big cities and major metropolitan areas, and they were largely European.[11]

Mirroring these broader trends, Philadelphia's immigrant population was largely European prior to the 1970s. Thus we see in **Figure 2** that the vast majority, 82 percent, of Philadelphia's immigrants in 1970 had been born in Europe and were largely long-term residents from the immigrant wave earlier in the century. In 1970, only 6 percent were from Asia and 4 percent from Latin America and the Caribbean.

By 2006, the composition of Philadelphia's source countries had changed dramatically. Only 23 percent were from Europe, while 39 percent had their roots in Asia, 28 percent in Latin America, and 8 percent in Africa. Thanks to immigration trends in the 1990s, by the early twenty-first century Philadelphia had one of the most diverse immigrant populations among metropolitan areas.

A further distinction between the two time periods is that in 1970, three-quarters of the foreign born came from the top ten countries, but by 2006, immigrants from the list of top ten countries made up less than half of the total foreign born in both the city and the region.

Table 3 shows the top countries of birth for both the city and the metropolitan area as a whole in 1970 and 2006. In 1970, for the city, all of the countries listed in the ten largest categories were European, with Italy and the USSR each comprising nearly one-fifth of the total foreign born. Poland, Germany, and the United Kingdom each contributed about 8 percent more. These five countries alone made up nearly two-thirds of the total foreign born. The metropolitan area as a whole had a very similar composition, with Italy in the first-place spot, and the same list of countries following, although in slightly different order. Canada also appears on the list, contributing about 3 percent to the total for the metropolitan area.


Figure 2. Regional Origin of the Foreign-Born, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 1970 and 2006
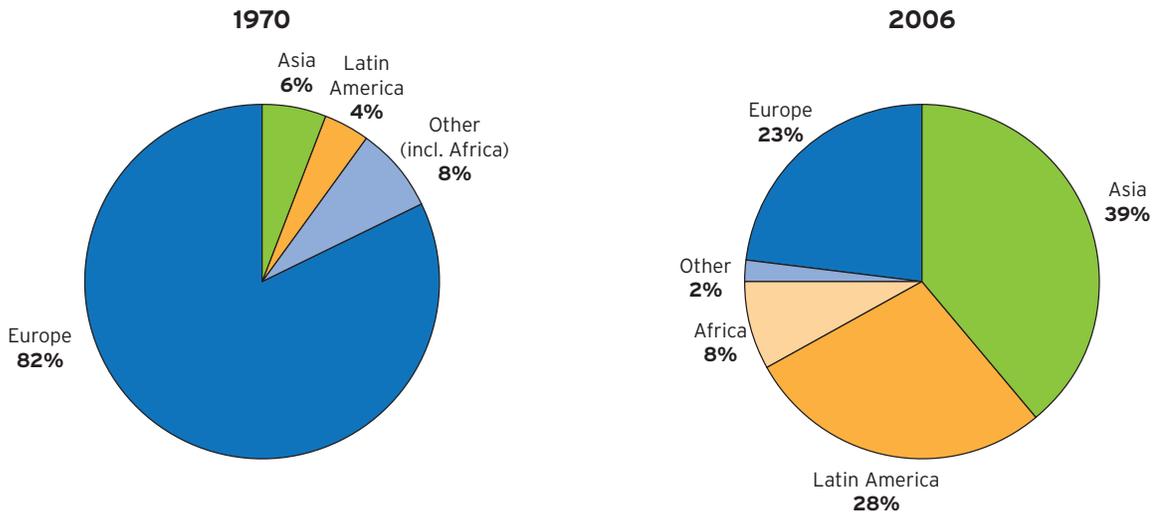
1970

Asia 6%
Latin America 4%
Other (incl. Africa) 8%
Europe 82%

2006

Europe 23%
Other 2%
Africa 8%
Asia 39%
Latin America 28%

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census decennial and American Community Survey data

Table 3. Top Ten Countries of Origin for the Foreign-Born Population,

	City				1980	Total FB	% of FB		1990	Total FB	% of FB
	1970	**Total FB**	**% of FB**								
1	Italy	25,629	20.2%	1	Italy	17,262	16.0%	1	USSR	11,024	10.5%
2	USSR	23,349	18.4%	2	USSR	16,182	15.0%	2	Italy	9,279	8.9%
3	Poland	11,116	8.8%	3	Germany	7,425	6.9%	3	Vietnam	5,670	5.4%
4	Germany	10,849	8.5%	4	Poland	6,727	6.2%	4	Korea	5,286	5.0%
5	United Kingdom	9,514	7.5%	5	United Kingdom	5,265	4.9%	5	Poland	4,830	4.6%
6	Ireland	6,060	4.8%	6	Ireland	3,314	3.1%	6	Germany	4,770	4.6%
7	Austria	3,603	2.8%	7	Jamaica	2,688	2.5%	7	India	4,218	4.0%
8	Hungary	2,505	2.0%	8	Korea	2,484	2.3%	8	Jamaica	3,812	3.6%
9	Canada	2,387	1.9%	9	Philippines	2,412	2.2%	9	China	3,725	3.6%
10	Lithuania	1,741	1.4%	10	Greece	2,298	2.1%	10	United Kingdom	3,673	3.5%
	Other*	30,143	23.8%		Other*	41,894	38.8%		Other*	48,527	46.3%
	Top Ten Total	**96,753**	**76.2%**		**Top Ten Total**	**66,057**	**61.2%**		**Top Ten Total**	**56,287**	**53.7%**
	Total Foreign-born Population	**126,896**	**100.0%**		**Total Foreign-born Population**	**107,951**	**100.0%**		**Total Foreign-born Population**	**104,814**	**100.0%**

	Metro				1980	Total FB	% of FB		1990	Total FB	% of FB
	1970	**Total FB**	**% of FB**								
1	Italy	47,277	19.4%	1	Italy	38,284	14.7%	1	Italy	24,402	9.0%
2	USSR	29,902	12.3%	2	Germany	24,488	9.4%	2	Germany	18,961	7.0%
3	Germany	26,255	10.8%	3	USSR	22,278	8.6%	3	United Kingdom	17,182	6.3%
4	United Kingdom	26,069	10.7%	4	United Kingdom	20,809	8.0%	4	Korea	16,018	5.9%
5	Poland	17,322	7.1%	5	Poland	12,380	4.8%	5	Soviet Union	15,460	5.7%
6	Ireland	11,998	4.9%	6	Ireland	9,678	3.7%	6	India	14,788	5.5%
7	Canada	8,359	3.4%	7	Korea	8,561	3.3%	7	Poland	9,863	3.6%
8	Austria	6,833	2.8%	8	Canada	8,516	3.3%	8	Vietnam	9,834	3.6%
9	Hungary	5,684	2.3%	9	India	7,325	2.8%	9	Philippines	9,095	3.4%
10	Greece	3,688	1.5%	10	Greece	6,678	2.6%	10	Canada	7,961	2.9%
	Other*	60,133	24.7%		Other*	100,817	38.8%		Other*	127,253	47.0%
	Top Ten Total	**183,387**	**75.3%**		**Top Ten Total**	**158,997**	**61.2%**		**Top Ten Total**	**143,564**	**53.0%**
	Total Foreign-born Population	**243,520**	**100.0%**		**Total Foreign-born Population**	**259,814**	**100.0%**		**Total Foreign-born Population**	**270,817**	**100.0%**

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau decennial and American Community Survey data

*includes foreign born that did not report a country of birth
^excludes Hong Kong and Taiwan
^^includes Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Moldova, Kosovo, Montenegro, and former U.S.S.R

The portrait looks quite different today.[12] In 2006, most of the countries of birth showing up on the city list reflect the post-1965 wave of immigration. India tops both lists, comprising approximately 9 percent of the total foreign born for the city and 10 percent of the total for the metropolitan area. Various other Asian countries such as Korea, China, Vietnam, and the Philippines sent large numbers to the region. However, the largest recent increase has been immigrants from Mexico. Scarcely a presence prior to 1990, Mexicans make up more than 8 percent of the foreign born in the region and an estimated 3 percent of the city's foreign born. [13]

An additional and important feature of the foreign-born population is the large number of refugees resettled in the region since the mid-1970s, including waves of refugees from Indochina, the Soviet successor states and, more recently, Africa. Between 1983 and 2004 (the period for which records

Philadelphia City and Metro, 1970–2006

	2000	Total FB	% of FB		2006	Total FB	% of FB
1	Vietnam	11,533	8.4%	1	India	13,419	8.5%
2	Ukraine	8,326	6.1%	2	China^	11,226	7.1%
3	China^	8,212	6.0%	3	Vietnam	10,024	6.4%
4	India	7,610	5.5%	4	Ukraine	6,900	4.4%
5	Jamaica	6,994	5.1%	5	Jamaica	6,822	4.3%
6	Italy	6,097	4.4%	6	Dominican Republic	6,356	4.0%
7	Russia	5,275	3.8%	7	Haiti	5,537	3.5%
8	Korea	5,209	3.8%	8	Other Eastern Europe^^	4,890	3.1%
9	Cambodia	4,536	3.3%	9	Mexico	4,402	2.8%
10	Dominican Republic	4,281	3.1%	10	Liberia	3,983	2.5%
	Other	69,132	50.4%		Other	84,102	53.3%
	Top Ten Total	**68,073**	**49.6%**		**Top Ten Total**	**73,559**	**46.7%**
	Total Foreign-born Population	**137,205**	**100.0%**		**Total Foreign-born Population**	**157,661**	**100.0%**

	2000	Total FB	% of FB		2006	Total FB	% of FB
1	India	32,551	8.3%	1	India	51,870	10.3%
2	Korea	22,432	5.7%	2	Mexico	42,410	8.4%
3	Mexico	20,643	5.3%	3	China^	27,648	5.5%
4	Vietnam	20,549	5.2%	4	Vietnam	23,780	4.7%
5	China^	19,907	5.1%	5	Korea	23,575	4.7%
6	Italy	18,965	4.8%	6	Italy	15,177	3.0%
7	United Kingdom	16,030	4.1%	7	Ukraine	14,536	2.9%
8	Germany	15,866	4.0%	8	Philippines	14,487	2.9%
9	Ukraine	14,524	3.7%	9	Jamaica	14,103	2.8%
10	Philippines	13,435	3.4%	10	Germany	12,796	2.5%
	Other	196,927	50.3%		Other	263,935	52.3%
	Top Ten Total	**194,902**	**49.7%**		**Top Ten Total**	**240,382**	**47.7%**
	Total Foreign-born Population	**391,829**	**100.0%**		**Total Foreign-born Population**	**504,317**	**100.0%**

have been maintained), 33,000 refugees were resettled in the Delaware Valley (**Table 4**).[14]

The largest group—nearly 50 percent—come from the former Soviet Union with the majority arriving after its collapse. The second largest group is from Vietnam, comprising nearly 22 percent, who began to arrive in 1975.[15] Refugees from Cambodia and Laos together make up another 10 percent of the total.

Liberian refugees are third on the list and represent more than 8 percent of all refugees admitted between 1983 and 2004. Fleeing a civil war, most of the Liberian refugees arrived in the 1990s, and by 2006 greater Philadelphia had the largest Liberian population of all metropolitan areas in the United States. Also on the list of refugee sending countries are Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Ethiopia, and Haiti.

Refugees, Resettlement, and Mutual Aid

Since the time of William Penn, the Delaware Valley has been a region of refugees and their descendants. Penn helped establish two Quaker colonies, West (today's South) Jersey and Pennsylvania, both of which offered refuge to English, Huguenot, and German migrants fleeing war, famine, and religious persecution. The Irish potato famine of the 1840s and wars in central Europe throughout the nineteenth century drove more people to seek sanctuary in Philadelphia. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jews fleeing pogroms in Eastern Europe and Armenians escaping genocide made the city their home.

Immigrants of this era established mutual aid societies that financed housing and provided health, life, and workman's insurance. In the mid-twentieth century, Social Security, federally backed mortgages, workers compensation laws, and employer benefits put most mutual aid programs out of business. However, some survive as ethnic social clubs. Some institutions founded in the nineteenth century to assist immigrants, like Lutheran Settlement (now Lutheran Children and Family Services), the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and Octavia Hill Society, remain social service, resettlement, and affordable housing providers for today's refugees and others.

Humanitarian crises of the mid-twentieth century forced the United States and other receiving nations to consider their responsibilities towards persecuted and displaced people around the world. Nazi genocide in Europe, World War II, and the Cold War sparked further movement of Jews and other Europeans. In response, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (established 1950) and the International Organization for Migration (founded 1951) developed a global bureaucracy for managing refugee camps and movements. But the U.S. Congress did not pass a law to institutionalize and fund refugee resettlement until the Refugee Act of 1981. The post-Vietnam War refugee crisis forced it to develop a federal policy, partly since so many refugees had been U.S. allies during the war.

Indochinese refugee resettlement helped transform Philadelphia's old settlement houses and faith-based social services. Spurred by the scale of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian arrivals in the late 70s and early 80s, the scope of refugees' needs, and the dispersed pattern of resettlement, agencies like Catholic Social Services and Nationalities Service Center developed regional networks of job placement, English language classes, and health services. To address refugee housing crises and social needs, newcomers and receiving community members founded Asian Americans United, the Southeast Asian Mutual Assistance Associations Coalition (SEAMAAC), and other advocacy, service, and cultural preservation organizations.

More recently, refugees to Philadelphia have fled the usual range of civil and international wars, famines, and ethnic and religious persecution. They came from Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Soviet Union in the 1980s; and from Liberia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and the Balkans in the 1990s. The most recent refugees include Burmese, Sudanese, and Iraqis (**Table 4**).

Today, refugees make up about 10 percent of all immigrants arriving in the U.S. Resettlement agencies typically receive $850 per refugee to cover rent, furnishings, and other living expenses for four months—half of which is given to the refugees as cash for food and other necessities. With such limited funding, agencies like Lutheran Children and Family Services work with congregations from Philadelphia to York and Lancaster, involving receiving communities in local support networks. Working age refugees must go to work within three months, so the primary focus of most refugee services is preparation for jobs.

Greater Philadelphia will certainly face new refugee waves in the twenty-first century. Worldwide, refugees from global warming and related environmental disasters are possible. Political instability in various regions will force others to seek refuge. Recently, the region has taken in refugees from the flood-prone nation of Bangladesh and drought-stricken parts of Africa.

Table 4. Metropolitan Philadelphia Top Ten Countries of Origin for the Refugee Foreign-born Population, 1983–2004

	1980s[a]	Refugees		1990s[b]	Refugees		2000s[c]	Refugees		1983–2004	Refugees	
1	Vietnam	3,615	1	USSR	11,825	1	Liberia	1,956	1	USSR	15,312	46.4%
2	Cambodia	2,400	2	Vietnam	3,261	2	USSR	1,267	2	Vietnam	7,140	21.6%
3	USSR	2,220	3	Liberia	760	3	Vietnam	264	3	Liberia	2,716	8.2%
4	Poland	761	4	Yugoslavia	600	4	Sierra Leone	224	4	Cambodia	2,496	7.6%
5	Laos	517	5	Haiti	319	5	Yugoslavia	224	5	Yugoslavia	825	2.5%
6	Ethiopia	298	6	Ethiopia	204	6	Ethiopia	71	6	Poland	821	2.5%
7	Romania	284	7	Laos	188	7	Sudan	66	7	Laos	705	2.1%
8	Afghanistan	157	8	Romania	163	8	Iraq	30	8	Ethiopia	573	1.7%
9	Iran	115	9	Somalia	142	9	Cuba	27	9	Romania	447	1.4%
10	Czech Republic	108	10	Cuba	114	10	Burma	26	10	Haiti	323	1.0%
	Other	175		Other	524		Other	76		Other	1,623	4.9%
	Top Ten Total	**10,475**		**Top Ten Total**	**17,576**		**Top Ten Total**	**4,155**		**Top Ten Total**	**31,358**	
	Total Refugee Population	**10,650**		**Total Refugee Population**	**18,100**		**Total Refugee Population**	**4,231**		**Total Refugee Population**	**32,981**	

[a]1983–1989 [b]1990–1999 [c]2000–2004

Source: Brookings analysis of data from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement/HHS; records that include metropolitan area data are only available for the 1983-2004 period

C. Immigrant growth in suburban Philadelphia has outpaced the city's growth, but numerically, the city has the largest population of all jurisdictions in the region.

Between 1970 and 2006, the number of immigrants and refugees residing in greater Philadelphia doubled from approximately 250,000 to an estimated 500,000. However, this growth has been uneven across the decades and among jurisdictions. The city has traditionally been the center of commerce and work, but in the latter half of the 20th century, Philadelphia, like many other cities, saw strong job growth in its suburbs. The Pennsylvania suburbs have historically held strong ties both in terms of commerce and commuting with Philadelphia. Camden and the surrounding New Jersey suburbs and Wilmington and its suburbs also maintain linkages to Philadelphia, but serve as employment centers with distinctive industries and character in their own right.

For several decades during the mid-20th century, metropolitan Philadelphia's immigrant population stood still at roughly 250,000, before growing during the 1990s and the 2000s. The region's foreign-born population grew very little in aggregate from 1970 to 1990, as a modest number of new immigrant and refugee arrivals were largely offset by both the death and out-migration of immigrants from the older stock in the region. During the decade of the 1990s, however, greater Philadelphia netted more than 120,000 foreign-born persons, a 43 percent increase. Then, between 2000 and 2006 alone, the region gained an additional 113,000 immigrants, or 29 percent.

As **Figure 3** shows, since 1970, areas outside the city have outpaced the city in terms of immigrant gains. In the 1970s, the foreign-born population was split evenly between the city and all other jurisdictions. By 1990, the city's share had dropped to 39 percent of the region's total. In 2006, that share had been reduced further to only 31 percent of the region's total, as immigrants have settled everywhere from affluent bedroom suburbs to older mill towns to agricultural townships.[16]

These trends are important to consider in light of broader residential trends in the metropolitan area. The total population of the city of Philadelphia peaked at just above two million in 1950, and then shrank at a modest rate through the 1960s. The city's population began to decline precipitously in the 1970s, dropping by almost a third by 2006.

By contrast, despite a net overall population decrease between 1950 and 1980, the city's foreign born population grew by 30 percent from 1970 to 2006. Although Philadelphia (along with Detroit) was

Figure 3. Foreign-Born Population in the City and Suburbs, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 1970–2006
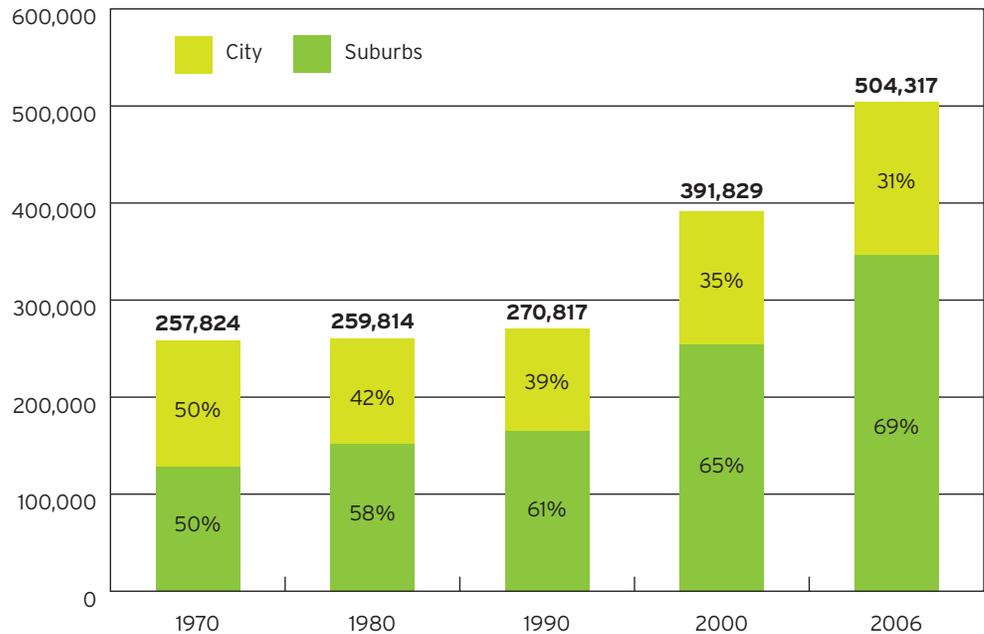
Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census decennial and American Community Survey data

one of only two big U.S. cities to lose population in the 1990s, it would have lost even more population were it not for immigrants who arrived in that decade.

As the city was losing population, the suburbs gained both native- and foreign-born populations. However, the immigrant population grew faster than the native-born (and the population as a whole).

In fact, since 2000, greater Philadelphia's population has grown only by an estimated 2.3 percent. It ranks 80th in population growth among the 100 largest metropolitan areas. Growth in the foreign-born population accounts for nearly 81 percent of the total population growth in the region in the 2000 to 2006 period. The city of Philadelphia's net loss of an estimated 70,000 people during that period masked a loss of 90,000 native born and a net gain of 20,000 foreign born. Apart from Philadelphia, in all other jurisdictions combined, 44 percent of population growth was due to immigrants.

Among suburban counties, the Appendix shows that Montgomery County had the largest foreign-born population in 1970, followed closely by Delaware County. In the suburban counties in Pennsylvania, Chester had the fastest rates of growth of the foreign born during the entire period, increasing nearly four times in size. In recent decades, population and job growth in Chester County has been largely concentrated along the Route 202 corridor, where office parks, shopping centers, and residential subdivisions have boomed.

In suburban New Jersey, Camden County has the largest number of immigrants. They live in the city of Camden and inner ring suburbs like Pennsauken, as well as in more affluent townships such as Cherry Hill. Likewise, Wilmington and some suburban parts of New Castle County, DE saw fast growth, particularly in the 1990s. Since 2000, the county with the fastest growing immigrant population was, again, Chester. Between 2000 and 2006, the suburban counties that were farthest from the city center had the highest growth rates–although not the largest number–of immigrants.

These differential growth rates translated directly into variations in the percentage of the total population that was foreign born. The quickly growing immigrant population of the 1990s and 2000s has raised the region's total percent foreign born from 4.7 percent in 1970 to 8.6 percent in 2006. Likewise, the city of Philadelphia's population rose from 6.2 percent foreign born to nearly 11 percent in the same period. In 2006, New Castle and Camden were both about 10 percent foreign born, while

Figure 4. Share of Foreign Born by Jurisdiction, Philadelphia Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 2006

1970

- Salem **1%**
- New Castle **6%**
- Cecil **<1%**
- Gloucester **2%**
- Camden **7%**
- Burlington **5%**
- Montgomery **11%**
- Delaware **11%**
- Chester **3%**
- Bucks **6%**
- Philadelphia **48%**

2006

- Salem **<1%**
- Cecil **<1%**
- New Castle **10%**
- Gloucester **3%**
- Camden **10%**
- Burlington **8%**
- Montgomery **12%**
- Delaware **8%**
- Chester **7%**
- Bucks **10%**
- Philadelphia **32%**

■ = City of Philadelphia ■ = PA suburbs ■ = NJ suburbs ■ = Wilmington DE metro
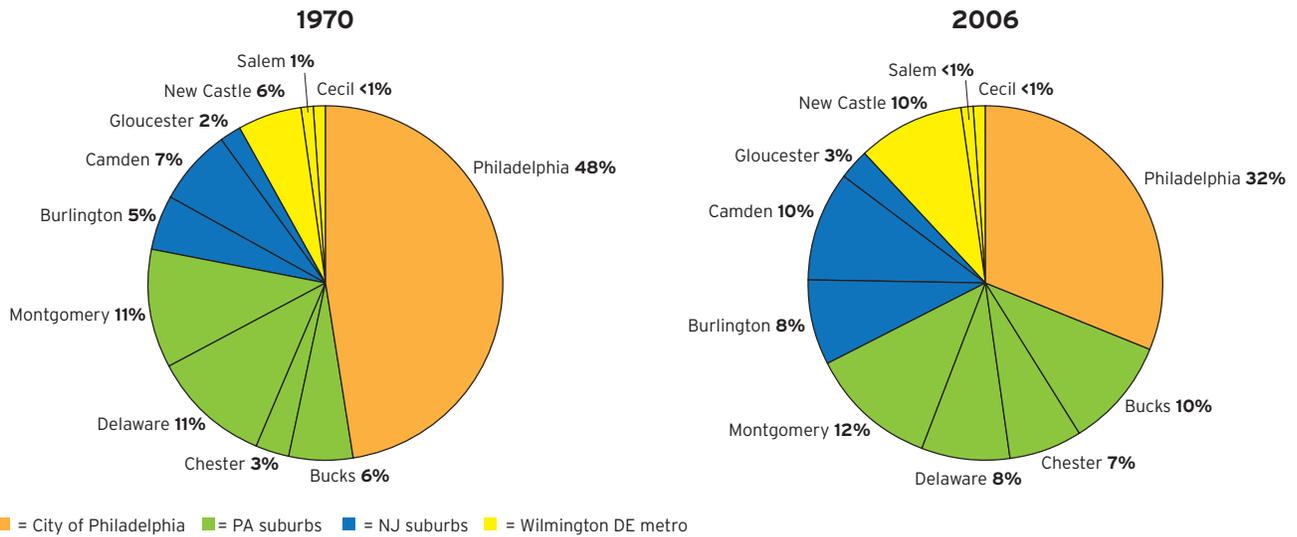
Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census decennial and American Community Survey data

Burlington County was 9 percent. All other jurisdictions fell below the metropolitan-wide average of 9 percent.

The increase in the foreign born has resulted in shifts in the distribution of immigrants among jurisdictions in the metropolitan area between 1970 and 2006. In 1970, nearly half of the region's immigrants residentially concentrated in the city (**Figure 4**). In that year the Pennsylvania suburbs garnered 31 percent of the total, while 14 percent lived in New Jersey suburbs, and only 7 percent lived in the Wilmington metropolitan area. Montgomery and Delaware Counties each held 11 percent of the region's total.

Despite the growth in absolute terms, by 2006, the city of Philadelphia's share of all immigrants had dropped to 32 percent of the total; clearly the city still plays a major, though far less dominant, role in attracting foreign-born residents to the region. At the same time, 37 percent of the region's foreign born lived in the Pennsylvania suburban counties. The counties farthest from the city, Chester and Bucks, gained more of the total foreign born than Montgomery and Delaware counties. Despite Delaware County's absolute growth, relative to other jurisdictions, its share of the foreign born shrunk, making it the only county to experience a relative decline in its share of the region's immigrants. Camden and Burlington now contain a larger share of the region's immigrants than they did in 1970: 10 percent of the metropolitan area's immigrants live in both Camden and New Castle counties (**Figure 4**).

Examining the geography of immigrant settlement in the region through a finer lens requires turning to Census 2000. These data (the most recent data available at the tract level) illustrate more detailed settlement patterns of immigrants. **Map 1** shows areas of residential concentration of the foreign born in both traditional and newer receiving neighborhoods of the city.

In the city of Philadelphia, several areas—including Chinatown and South Philadelphia—have attracted successive waves of immigrants (see **South Philadelphia**). Other areas within the city with a more recent history of immigrant settlement include parts of West Philadelphia, Olney in North Philadelphia, and the Route 1 corridor in the Northeast.

South Philadelphia was the quintessential portal neighborhood for European immigrants arriving at the turn of the 20th century. Through the 1950s and 1960s, this area was most closely identified with Italian immigrants, especially with the maintenance of the iconic "Italian market." While the area was likely more ethnically mixed during the first half of the century than as remembered in the collective memory, it now contains a robust mixture of Southeast Asian, Chinese and a growing number of

Map 1. Percent of the Total Population that is Foreign Born, City of Philadelphia, 2000

Percent Foreign Born by Tract

- Less than 10 percent
- 10 to 19 percent
- 20 percent or higher
- Total Population less than 100 or Total Foreign Born less than 50
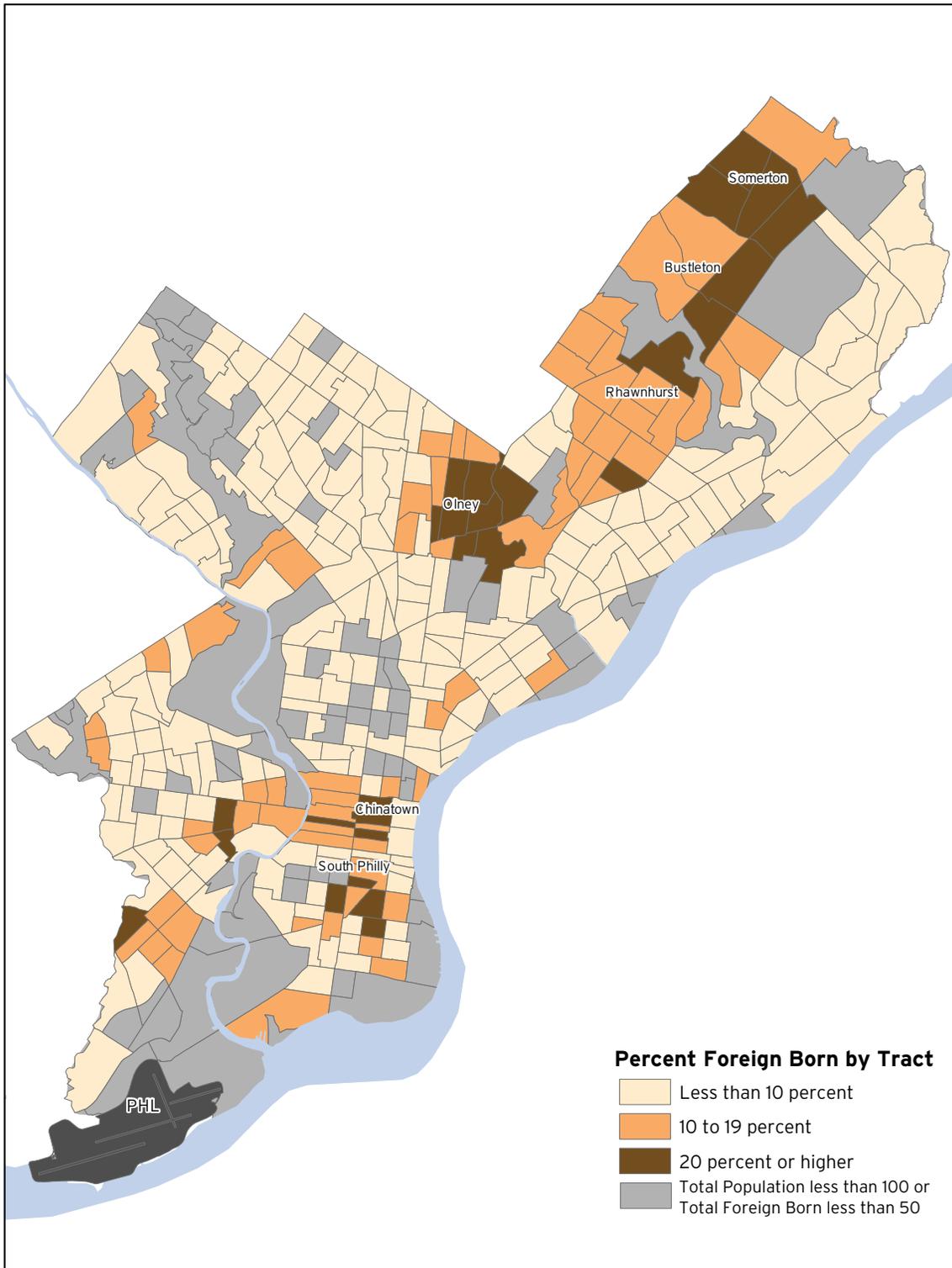
Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census decennial data

Latin American (particularly Mexican) immigrants, and still some foreign-born Italians who find there a sturdy combination of affordable housing and commercial opportunities. In 2000, the area was 39 percent white, 26 percent black, 25 percent Asian, and 5 percent Hispanic.

South Philadelphia

South Philadelphia is a classic American immigrant portal neighborhood. Though the Immigration Station at the base of Washington Avenue no longer stands, the Mummers clubs along Second Street and the longshoremen's union hall on Columbus Boulevard anchor an Irish enclave that dates to the 1840s. Fabric Row and the Fourth Street Deli remind visitors of the Eastern European Jews who are mostly long gone from the neighborhood. St. Maron's church on Tenth Street still serves the small Lebanese community that, like Russian Jews, Slovaks, Greeks, and Italians, established itself in the 1880s and 1890s.

In the mid-twentieth century, South Philly became a primarily Italian community, the second largest in the United States. Yet as Italians moved to the suburbs, the neighborhood became a diverse immigrant gateway again.

In the late 1970s and 80s, Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees were resettled in the neighborhood. On Washington Avenue today, Pho soup and barbeque restaurants, Buddhist apothecaries, supermarkets, karaoke bars, travel, and medical offices cluster in dense shopping centers that make up the commercial heart of a "new Asia-town." In the last decade, Mexican immigrants have moved into the homes and shops vacated by the aging and suburbanizing Italian community. Their taquerias, groceries, soccer, electronics, phone card, and financial services shops have made Ninth Street below Washington a Mexican market.

South Philly and its immigrant communities' association with food goes beyond the bakeries, restaurants, and markets, however. And it's no accident that when South Philadelphia's Italians and Vietnamese have moved to the suburbs, they've typically chosen destinations in South Jersey. The two parts of the region are historically tied through immigration and food. In the early twentieth century, Italians picked the Vineland tomatoes and Pennsauken peaches that went into Campbell's soup and Tastykake pies. The Ninth Street Market was basically an outgrowth of Italian agricultural communities across the river. Today, Italians own the farms, while Vietnamese and Mexican workers harvest South Jersey's produce, package it in warehouses, and send much of it to the Food Distribution Center on Pattison Avenue in South Philly. Mexicans also make up much of the region's food service workforce, from the finest restaurants in Center City to the food courts of suburban malls.

Chinatown, a smaller neighborhood, has also long been the host successive waves of first generation Chinese immigrants. Its institutions and businesses cater to Chinese immigrants (and ethnically Chinese immigrants from countries other than China), serving many who come in from the suburbs to shop and receive services as well. In 2000, more than 56 percent of Chinatown's foreign born were from China, while immigrants from Indonesia, Hong Kong, Vietnam and Guyana comprised about 5 percent each of the total foreign-born population.

Many recent African newcomers and other black immigrants from the Caribbean, for example Haitians and Jamaicans, are settling in majority African American neighborhoods in Southwest Philadelphia. Thanks to refugee resettlement and the presence of a number of universities, West Philadelphia's population contains a higher than average share of the foreign born, a varied mix of largely Asian immigrants led by those from China followed by Korea, Bangladesh, India, and West Africa. The many students who pepper this area may make West Philadelphia home for only a short time.

Bridging African American and Black Immigrant Communities

The relationship between African Americans and black immigrants is an often tense social issue confronting Philadelphia and other U.S. cities. Historically, immigrants have accumulated wealth and gained social mobility across generations, while African Americans have experienced persistent inequality, segregation, and discrimination.

In a general sense, African Americans and more recent immigrants are part of the same diaspora of black people displaced from Africa (and subsequently from the American South and the Caribbean). Yet there are major differences between their experiences. For example, African immigrants do not share a history of chattel slavery in the New World, though Caribbean immigrants do. African Americans have not personally experienced civil wars or refugee crises like many East and West Africans and Haitians. Moreover, Greater Philadelphia's black immigrants themselves are tremendously diverse in terms of national and tribal origin, language, education and occupation, migration experiences and status.

African and Caribbean immigrants tend to live in predominantly African American city and older suburban neighborhoods, including West, Southwest, and Upper North Philadelphia, Delaware County, and Trenton. As in other immigrant and receiving communities, tensions have arisen out of mutual suspicion and perceptions fueled in part by a higher proportion of African immigrants working in professional jobs as compared with African Americans. Immigrants also own many of the stores in black neighborhoods.

In 2001, a group of African community leaders founded AFRICOM, the Coalition of African Communities, to build stronger relationships between different groups. The coalition has since added Caribbean and African American members. In 2005, on the occasion of the Live 8 concert, Mayor John Street established a Commission for African and Caribbean Immigrant Affairs. Its meetings and office in City Hall provide forums for African Americans and black immigrants to interact and access city services.

At the local level, schools and religious institutions help bring African Americans and immigrants together for everyday and special occasions. The St. Francis de Sales Catholic School in Southwest Philadelphia has students from 40 countries in kindergarten through 8th grade and a nationally recognized "Peace Education" program that teaches them and their parents to resolve disputes peacefully.

Black immigrants have founded many mutual aid and ethnic associations. Some, like the African Cultural Alliance of North America in Southwest Philadelphia, have expanded from missions focused on specific immigrant and refugee groups, to include their African American neighbors in social service, educational, and cultural programs. Historically African American organizations have likewise reached out to immigrants. The Partnership Community Development Corporation initiated diversity training for merchants in West Philadelphia's 60th Street commercial district, helping immigrant and African American entrepreneurs communicate more effectively with their diverse customers. Nearby, the 52nd Street Merchants Association began its "miracles on 52nd Street" by bringing together African, Caribbean, African American, Korean, Cambodian, and Pakistani shopkeepers. The group is partnering with the Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians to develop Welcoming Center West, a space for multicultural events and small business assistance.

Other economic development projects bringing together African Americans and black immigrants are international. The African and Caribbean Business Council and the AfriCaribe Micro-Enterprise Network involve entrepreneurs from Greater Philadelphia's immigrant and receiving communities in developing trade with Africa.

There is much at stake in these efforts to bridge African American and black immigrant communities. The failure to build peaceful relations among neighbors is in nobody's interest. On the other hand, bridging initiatives have the potential to create opportunities for shared prosperity among all sorts of Philadelphians.

In upper North Philadelphia, Olney is home to immigrants and refugees from various countries, including Vietnam, Cambodia, Haiti, and India, but has become identified with Koreans because of its many Korean churches, businesses, and organizations. Long known as a place that offers decent housing and transportation, Olney has more recently attracted Dominicans and Puerto Ricans as Koreans have increasingly moved into the adjacent Montgomery County suburb of Cheltenham.[18]

In neighborhoods like Somerton, Bustleton, and Rhawnhurst in Northeast Philadelphia, as well as adjacent Bristol, Bucks County, Ukrainian and Russian immigrants—stemming initially from refugee resettlement in that area in the 1990s—dominate the mix of foreign born with Ukrainians the largest group, followed by Russians, Indians, and other Eastern Europeans. Now, post-Soviet newcomers are settling in suburban communities such as Bensalem and Cherry Hill—largely white areas—along with Asian immigrants from the Philippines, India, Korea, China, Taiwan, and Pakistan (**Map 2**).

By 2000, Upper Darby, on the edge of the city, also had become a major destination for immigrants from Vietnam, Korea, the Caribbean, and China. It is also home to many earlier European immigrants from Greece, Italy, as well as both old and new immigrants from Ireland. Like other older suburbs and former industrial towns, including Norristown and Bristol, PA or Pennsauken and Riverside, NJ, the area's affordable housing and nearby service jobs draw immigrants. Right next to Upper Darby, the tiny borough of Millbourne, population about 950, is the first majority Indian municipality in the United States.

Affluent suburbs have also become significant immigrant destinations. Upper Merion in Montgomery County, home to the King of Prussia Mall, has seen an influx of immigrants from India, Philippines, China, and Korea alongside older longtime Italian residents. Cherry Hill is another relatively wealthy suburban community (that also happens to house a large regional mall) that has attracted a mixed group of immigrants from Asia and the Middle East (see **Suburban Destinations**).[19]

As elsewhere in the United States, Mexican immigration has increased throughout the region. For example, over the past decade and a half Wilmington, DE and the surrounding areas in New Castle County have experienced a major influx of immigrants from Mexico as well as from India, China, Jamaica, Canada, Korea, and the Philippines. Similar to West Philadelphia, some of the more recent immigration to Wilmington and New Castle County may be due to the presence of a large state university, though the area's chemical, pharmaceutical, banking and other service sectors also draw foreign-born workers.

The city of Camden, NJ has also experienced a major influx of immigrants from Mexico as well as from the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Vietnam. They are drawn by nearby jobs in manufacturing, construction, landscaping, and other services, as well as inexpensive housing. Like Philadelphia, Camden is still largely a city of African American and Puerto Rican migrants from an earlier period of migration.

Immigrants have lived and worked in rural parts of the region for generations. Currently, the most established community of Mexican immigrants is around Kennett Square, Chester County, PA, the "mushroom capital of the world." In addition, many Central Americans work at chicken farms and processing plants in Cecil County, MD, while many Vietnamese and Mexican immigrants work at South Jersey farms and packing warehouses.

The settlement patterns of the Delaware Valley's foreign born include both traditional areas that have served as immigrant destinations for generations as well as newer more dispersed areas around the region. The city of Philadelphia continues to attract newcomers in considerable numbers, while the surrounding suburbs have taken on increasing proportions in recent years.

Map 2. Percent of the Total Population that is Foreign Born, Philadelphia Region, 2000

Percent Foreign Born by Tract, 2000

- Less than 10 percent
- 10 to 19 percent
- 20 percent or greater
- Total Population less than 100 or Total Foreign Born less than 50
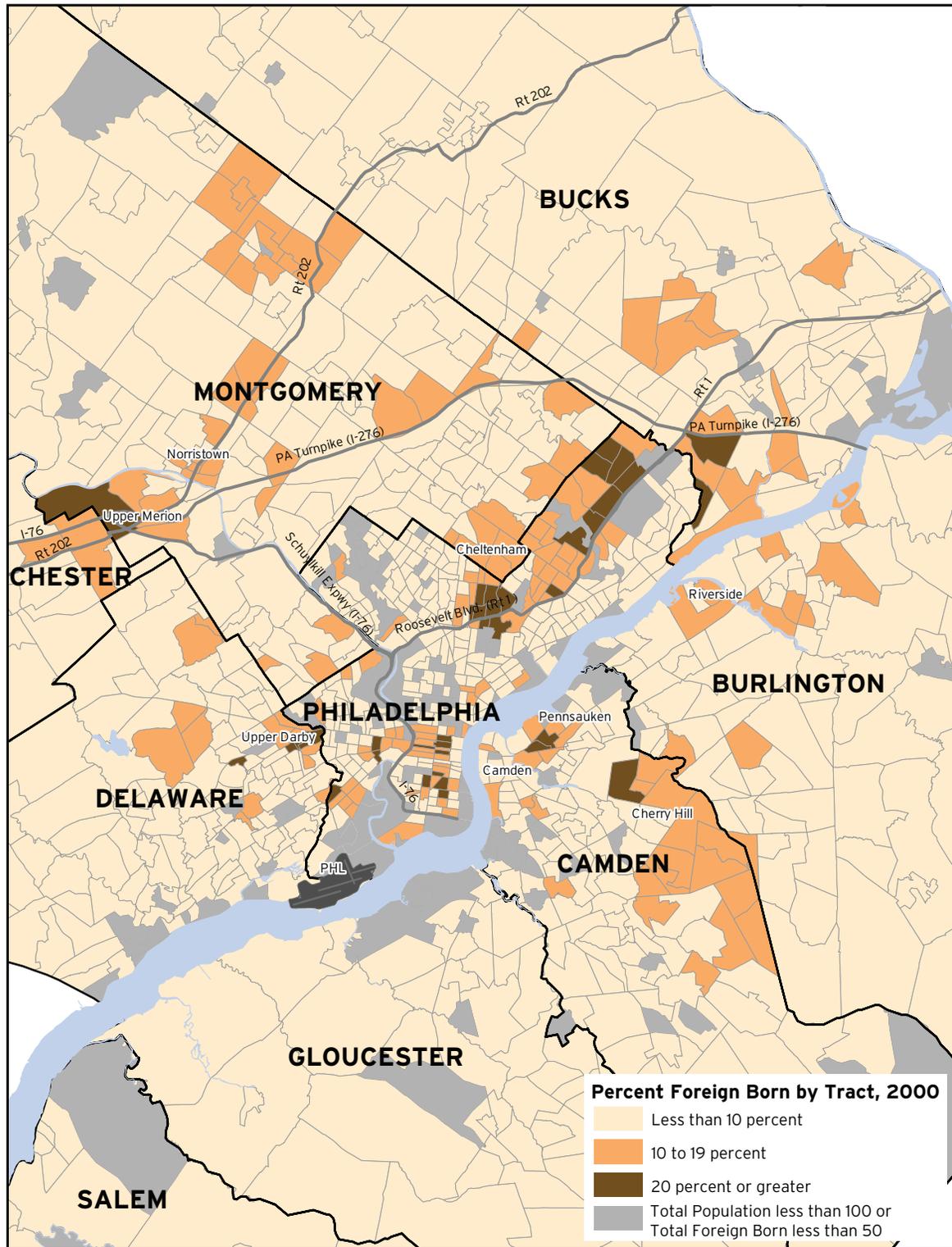
Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census decennial data

Suburban Destinations

There are multiple logics for the suburbanization of immigration. Just as not all immigrants are the same, not all suburbs are the same. A group of adjacent communities in central Montgomery County illustrate both the diversity of immigrants and the diversity of suburbs. King of Prussia is Greater Philadelphia's premier "edge city." Located at the intersection of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, Schuylkill Expressway, and Route 202, it has the region's largest concentration of suburban jobs and the second largest shopping mall in the country. King of Prussia has two sources of immigrant labor. One, comprised mostly of South and Southeast Asians, but also including Latin Americans, works in pharmaceutical research, financial services, and other professional jobs. These immigrants drive to work and live dispersed throughout Montgomery and Chester County, in places like Plymouth Meeting, Lower Merion, and more distant bedroom communities.

The area's second (often second shift) immigrant workforce, made up mostly of Mexicans, Africans, and some Brazilians, cooks and serves the food at the mall and nearby restaurants, provides parking and security services, and cleans the corporate hotels and office parks. They tend to live in the region's old towns and working class suburbs, like nearby Norristown and Bridgeport.

Norristown is the seat of Montgomery County, its skyline dominated by county office buildings, the dome of the courthouse, along with 19th century church spires. Down by the river and railroad lines, the textile and metalworking factories that sustained the town in the past have closed. Stores closed in the 1970s and 80s as the nearby Plymouth Meeting and King of Prussia malls sapped their customers and Norristown itself lost population.

Today, Norristown is home to Italian and Irish Americans, African Americans, small Jamaican and Dominican communities, and a larger Mexican population. Main Street has a mix of car dealers, construction supply and lawnmower repair shops, Mexican restaurants, and Italian funeral homes. Norristown's leaders view immigrants as vital to the borough's revitalization . On West Marshall Street, grocery, phone card, and clothing stores, bakeries, and a tortilla factory are the commercial face of Norristown's "Little Mexico." The local government decided to accept Mexican consular ID cards, since many of its Mexican residents lack U.S. visas. This outreach was designed to prevent them from being marginalized, improve community-police relations, and ease access to municipal services.

The borough of Bridgeport has taken a different approach to recent immigration. Located right between Norristown and King of Prussia, it is a much smaller town, with a population of approximately 4,400 people (in 2000, the latest estimate available), having declined from about 5,600 in 1970. This makes the town more sensitive to fiscal pressures and change. Bridgeport shares most of Norristown's industrial and immigration history. With a limited tax base, Bridgeport cannot afford certain public services of its own. A massive fire in 2001 destroyed some 50 buildings at the Continental Business Center, and dealt a big blow to the borough's business tax base. This riverfront site is being redeveloped with a mix of shops, townhouses, and condos marketed at young professionals and empty nesters.

Bridgeport's leaders recognize the town is changing, partly due to the arrival of Mexicans and some Brazilians and Puerto Ricans. In 2006, the town council passed an Illegal Immigration Relief Act, which punishes landlords who rent and employers who give jobs to unauthorized workers. Its sponsors were inspired by Hazleton, PA's similar law and wished to discourage growth of undocumented immigrant populations as in Norristown. There were also some complaints of overcrowded housing, echoing objections frequently lodged against Italian immigrants a century ago. Presently, the law is not enforced. The borough does not have the resources to defend the law, so it is waiting and watching as Hazleton's act moves through the courts.

D. Nearly 60 percent of the foreign born living in metropolitan Philadelphia arrived in the United States after 1990.

A majority of immigrants living in greater Philadelphia in 2006 are relative newcomers. Estimates show that 60 percent have arrived in the United States only since 1990, 18 percent arrived during the 1980s, 10 percent in the 1970s and 12 percent arrived prior to 1970. Twenty-six percent have arrived since 2000 alone, a figure slightly higher than the national share of 24 percent (**Figure 5**).[20]

Trends in other metropolitan areas contrast with Philadelphia's recent experience of immigration. For instance, 30 percent of Cleveland's immigrant population arrived in the United States prior to 1970, part of the earlier immigration wave, and only 18 percent have arrived since 2000. Alternatively, 34 percent of fast-growing Atlanta's immigrants have entered the United States since 2000, and barely 5 percent were there prior to 1970.

Within the city of Philadelphia itself, nearly two-thirds of all immigrants have arrived since 1990. In the suburbs, the proportion is slightly lower at 58 percent. What most distinguishes the city from its surrounding region, however, is the proportion in the country for at least 25 years: nearly 25 percent of suburban versus 17 percent of city immigrant residents. These trends reflect in part patterns of earlier movement from the city to the suburbs among the prior wave of immigrants.

Period of arrival has broad impacts on a number of social, civic, and economic characteristics. A measure closely associated with period of arrival is naturalization. The recent arrival of so many of greater Philadelphia's immigrants, combined with their regions of origin, helps explain differential patterns of naturalization across groups.

Overall, almost half of greater Philadelphia immigrants have become U.S. citizens. In order to apply for citizenship, immigrants have to meet certain requirements, including legal permanent residence for a fixed number of years.[21] Of immigrants in the United States for at least 10 years—a group with a high proportion eligible for citizenship—70 percent in metropolitan Philadelphia have become citizens.

Figure 5. Foreign-Born Period of Entry to the United States, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2006
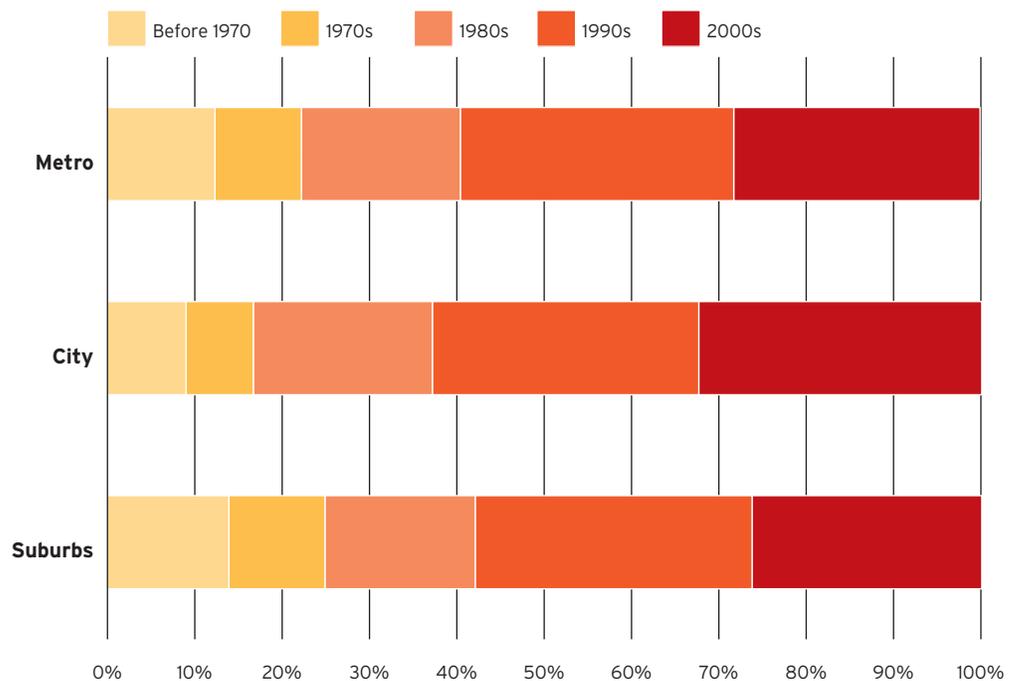
Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey Public Use Microdata

Figure 6. Citizenship Status of Foreign Born by Region/Place of Birth (Pre-1997 Arrivals), Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2006
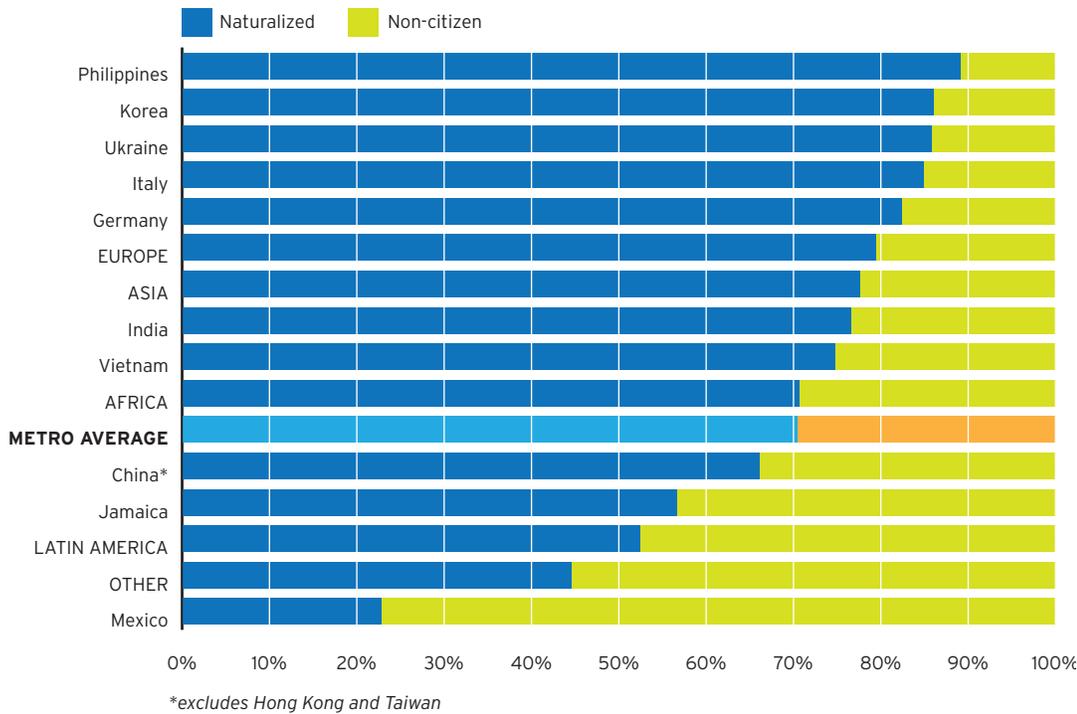
*excludes Hong Kong and Taiwan

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey Public Use Microdata

Rates of naturalization vary by national origin. **Figure 6** shows that the vast majority of Philadelphia's Filipino, Korean, and Ukrainian immigrants who have lived in the United States for at least 10 years have become US citizens. Germany and Italy fall in place not far behind the top three groups. As a whole, Europeans, Asians, and Africans have higher than average rates of U.S. citizenship for the region.

Naturalization rates among Latin American and Caribbean immigrants, and specifically among Mexicans and Jamaicans, along with Chinese, all fall below the region's average. Although naturalization rates of Jamaican and Chinese immigrants are below the region's average, they are still relatively high with more than two-thirds of Chinese immigrants and 56 percent of Jamaican immigrants holding U.S. citizenship. By contrast, only 22 percent of Mexican immigrants have been naturalized.

In addition to how recently immigrants have arrived, demographic and human capital characteristics can have a large impact on how immigrants respond to opportunities in the labor market. Understanding these differences provides grounding for further discussion of economic trends in the next section of the report.

As a whole, similar to the region's native-born population, immigrants are divided about evenly between males and females (**Table 5**). However, vast differences in gender ratios separate immigrants of different national origins. Perhaps most dramatic is the finding that among Mexican immigrants, the region's second largest immigrant group, there were nearly 2 males to every female in 2006. Indian immigrant gender ratios also tilted toward males, slightly, as it did for Ukrainians. Female-dominated immigrant groups include Koreans, Filipinos, Jamaicans, and Germans. Filipinas outnumber their male counterparts nearly two to one, while Chinese immigrants have consisted of fairly equal numbers of males and females since 1990. These trends reflect the gender-specific pathways immigrants have

Table 5. Demographic and Social Characteristics of the Foreign-Born and Native-Born Population, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2006

	Foreign Born	Native Born
Age Distribution		
Less than 18yrs	7.5%	26.1%
18yrs to 64yrs (Labor force)	79.8%	60.9%
65+ (Retired)	12.7%	13.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%
Gender		
Male	50.9%	48.1%
Female	49.1%	51.9%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%
Educational Attainment for Population 25yrs and older		
Less than High School	20.6%	12.7%
High School Diploma/GED	24.5%	32.9%
Some College	17.5%	23.6%
Bachelors or higher	37.4%	30.7%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%
English Language Ability for Population 5yrs and older		
Speak English Only	22.7%	93.1%
Non-English Home Language	77.3%	6.9%
−Speak English Very well	45.0%	77.0%
−Less than Very Well	55.0%	23.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau American Community Public Use Microdata

taken to the Philadelphia labor market: female immigrants from the Philippines and Jamaica in the healthcare sector, and Mexican men in the construction and service sectors, for example.

Age distributions among Philadelphia's immigrants are very different from the U.S.-born. As elsewhere in the U.S., Philadelphia's foreign born are primarily in the working ages, and are much more likely to be between 18 and 64 than the native born (80 percent versus 61 percent). In both groups about 13 percent of the population is over 65. The proportion of children among the foreign born, however, is much smaller than among the U.S. born. Most immigrants arrive in the United States during their prime working and childbearing years. Children in immigrant families are very likely to have been born in the United States, according them U.S. citizenship status at birth. Thus the proportion of the foreign born who are children is much smaller at 7.5 percent than among the native born population (26 percent).

Examining the child population in the region another way, an estimated 15 percent of all children (under age 18) are living with at least one immigrant parent.[22] This includes children born abroad and those born in the United States to foreign-born parents.[23] The absolute number of children of immigrants, the "second generation," has doubled to 200,000 since 1970 when there were approximately 100,000 in the region. In that year, only 6 percent of the child population was of the second generation.

While this number does not approach the estimates of large, established gateways such as Los Angeles, where upwards of 50 percent of school-aged children are the children of immigrants, the implications for English language acquisition and workforce readiness are the same.[24]

Not surprisingly, given their varied backgrounds and reasons for emigrating, the educational

attainment levels of Philadelphia's immigrants vary widely. Many with advanced education choose greater Philadelphia because of the region's medical, pharmaceutical, and information technology employment opportunities. Thirty-seven percent of foreign-born adults aged 25 and older in the Delaware Valley have a bachelor's degree or higher, and another 18 percent have attended some college without attaining a degree. This compares very favorably to the distribution for the entire U.S. foreign born, among whom only 27 percent have at least a bachelor's degree or more and roughly the same proportion have attended college for some period of time. As well, the foreign born have an advantage over their native-born counterparts in greater Philadelphia.

However, nearly 21 percent of Philadelphia's immigrants do not have a high school diploma—a proportion considerably lower than the 32 percent of the overall U.S. immigrant population (which is dominated by Mexican immigrants). By contrast, only 13 percent of the adult U.S. population has not completed high school—the same rate as the overall native-born population in Philadelphia. Among native-born minorities in metropolitan Philadelphia, 21 percent of black adults and 41 percent of Puerto Rican adults had not completed high school.

Immigrant educational attainment varies by country of origin. Immigrants with low high school completion rates come from Mexico, Southeast Asia, and other Latin American and Caribbean countries. Their educational attainment largely reflects the educational standards of their home countries. Asians, Europeans and Africans tend to have higher-than-average proportions of immigrants with a college degree. Two-thirds of Indian immigrants, for instance, have attained a bachelor's degree or higher. Likewise, this reflects the fact that immigrants, particularly from these regions come to the United States seeking higher education, and greater Philadelphia's many educational institutions are a beacon to immigrants from around the world.

The distribution of educational attainment among Philadelphia's immigrants differs from the classic hour glass shape among the entire U.S. immigrant population. Instead, the educational profile of Philadelphia's immigrants tilts more toward higher attainment. However, even if immigrants arrive with higher education, they often do not find their skills and credentials easily transferable. The prospects for immigrants who arrive without even a high school diploma are worse, limiting their chance of economic mobility and, perhaps, the chances of their children as well.

In addition to education, the ability to speak English proficiently is crucial for economic success in the U.S. Nearly 23 percent of Philadelphia's foreign born speak English only. This results from both the preponderance of source countries where English is the official language, or a common language used (such as India), as well as the relatively high proportion who have been living in the United States for a long while.

Among those immigrants who report speaking a language other than English, 45 percent report being able to speak English "very well," a common measure of proficiency. In addition, 22 percent report speaking English "well," 22 percent report speaking English "not very well" and only 11 percent speak no English at all (not shown on table). Philadelphia's immigrants measure well against U.S. immigrants as a whole (38 percent proficient) as well as those in New York (39 percent), Miami (38 percent), and Los Angeles (32 percent).

Period of arrival makes a difference in the English language learning process as well. Among Philadelphia's immigrants, the longer they have been residing in the United States, the more likely they are to report speaking English well. About 72 percent of longer term immigrants (arrived prior to 1960) report speaking English very well, while only 36 percent of the most recent arrivals (arrived since 2000) report the same.

Still, even among immigrants who have been in the United States for more than 40 years, 55 percent report speaking a language other than English at home. The proportion is much higher among more recent arrivals: among those who arrived in the 1990s, nearly 82 percent speak a language other than English at home. In general, these figures are higher than the national averages for all immigrants.

Again, country of origin matters as English proficiency varies among the ten largest immigrant groups. Nearly two-thirds of immigrants from Mexico and more than one-half of immigrants from Southeast Asia report speaking English not well or not at all. Among most other groups the proportion is much smaller, ranging from under 10 percent among European and African immigrants to 17 percent of Indian immigrants, and the rest of Asia, 28 percent of whom do not speak English well or very well.

E. Nearly 75 percent of greater Philadelphia's labor force growth since 2000 is attributable to immigrants.

Immigrants comprise a substantial share of recent growth in the Philadelphia region's workforce. Immigrants' contributions to the labor force are considerably higher in the current decade than in the 1990s, when just 36 percent of the growth was due to immigrants. Now, nearly 75 percent of the region's growth in the labor force since 2000 is attributable to immigrants.[25]

How well do they do in the local labor market? This is one of the most important questions asked about immigrants to the United States. The last section described some of the human capital that immigrants possess that influences their labor market outcomes. This next section examines occupation, poverty, and income to provide some answers.

Philadelphia's immigrants have just about the same employment rate as their native-born counterparts (73 percent for immigrants and 72 percent for the native born) (**Table 6**).[26] Immigrant unemployment (4 percent) and the proportion of the population not in the labor force (23 percent) are also very similar to rates among the overall native-born population.[27]

A distinctive feature of immigrant workers in the United States is that they have a higher tendency toward entrepreneurial activities than the U.S.-born–and this is also true of Philadelphia's immigrants: 11 percent of the foreign born are self-employed compared to 8 percent of the native born. Self-employment is a traditional immigrant path to economic prosperity both because it offers a relatively easy way to enter the labor market and because of the immigrant customer base for goods and services.

Despite their similar labor force participation rates to the total native born population, immigrants remain economically disadvantaged relative to the native-born white population. Median household income among immigrant-headed households is $50,276, while among all native-born households it is $55,862. However, households headed by U.S.-born blacks have a lower median income of $33,517 and those headed by Puerto Ricans register even lower at $24,275.[28]

Looking at incomes of individual workers shows that immigrant workers earn less than native-born workers in the Philadelphia region, just above $30,000, in contrast to the average $40,000 earned by the native born in total. Black workers are on par with immigrant workers at $30,470 and median income for Puerto Rican workers is $25,392.

Notably, average household size is larger for the foreign born at 2.95 as compared with 2.57 among native-born households. Immigrant-headed households have a greater number of workers than those with U.S.-born household heads. Thus, part of the difference between the income of workers and households among both groups may be explained by the number of workers per household. The slightly larger number of workers among immigrant-headed households combined with their lower income suggests that even with more workers per household, there is still a significant gap between the earnings of the two groups.

Poverty statistics reveal that in the region, the overall poverty rate is 14 percent among all U.S.-born citizens, compared to about 17.4 percent for the immigrant population. Among U.S.-born minorities in greater Philadelphia, 29 percent of the black population is below the poverty line, as is 38 percent of the Puerto Rican population.[29]

In the city of Philadelphia, poverty rates are higher for both the native and foreign born but are more or less the same: 27 percent for immigrants and 28 percent for U.S.-born residents. Again, rates are considerably higher for blacks (34 percent) and Puerto Ricans (47 percent). Among immigrant origin groups, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans are more likely to be living in poor households than others.

What kinds of jobs do immigrants do in the region? Instead of dominating one or two occupational sectors, 7 percent to 9 percent of immigrants in greater Philadelphia cluster in each of nine broad areas: production, sales, office and administrative, food preparation and related services, management, computer and mathematical, healthcare practitioners, transportation and material moving, and building and grounds cleaning and maintenance. Sixty-eight percent of immigrants occupy positions in these occupational sectors. These jobs require a range of skills. On the high end are healthcare and computer and mathematical, and at the lower end are jobs in food preparation and building and grounds cleaning and maintenance.

Table 6. Labor Market and Economic Characteristics of the Foreign-Born and Native-Born Population, 2006

	Foreign Born	Native Born
Civilian Labor Force Status (age 18-64)		
Employed	72.8%	71.5%
Unemployed	4.3%	5.2%
Not in Labor Force	22.9%	23.4%
Self-Employed	10.7%	7.9%
Median Household Income (2006 dollars)		
Philadelphia Metro	50,276	55,862
U.S. Population	44,893	48,813
Median Worker Income (2006 dollars)		
Philadelphia Metro	30,470	40,221
U.S. Population	25,392	33,081
Average Household Size	2.95	2.57
Average Workers (18-64yrs) per Household	1.38	1.17
Metro Poverty		
Below Poverty	17.4%	14.0%
Less than 200% Poverty Income	34.1%	26.4%
City Poverty		
Below Poverty	27.1%	28.1%
Less than 200% Poverty Income	44.2%	47.0%

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau American Community Public Use Microdata, 2006

As a whole, the native born are concentrated in these occupational sectors as well (65.3 percent), but they are far less evenly spread across categories. For example, 17 percent of the native born are working in office and administrative jobs and 12 percent are in sales jobs, while less than 3 percent are in building and grounds cleaning and maintenance and computer and mathematical occupations.

Health and Related Sector Workers

Perhaps nowhere are immigrants' contributions to the wellbeing of Greater Philadelphia more evident than in the health and allied sectors of the region's economy. While nearly all of the Delaware Valley's industries declined in the second half of the twentieth century, the medical, pharmaceutical, and health care industries boomed. The city of Philadelphia's four largest private employers are "meds and eds": The University of Pennsylvania, Thomas Jefferson, Temple, and Drexel Universities all operate large hospital systems and medical schools. In the suburbs, a string of pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and related chemical firms stretch along Route 202 from Astra Zeneca in New Castle County, to Wyeth and Cephalon in Chester County, Merck in Montgomery County, and up to Johnson & Johnson and Bristol Myers Squibb along Route 1 in central New Jersey. These and related firms in health insurance, chemicals, and business and legal services anchor many of the region's principal job centers.

Immigrants work everywhere in the health sector. Greater Philadelphia's medical schools and companies attract top physicians and researchers, neurosurgeons and cancer specialists from around the world. While these professionals make six-figure salaries, immigrant home health aides and hospital orderlies earn $7 per hour. West African, Haitian, Jamaican, and Latin American women make up much of the home health care workforce.

In between the two extremes of world-renowned doctors and itinerant home health aides, nurses make up much of the immigrant health workforce. In the United States, there is presently a shortage of nurses. Greater Philadelphia imports Filipina, Indian, and Korean nurses, many of whom work in England, Ireland, and other wealthy countries like Saudi Arabia before coming to America. Most of these nurses are familiar with the latest medical technologies, and many, including the Filipinas, are trained in an American style educational system in their home countries. This simplifies their adjustment to new work environments, though sometimes immigrant nurses do need to learn new abbreviations and slang. Nurses and doctors also have an easier time transferring foreign credentials than most other professionals, thanks in part to the Philadelphia-based Educational Commission on Foreign Medical Graduates and Commission on Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools.

Foreign recruitment of nurses and doctors is a controversial topic in international circles. Most nurses, in particular, come from countries that also have a shortage of highly trained medical professionals. Ironically, Philadelphia generally finds itself on these sending countries' side of the brain drain issue, as the region's university students tend to leave for New York, California, and other more prosperous regions upon graduation.

Brain drain dilemmas notwithstanding, another major demographic trend in Greater Philadelphia and the United States promises to perpetuate the demand for immigrant health workers. Put simply, residents of the Delaware Valley and the nation at large are aging. Pennsylvania already has the second-oldest population in the nation, after Florida. The Baby Boomer generation is expected to have a long retirement, thanks in part to modern medical and pharmaceutical "marvels" that keep them alive. From doctor's offices to assisted living facilities and naturally occurring retirement communities, immigrant workers will continue to take care of the region's and nation's growing population of senior citizens.

The distribution of immigrants among broad occupational categories in part reflects their bifurcated educational attainment, and for some, difficulty in transferring degrees and credentials from elsewhere. Relative to their U.S.-born counterparts, immigrants are overrepresented in several key occupations: production, food preparation, computer and mathematical occupations, transportation, building and grounds cleaning and maintenance, and personal services. Clearly some of these occupations are lower-skilled, entry-level positions, largely jobs where little education or certification is required while others require higher degrees and specialized skills.

A finer grained look at immigrants' detailed occupations highlights the intersection of their varied educational backgrounds and labor market experience. Among immigrant workers, the top ten

Table 7. Occupations for Foreign-Born and Native-Born Workers, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2006

| | Foreign-Born | | Native-Born | |
	Total	Percent Share	Total	Percent Share
Occupational Sectors	Production	9.4	Office and Administration	17.4
	Sales	8.2	Sales	11.8
	Office and Administration	7.9	Management	10.8
	Food Preparation	7.7	Education, Training, Library	6.4
	Management	7.5	Healthcare Practitioners	6.3
	Computer and Mathematical	7.0	Business and Financial Operations	5.2
	Healthcare Practitioners	6.8	Transportation and Material Moving	4.9
	Transportation/Material Moving	6.8	Construction, Extraction	4.7
	Building and Grounds Cleaning/Maint.	6.5	Production	4.2
	Education, Training, Library	4.5	Food Preparation	4.0
	Construction	4.4	Installation, Maintenance, Repair	3.3
	Personal Care	4.0	Building and Grounds Cleaning/Maint.	2.8
	Business and Financial Operations	3.6	Computer and Mathematical Operations	2.7
	Healthcare Support	3.2	Personal Care	2.5
	Life, Physical, and Social Science	3.1	Protective Service	2.3
	Architecture and Engineering	2.3	Healthcare Support	2.2
	Installation, Maintenance, Repair	2.2	Community and Social Services	1.9
	Farming, Fishing, Forestry	1.6	Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, Media	1.8
	Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, Media	1.4	Architecture and Engineering	1.7
	Protective Service	0.8	Legal	1.7
	Community and Social Services	0.8	Life, Physical, and Social Services	1.4
	Legal	0.3	Farming, Fishing, Forestry	0.1
Top 10 Detailed Occupations	Computer Software Engineer		Secretary	
	Cook		Elementary/Middle School Teacher	
	Home health aide		Misc. manager, incl. postal service workers	
	Registered Nurse		Registered Nurse	
	Cashier		Retail salesperson	
	Janitor		Retail sales manager	
	Retail sales manager		Cashier	
	Postsecondary teacher		Customer service representative	
	Maid, housekeeper		Accountant	
	Grounds maintenance		Truck driver	
Percent of All Detailed Occupations		24.4		22.2

Note: Sums be may be higher than 100 percent due to rounding

Source: Brookings analysis of U.S. Census Bureau American Community Public Use Microdata, 2006

occupations, which account for one-quarter of all jobs held by immigrants, are an interesting mix of high and low skilled occupations. While computer software engineer, registered nurse, and postsecondary teacher are all in the top ten, so are cook, cashier, maid, janitor, home health aide, and building and grounds cleaning.

Taxi Drivers

In London and Toronto, there's an old joke that the best place to give birth is in a taxicab, since that's the easiest place to find a doctor. In Philadelphia, taxi drivers are more often trained as engineers, scientists, and accountants than doctors. But the basic pattern is the same. Immigrants from South Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe often drive cabs because they cannot find work in the professions for which they are trained. This occupation offers a way into the labor market through self-employment.

Like other big cities, Philadelphia's taxi driving workforce is majority immigrant. The Taxi Workers Alliance chairman estimates that up to 85% of the taxi driver workforce consists of first-generation immigrants: South Asians, West Africans, Arabs/North Africans, East Africans, Russians and Ukrainians, Haitians and other Caribbeans. (This estimate is different from the official Census counts.)

Like many immigrants, taxi drivers primarily come from the middle class in their homelands. Many own property or family businesses back home, which help supply the initial capital to venture abroad. Some Arab and East African drivers work first in Saudi Arabia, as factory supervisors or accountants; West Africans sometimes work first in South Africa. In Philadelphia, taxi drivers' first jobs are mostly in food delivery, car washes, parking lots, or directly in the cab business. These occupations have relatively low barriers to entry, requiring driving skills and licenses and a basic knowledge of English.

The other big reason why first-generation immigrants drive cabs arises from the workings of immigrant social networks. Drivers learn of work opportunities from their countrymen, who often rent them a cab and later sponsor them to purchase a taxi of their own once they've learned the business. Sometimes friends pool money to buy a taxi, and then split the shifts.

Older immigrants also teach newer immigrants how to navigate the region. They offer useful tips about American driving habits, short cuts, and where to find passengers at any given time of day. Much of this information is passed along on cell phones. Drivers joke that they have their own "dispatch network" that's often as helpful as their radio dispatcher for tips on good pick-up spots, directions, or warnings about traffic. Off the phone, they talk shop while waiting for passengers at the airport and hotels.

Immigrant taxi drivers also come together at ethnic and religious institutions around the region. At times of prayer, South Asian, Arab, and African Muslims park their cabs outside mosques in West and North Philadelphia, often gathering for a halal meal and conversation afterwards. Sikh drivers meet at temples in Upper Darby and Millbourne in Delaware County, while Russians and Ukrainians trade gossip and advice at local diners in Northeast Philadelphia. From these gathering places, immigrant drivers fan out across the region, picking up passengers as theaters let out on the Avenue of the Arts, clubs close on Delaware Avenue, or convention-goers arrive at the airport or 30th Street Station.

While immigrant taxi drivers support one another in their trade, they rarely pass it on to their children. They work long hours in part so that their children can stay in school and pursue professional careers much like the ones they had before coming to the United States.

By contrast, among native-born workers, the top ten occupations, which account for nearly 22 percent of all jobs, are largely white collar but include a mix of mid- and lower-level jobs and include secretaries, managers, retail salespersons, elementary and middle school teachers, customer service representatives, and accountants. Both foreign-born and native-born lists include retail sales manager, registered nurse, and cashier. However, if U.S.-born minority populations are examined separately, the occupations that appear on the top ten list are comparable to the lower-skilled, lower-wage jobs such as cashier, janitor and home health aide.[30]

Philadelphia's very diverse foreign-born residents defy generalizations on a number of demographic, social and economic characteristics. They depart from their U.S.-born and minority counterparts with regard to age distribution and they have different educational and occupational profiles. In some respects they share characteristics of U.S.-born minorities, such as on individual income levels and some occupations, but in other ways their labor market attributes resemble the native-born white population. Most importantly, immigrants have a range of human capital and skills that seem to be meeting the demands of the Philadelphia labor market.

Discussion

Recent immigration is changing greater Philadelphia. By 2006, more than half a million immigrants lived in greater Philadelphia, one-third in the city of Philadelphia and two-thirds in the surrounding metropolitan area. Nationally, immigration levels crested after 2000. By contrast, in greater Philadelphia, immigration picked up pace between 2000 and 2006, setting the region apart from other "former immigrant gateways." If current trends continue, metropolitan Philadelphia is poised to re-emerge as a major immigrant destination. Early results from the 2007 American Community Survey show a nationwide slowing trend in the pace of immigration. Metropolitan Philadelphia's foreign-born population seems to be leveling off as well, although it is unclear at this juncture what the near-term trends hold.

For both ordinary residents and local leaders accustomed to decades of stagnant growth of the foreign-born population, the size, features, and implications of this change remain hard to grasp.

The analysis in this report shows four salient features of greater Philadelphia's recent immigration that should shape a strategic response to ensure a welcoming environment that both attracts and retains immigrants for the mutual benefit of newcomers and receiving communities alike. These characteristics include: (1) the recent arrival of a majority of the region's immigrants and the fast-paced growth since 2000; (2) the diversity of immigrants from every region of the world and the range of skills they possess; (3) the dispersal of settlement within the city of Philadelphia and its surrounding jurisdictions; and (4) the crucial contribution of immigrants to Philadelphia's labor force across a range of occupational sectors.

Regional leaders should recognize that immigrants bring many positives to the region. First, immigrants have moderated population loss within the city of Philadelphia and contributed to population growth throughout the metropolitan area. Among the working-age population, the increase in immigrants is offsetting the declining number of native-born residents. With greater Philadelphia's aging native-born population, an adequate labor force—in both the present and future—depends on immigrants and their children. The fact that immigration to Philadelphia did not slow down after 2000 signifies a vibrant economy in which foreign-born workers fill expanding labor market niches, particularly in healthcare and pharmaceuticals, information technology, and various service occupations.

Second, immigrants bring fresh energy, entrepreneurship, and vibrancy to many parts of the region. They are breathing life into declining commercial areas, reopening storefronts, creating local jobs, and diversifying products and services available to residents. Immigrants are repopulating neighborhoods on the wane and reviving and sustaining housing markets. Across the region, they are helping to make greater Philadelphia a more global, cosmopolitan center, with stronger connections to economies and cultures abroad.

Third, the variety of motivations, skills, and backgrounds immigrants and refugees bring with them signify a new cohort that is likely to put down roots, much like their predecessors a century ago. Some

of them are physicians or engineers; others work in the back rooms of restaurants or drive taxis. Many have college degrees; many others have not completed the equivalent of high school. Some arrive with excellent English language ability; others are proficient only in their native languages. Both higher-skilled and lower-skilled immigrants find in the region a healthy mixture of economic opportunity, affordability, and quality of life that has put Philadelphia on the map as a new destination.

But Philadelphia's immigrants, for many of the same reasons cited above, also present challenges for policy makers, service providers, local governments and institutions, and residents.

Their diversity in language, education, economic resources, occupation, and culture represent different needs. As well, immigrants are entering into a context defined by deeply entrenched black-white relations and segregated geographies and economies. New tensions and conflicts have resulted, exemplified by a cheese steak stand's sign demanding that customers order in English and the beating of a young Liberian boy on his way home from school.

While sometimes tumultuous, the economic and social integration of immigrants is vital for the long-term well-being of greater Philadelphia. Recognizing that incorporating immigrants into the mix is a two-way process that places demands on established residents as well as newcomers is the best way to look at Philadelphia's future. On the part of immigrants, integration means learning English, partici-pating in the schools their children attend, and becoming part of the civic life of their neighborhoods. Within receiving communities, it means helping to ease immigrants into the broader community, which often requires institutional action and new public policies. How to facilitate the process remains a pressing question requiring much more attention than it has recently received.[31]

We offer three approaches for leaders and service providers across the entire Philadelphia region to enhance the integration experience for both immigrant newcomers and receiving communities and for developing a proactive stance toward immigrant newcomers.

Understand Changing Immigration Dynamics

With a growing foreign-born population, there is a need for a greater understanding of the changes and characteristics of immigrant communities across metropolitan Philadelphia and its many munici-palities. An influx of new immigrants into local communities often fosters inaccurate and negative stereotypes of immigrants. Common themes, for instance, include immigrants as economic competi-tion, as unwilling to learn English, as a drain on public resources with demands for welfare and medical care, as a vector for increased crime, and as a threat to American culture.

Local leaders hold the key to setting a welcoming environment for immigrants, refugees, and their children; for integrating them successfully in neighborhoods, schools, and the local economy; and for countering stereotypes. One counter to harmful stereotypes is the use of accurate data by local offi-cials, leaders of community-based organizations, and the media.

Immigration presents important opportunities for positive growth and development of communities on the receiving end. Yet it can be difficult to design programs or improve services without know-ing how many immigrant newcomers there are, where they came from, where different immigrant groups live, what skills they have, their language abilities, the number of their school-age children, and whether they have become U.S. citizens.

No existing source provides all the data needed for making good public policy decisions about metropolitan Philadelphia's immigrant population in one easily accessible place. With the changes to Philadelphia's foreign-born population occurring relatively quickly, accessing and providing good data and sound analysis is more important than ever.

Metropolitan Philadelphia would greatly benefit from creating a central data clearinghouse on immigrants in the region. Such an entity—the "Greater Philadelphia Immigrant Data Source"—would build on existing research and data and be the "go-to" place for reliable and timely data and reports on immigrants in the region.

A funded entity, likely housed within an existing institution, would ideally be tasked to collect data, prioritize reporting topics, and produce timely data intensive reports and online databases. Organizations across the region, both governmental and nongovernmental, could draw on the Immigration Data Source for planning on a range of issues—housing and labor markets, workforce development, healthcare, and families and children—to develop programs and services for immigrants with limited English proficiency. Many local organizations would benefit from having economic and

social indicators and other information on hand for grant writing purposes. Immigration reports originating from the Immigration Data Source could draw data from sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, area public schools, hospitals, and other local institutions.

In this way, political leaders could more effectively meet the needs of newcomers, take advantage of the opportunities that immigrants bring, as well as address the tensions their presence creates. Service providers could better assess the populations they serve—with an eye on both the short- and long-term.

Build English Skills and Increase Language Access

The ability to speak, read, and write in English is one of the most important skills for immigrant integration. For immigrants arriving to the United States without proficiency, gaining these skills is crucial for making it in the U.S. job market, for achieving higher education, and for being part of the larger American community. English language proficiency is a needed skill to communicate with doctors and teachers and neighbors and colleagues, and English ability is necessary to pass the U.S. citizenship test. As well, children in families that are linguistically disadvantaged may face educational disadvantages down the road.

But learning English is often difficult for adult immigrants, especially those who may hold multiple jobs and have limited time for studying in formal English classes.

Unlike other major receiving nations, the United States has no national program directing immigrant newcomers to English language training. This creates challenges for local areas as they must design and implement their own programs and policies to help immigrants learn English. A recent report by the Migration Policy Institute demonstrates that American English language training capacity is seriously deficient and lags recent increases in the population of low or non-English proficient persons.[32]

In addition to direct English learning classes for adults, many local areas are developing innovative ways to combine English language learning with other activities. For example, intergenerational family literacy programs promote activities that bring adults and children together to participate in English language learning, teach parents ways to support their children's educational experiences, support ESL and adult education, as well as early childhood education. Much of the leading work and best practice ideas in this area have been developed by the National Center for Family Literacy in Louisville, Kentucky.[33] In greater Philadelphia, immigrant organizations with family literacy programs include the New World association in Northeast Philadelphia, Acción Comunal Latinoamericana de Montgomery County (ACLAMO) with offices in Norristown and Pottstown, and various suburban school districts.

Vocational language training (sometimes called vocational English as a second language (VESL)) are programs that are located at or associated with the workplace and serve the purpose of helping those with limited English proficiency learn the language, including occupation-specific skills. These programs have been successful in various industries, including construction, healthcare, and food services. One example that is particularly relevant for Philadelphia's immigrant workers is the Medical Careers Project, operated by the International Institute of Minnesota, another area like Philadelphia that is currently receiving immigrants after a long hiatus. This program provides occupation-specific training for both entry-level positions and career advancement.[34] In Montgomery County, a joint venture of Penn Asian Services of Pennsylvania and Penn State Abington offers VESL classes for a nurse aide training program. More such programs could further support this and other fields.

While immigrants are on their way to gaining stronger language skills, local governments and non-profit agencies can reach out to them in their own languages. Indeed many service providers in the Philadelphia area have policies and practices in place, but these will be challenged as more immigrants arrive and with the diverse set of languages necessary.

Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter's June 2008 executive order instructing all city departments and agencies to implement a language access plan to increase the accessibility of city services for residents with limited English ability is a major step in this direction. This order, in time, will increase the availability of English language training; make public services accessible to non-English speakers; assure newcomers adequate public and private social services; connect them with potential employers; and resolve conflicts with established residents quickly and effectively.

Philadelphia can learn from other places with similar goals. In 2004, the District of Columbia passed a language access act designed to provide greater access to city services for limited English proficient residents. Housed in the Office of Human Rights (OHR) this law requires all government agencies and service programs with major public contact to provide written translation of vital documents into any non-English language spoken by the limited-English or non-English proficient population served.[35] Implementation for the program has been phased in by agencies over several years, and each has a designated language access staff position.

Recently, the District of Columbia's OHR produced "Know your Rights" cards in six languages that spell out what limited English speakers can expect to receive when dealing with a city agency in the way of interpretation and translation services, as well as how to make a complaint if those services are not received. Bilingual wallet-sized cards allow clients to show service providers they need language assistance when requesting services.

English language training is the single most important investment the region's local governments, philanthropies, nonprofits, and educational institutions can make in the mutually beneficial process of immigrant integration.

Immigrant Integration Should Be a Shared Regional Goal

Immigration is a metropolitan-wide issue. In Philadelphia and other metropolitan areas across the nation, immigrants no longer cluster in central cities. Like most of the American population, many immigrants have become suburban, spreading the challenge of providing them with everyday services in schools, hospitals, transportation, and housing throughout the region. In greater Philadelphia, twice as many immigrants live outside the city as within it. Like their neighbors, many live in one municipality, work in another; and seek assistance, worship, and shop in a third area.

Policies and programs confined to individual localities will not serve the greater needs of immigrants or facilitate their economic and social integration. As in so many public tasks, the fragmentation of metropolitan areas into small, competitive municipalities divides resources, reinforces inequities, and impedes effective policy.

Overcoming historic fragmentation by developing a regional response to immigration poses a hard but necessary challenge. Metropolitan Philadelphia would benefit from developing a regional "Delaware Valley Council on Immigration." Drawing from leaders in local governments, non-profits, faith-based and community-based organizations, philanthropies, academic institutions, advocacy groups, and the business community from municipalities across the region, this council would have two overarching objectives.

The first objective of the Council would would be that it serves as an advisory body to develop a regional plan for meeting immigrants' needs and facilitating integration. Since immigration is a relatively new phenomenon in many parts of Philadelphia, many areas may not have the experience that receiving institutions in more established immigrant gateways have. Strategies for immigrant integration run through a range of issues, including promoting English language learning, providing educational opportunities, encouraging naturalization, promoting access to government services, and providing opportunities to engage in civic life.

The second objective of the Council would be to build networks between the various agencies and organizations across the region. Working from the base of organizations that have experience managing immigration, the Council would identify and prioritize an integration agenda, identify best practices, coordinate among entities, and leverage resources.

One model that exists at the state level in Illinois could be scaled down to suit metropolitan Philadelphia. In 2005, the state of Illinois initiated a public-private partnership to provide a "coherent, strategic, and proactive state government approach to immigrant integration." This pioneering initiative has a state taskforce, which is responsible for examining ways the state government can more systematically address the changing immigrant population. It also has a policy council, which includes leaders from across nongovernmental sectors. The joint recommendations prioritize programs that help immigrants become U.S. citizens, address barriers related to language and skill acquisition, ensure access to services and opportunities offered by the state, and that create local area "welcoming centers." Working from the Illinois model, Governor Deval Patrick of Massachusetts recently launched a similar initiative in July of 2008.

The Delaware Valley Council on Immigration could have a regional equivalent to the Illinois state taskforce, drawing on leaders from the cities, counties and other municipalities in the region. Immigrants in the Philadelphia region would benefit from a coordinated, systematic, targeted approach that offers guidance to agencies and organizations, some of which may be operating in an ad hoc way.

Already underway is New Jersey Governor Jon Corzine's Blue Ribbon Advisory Panel on Immigrant Policy. Signed in June of 2007 as an executive order, the Panel's mission is to identify and study immigrant integration and develop recommendations for a comprehensive and strategic statewide approach to successfully integrate immigrants. Given that metropolitan Philadelphia includes important jurisdictions in New Jersey, it would be beneficial to make necessary connections and move forward together.

Concluding Observations

This report has stressed immigration's contributions to the region's labor force and productivity. It has also emphasized the challenges posed by so many newcomers and the responsiveness needed in dealing with this population within the context of a region with a large U.S.-born minority population. But it should also remind us of immigrants' important historical and contemporary contributions to local life in metropolitan Philadelphia: the revitalization of moribund neighborhoods and cities; the invigoration of cultural life; and the infusion of cosmopolitanism. Immigration explodes parochialism by linking metropolitan Philadelphia to the wider world. It is the human face of globalization—the face of the 21st century.

This report has also offered an overview of the trends and prospects for maximizing the potential benefits of immigration, and regional approaches for meeting the tough challenges inherent in greater Philadelphia's new demography. But it is only a first small step. Much remains to be done. The tasks ahead are exciting, hard—and urgent.

	Foreign Born						
	1950*	**1960***	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2006**
Philadelphia	237,795	178,427	121,217	107,951	104,814	137,205	157,661
PA Suburbs	96,439	116,933	76,663	90,640	98,292	147,999	186,944
Bucks County, PA	N/A	N/A	13,815	17,856	21,908	35,442	48,359
Chester County, PA	N/A	N/A	7,467	10,859	13,240	23,770	34,738
Delaware County, PA	N/A	N/A	26,923	27,746	26,771	36,635	42,847
Montgomery County, PA	N/A	N/A	28,458	34,179	36,373	52,152	61,000
NJ Suburbs (Camden Metropolitan Division)	N/A	N/A	34,188	44,067	48,083	70,597	103,684
Burlington County, NJ	N/A	N/A	12,145	18,131	18,931	26,681	39,886
Camden County, NJ	N/A	N/A	17,051	19,695	22,531	35,350	50,503
Gloucester County, NJ	N/A	N/A	4,992	6,241	6,621	8,566	13,295
Wilmington Metropolitan Division	13,920	14,280	15,758	17,156	19,628	36,028	56,028
New Castle, DE	N/A	N/A	13,815	14,733	17,280	32,841	51,459
Salem County, NJ	N/A	N/A	1,319	1,429	1,316	1,620	2,376
Cecil County, MD	N/A	N/A	624	994	1,032	1,567	2,193
TOTAL	348,154	309,640	247,826	259,814	270,817	391,829	504,317

	Foreign Born						
	1950*	**1960***	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2006**
Philadelphia	N/A	N/A	6.2	6.4	6.6	9.0	10.9
PA Suburbs	N/A	N/A	4.0	4.5	4.6	6.3	7.7
Bucks County, PA	N/A	N/A	3.3	3.7	4.0	5.9	7.8
Chester County, PA	N/A	N/A	2.7	3.4	3.5	5.5	7.2
Delaware County, PA	N/A	N/A	4.5	5.0	4.9	6.7	7.7
Montgomery County, PA	N/A	N/A	4.6	5.3	5.4	7.0	7.9
NJ Suburbs (Camden Metropolitan Division)	N/A	N/A	3.6	4.3	4.3	5.9	8.3
Burlington County, NJ	N/A	N/A	3.8	5.0	4.8	6.3	8.9
Camden County, NJ	N/A	N/A	3.7	4.2	4.5	6.9	9.8
Gloucester County, NJ	N/A	N/A	2.9	3.1	2.9	3.4	4.7
Wilmington Metropolitan Division	N/A	N/A	3.2	3.9	4.2	5.9	7.7
New Castle, DE	N/A	N/A	3.6	3.7	3.9	6.6	9.8
Salem County, NJ	N/A	N/A	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.5	3.6
Cecil County, MD	N/A	N/A	1.2	1.6	1.4	1.8	2.2
N/A	N/A						
TOTAL	9.1	6.8	4.7	5.0	5.0	6.9	8.6

PA Suburbs total includes NJ Suburbs

Source: Brookings analysis of US Census Bureau Decennial and American Community Survey data

Philadelphia Metro Area, 1950-2006

	Percent Change			
1970-1980	**1980-1990**	**1990-2000**	**2000-2006**	**1970-2006**
-10.9	-2.9	30.9	14.9	30.1
18.2	8.4	50.6	26.3	143.9
29.3	22.7	61.8	36.4	250.0
45.4	21.9	79.5	46.1	365.2
3.1	-3.5	36.8	17.0	59.1
20.1	6.4	43.4	17.0	114.4
28.9	9.1	46.8	46.9	203.3
49.3	4.4	40.9	49.5	228.4
15.5	14.4	56.9	42.9	196.2
25.0	6.1	29.4	55.2	166.3
8.9	14.4	83.6	55.5	255.6
6.6	17.3	90.1	56.7	272.5
8.3	-7.9	23.1	46.7	80.1
59.3	3.8	51.8	39.9	251.4
4.8	**4.2**	**44.7**	**28.7**	**103.5**

	Percent Point Change			
1970-1980	**1980-1990**	**1990-2000**	**2000-2006**	**1970-2006**
0.2	0.2	2.4	1.8	4.7
0.5	0.0	1.8	1.3	3.7
0.4	0.3	1.9	1.8	4.4
0.7	0.1	2.0	1.7	4.5
0.5	-0.1	1.8	1.1	3.2
0.7	0.1	1.6	0.9	3.3
0.7	0.0	1.7	2.3	4.7
1.2	-0.2	1.5	2.5	5.1
0.4	0.3	2.5	2.8	6.0
0.2	-0.2	0.5	1.4	1.8
0.7	0.3	1.7	1.7	4.5
0.1	0.2	2.7	3.2	6.2
0.0	-0.2	0.5	1.0	1.4
0.5	-0.2	0.4	0.4	1.0
0.4	**0.0**	**1.9**	**1.7**	**3.9**

Endnotes

1. See Daniel Amsterdam, "Immigration to the City of Philadelphia: An Economic and Historical Overview," unpublished working paper, Philadelphia Migration Project, 2008. Available from author.

2. Hazleton passed one of the first set of local ordinances intended to prohibit the employment and "harboring" of undocumented immigrants.

3. The American Community Survey is an integral part of the Census Bureau's revised Decennial Census program. It is intended to replace the Decennial Census long form and provide users with more current estimates on a yearly basis as opposed to once every ten years. Approximately three million households across the United States in every county are surveyed each year and the topics covered reflect those covered by the Census 2000 long form. However, the ACS will require five years of data collection to approach the accuracy and size of the data previously collected from the Decennial Census long form which was an approximate 1 in 6 sample of all households. See "American Community Survey 2005, Technical Document" http://www.higheredinfo.org/analyses/2005%20ACS%20Technical%20Issues.doc.

4. The estimate of the number of foreign-born residing in the Philadelphia metropolitan area was 504,317 in 2006 and 508,977 in 2007, a difference that is not statistically significant.

5. The city of Philadelphia and Philadelphia County are coterminous. Both Camden city and Wilmington city are located within Camden County and New Castle County, respectively. The current metropolitan area definition is used consistently throughout this analysis.

6. Singer examined immigration trends across urban areas during the 20th century and developed a typology of immigrant gateways. These six types of gateways depict immigration history and trends, and to a larger extent social, market, and political contexts. Audrey Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004).

7. However, relative to its peers at the time, Philadelphia's proportion foreign-born was considerably lower at 22 percent. New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, and San Francisco all had populations that were more than one-third foreign-born. The share of the population that was foreign-born peaked in Philadelphia in 1870 at 27 percent.

8. See Audrey Singer, "Twenty-First Century Gateways: An Introduction," In Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell, eds., *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America,* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2008).

9. Singer, 2004.

10. If Puerto Rican residents, who are U.S. citizens, but represent the region's largest in-migration from outside the continental U.S., are added to the foreign-born population, metropolitan Philadelphia moves up in rank to 13th. The region is home to the third largest Puerto Rican population among U.S metros, after New York and Orlando. Puerto Ricans now make up about half of greater Philadelphia's Hispanic population.

11. Until 1882, there was a substantial Chinese immigration to California, and Japanese and Filipino immigration was also sizable until it was curtailed by legislation.

12. For a rich overview of immigrant and refugee communities in Philadelphia see, Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, "Immigrant Philadelphia: From Cobblestone Streets to Korean Soap Operas" (2004).

13. While Mexicans are a relatively new presence in the region and rank high among immigrant groups in terms of absolute numbers, many observers might expect there to be even more than are present in the Census estimates. While we have no way of estimating how many immigrants–from any origin group–avoid participating in Census and survey questionnaires, we do know that newcomers with limited English proficiency are likely to be undercounted (See Paul Siegel, Elizabeth Martin, and Rosalind Bruno, "Language Use and Linguistic Isolation: Historical Data and Methodological Issues," 2001, accessed September 29, 2008 at www.census.gov/population/socdemo/language/li-final.pdf)

14. Philadelphia ranked 14th among all metropolitan areas in the number of refugees resettled in the 1983-2004 period. Note: refugee data come from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. See Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson, "From 'There' to 'Here:' Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).

15. Southeast Asian refugees began arriving in 1975, prior to the existing Refugee Act of 1980. The United States has since resettled over 1.4 million Indochinese.

16. Michael B. Katz, Mathew Creighton, Daniel Amsterdam, and Merlin Chowkwanyan, "Immigration and the New Metropolitan Geography" (forthcoming; manuscript available from authors, 2008).

17. Camden city's foreign-born population growth has been relatively strong since 1990, more than tripling in size by 2006. However, this growth was not enough to offset total population loss on the order of 23 percent.

18. Judith Goode and Jo Anne Schneider, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

19. Katz, Creighton, Amsterdam, and Chowkwanyan, 2008.

20. The Census question that these trends are derived from asks about entry to the United States, not to the Philadelphia region. Therefore, immigrants in Philadelphia in 2006 may have arrived to the United States and lived elsewhere first before moving to Philadelphia.

21. In general, applicants must be 18 or over; have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence; have resided in the United States for 5 years (3 years if married to U.S. citizen or 1 year for Armed Services expedite); have demonstrated "good moral character;" demonstrate attachment to the U.S. constitution, English language ability, knowledge of U.S. government and history; and take an oath of allegiance to the United States.

22. We estimate the second generation by identifying children under 18 living in households with one or both parents. Those with one or both parents foreign-born are considered the children of immigrants, regardless of their own birthplace. In addition to those children under 18, there are an unknown number of those older than 18 residing in the region. They are more difficult to estimate because they are more likely to be living in independent households, apart from their parents.

23. Approximately one-fifth of the second generation is foreign-born.

24. Michael Fix, Margie McHugh, Aaron Matteo Terrazas, and Laureen Laglagaron, *Los Angeles on the Leading Edge: Immigrant Integration Indicators and their Policy Implications* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2008)

25. This can be interpreted as a delicate situation among U.S.-born minorities in Philadelphia, as many are working class and poor and are limited in terms of their own economic mobility. This thrusts immigrants into a suspicious category of workers, those that compete with minorities who are citizens by birth.

26. However, among Puerto Ricans and native-born blacks, employment rates are lower at 54 percent and 60 percent respectively.

27. Again, these rates are quite different from native-born Puerto Rican and black rates—for unemployment 7 percent and 10 percent, respectively, and for non-labor force participation 35 percent and 31 percent.

28. We include comparisons to U.S.-born blacks and Puerto Ricans where relevant in the text throughout this section. However, other race groups (Asian, other) are statistically small so we do not calculate similar statistics for those groups.

29. Thirty-four percent of immigrants in the metropolitan area have household incomes that are less than twice the official poverty line, compared to 26 percent of the native-born population. Among native-born blacks, that share is 48 percent; among Puerto Ricans it is 60 percent. These rates are higher for city residents across all groups.

30. **Top Ten Occupations for Native-Born Workers, by Selected Race/Ethnic Group, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2006**

White*	Black*	Puerto Rican
Secretary	Home health aide	Cashier
Registered nurse	Cashier	Janitor
Misc. manager, incl. postal service workers	Secretary	Home health aide
Elementary/Middle School Teacher	Retail salesperson	Secretary
Retail sales manager	Customer service representative	Customer service representative
Retail salesperson	Janitor	Truck driver
Accountant	Security guard	Grounds maintenance worker
Wholesale sales representative	Office manager	Freight laborer
Truck driver	Freight laborer	Retail salesperson
Customer service representative	Maid, housekeeper	Construction laborer
Percent of all occupations 23.3	**Percent of all occupations 26.0**	**Percent of all occupations 28.3**

NonHispanic

31. For a comprehensive discussion of strategies for immigrant integration, including examples of best practices, see Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees, "Investing in Our Communities: Strategies for Immigrant Integration: A Toolkit for Grantmakers" (Sebastopol, CA: Grantmakers Concerned with immigrants and Refugees, 2006)

32. See Margie McHugh, Julia Gelatt and Michael Fix, "Adult English Language Instruction in the United States: Determining Need and Investing Wisely," (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2007).

33. See the National Center for Family Literacy website www.famlit.org/site/c.gtJWJdMQIsE/b.1204561/k.BD7C/Home.htm (accessed July 2, 2008).

34. For more on the International Institute of Minnesota, see www.iim.nonprofitoffice.com/index.

35. For more information on the policy, see the DC Language Access Fact sheet on the DC government website http://ohr.dc.gov/ohr/frames.asp?doc=/ohr/lib/ohr/la667c~1.pdf (accessed july 2, 2008).

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