AN ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK FOR DEVELOPING AN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION STRATEGY FOR LOS ANGELES COUNTY

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A Report to the California Community Foundation from the National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy of the Migration Policy Institute

DECEMBER 2007
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report from the Migration Policy Institute’s National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy to the California Community Foundation (CCF) presents some of the major demographic and other trends within the immigrant population in Los Angeles and nationwide, as well as selected challenges and opportunities that CCF faces in considering whether and how it might take action to address issues of immigrant integration.

I. INTEGRATION IMPERATIVES

There are a number of strong imperatives for the public and private sectors to take a more proactive approach to immigrant integration:

- **Promoting the region and the nation’s economic self-interest** as the baby boom generation retires, as the growth of the native-born labor force stalls, and as global competition for labor intensifies. Given current and projected labor market challenges, the nation cannot afford to have a substantial share of its workforce poorly educated and unable to meet the economy’s escalating demands for high worker productivity. Sustaining productivity and paying our health and Social Security bills will require that this largely younger first- and second-generation population succeeds in schools and the labor market and becomes deeply invested in the American community.

- **Addressing the mismatch** between the United States’ relatively generous immigration policies and its ad hoc and underfunded immigrant integration policies. Despite the transformative nature of immigrant demographic trends in recent decades, the integration of immigrants remains an afterthought in policy discussions and could be considered one of the most overlooked issues in American governance. This inattention to immigrant integration has meant that few resources have been dedicated to the issue, the institutional infrastructure is skeletal, and there are few strong advocates who are steeped in the issue.

- **Countering the decline of mediating institutions** that have traditionally served to advance immigrant integration, such as urban schools, unions, large US-based manufacturers, and political parties. In addition to the decline of institutions that helped in the past, new policies introduced by welfare and illegal immigration reform in 1996 have removed key supports should immigrants fall on hard times, barred legal immigrants from the social safety net, and shifted even greater responsibility for their care to the states. Further, these changes all come at a time of government disinvestment in many social welfare programs.

- **Responding to the collapse of comprehensive immigration reform legislation** in the US Congress. Although meaningful integration strategies were largely left out of proposals for comprehensive immigration reform, the enactment of a broad legalization program would have brought millions of unauthorized immigrants out of the shadows and allowed for their formal integration into local communities.
The collapse of comprehensive immigration reform legislation in the summer of 2007 presents extremely difficult integration challenges for Los Angeles County, with its large and settled unauthorized immigrant population. Their mobility is limited, and the integrating resources that might have been provided through a federal impact aid program will not be forthcoming.

II. POPULATION AND OTHER TRENDS THAT SHAPE THE INTEGRATION CONVERSATION

A) Scale Issues in Los Angeles and Limited Institutional Capacity
One obvious challenge to immigrant integration in Los Angeles is simply the scale of the enterprise. Almost half of the Los Angeles workforce is foreign born. (Nationwide the share is 15 percent.) Over 40 percent of all students in Los Angeles schools are English Language Learners (ELLs). At close to 330,000 their ELL enrollment is almost three times larger than the school system with the next highest number of ELL children in the United States. Similarly, the unauthorized population of Los Angeles (roughly 1 million) is almost twice the size of the unauthorized population in the metropolitan area with the next highest number of unauthorized immigrants in the United States.

Despite the immensity of these scale issues, there have been no major dedicated institutions of government to coordinate, monitor, and advocate for immigrants and the communities in which they reside. While some state and city governments in the United States have acted to address these governance and service challenges, neither the State of California nor Los Angeles has yet done so.

B) Large, But Comparatively Settled, Unauthorized Population
Few challenges to integrating the nation’s and the county’s immigrant population are greater than those posed by the number of unauthorized immigrants. Recent studies find that unauthorized status generates negative spillover effects on both the noncitizen and citizen children in households with unauthorized parents.

However, Los Angeles not only faces unique challenges, but unique opportunities as well. Two characteristics of Los Angeles’ unauthorized population stand out in addition to its size. First is a comparatively low rate of growth compared to the nation. Second is its comparatively settled nature with a significant share having lived in the United States for 10 years or more. Both characteristics should mitigate the integration challenges to which a legalization program would give rise.

C) Refugee Declines
Nationwide, refugee admissions have remained low with far-ranging implications for the integrating institutions that have administered the refugee resettlement program.

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future of refugee resettlement in the United States may hold profound implications for Los Angeles with its large population of Iraqis.

D) Rise in the Number of Naturalized Citizens
At the same time, the share of immigrants in Los Angeles who are naturalized citizens is rapidly rising — a positive indicator of current and future integration, given the avenues to civic engagement that are open to citizens (voting, jury duty, holding public office) but closed to many noncitizens.

E) Lawful Permanent Residents Who Are Eligible to Naturalize
Three million lawful permanent residents (LPRs) in California were eligible to naturalize in 2005 but had not done so; an additional 736,000 will become eligible by 2010. We know from national studies that over half of these “eligibles” are Limited English Proficient (LEP), have lower educational attainment, and have more limited incomes than naturalized immigrants. Given recent changes to the naturalization process, they will face a more difficult citizenship test and a much more expensive application fee.

F) Diversity
Los Angeles has a diverse population. In 2005, Mexicans accounted for less than half of immigrants (42.9 percent), with the next largest populations including (in order of size), El Salvador (6.7 percent), the Philippines (6.3 percent), China (5.8 percent), Guatemala (5.1 percent), Korea (4.6 percent), Vietnam (3.0 percent), Iran (2.6 percent), Taiwan (1.9 percent), and Armenia (1.5 percent). The challenge of integration, then, falls to a wide range of both established and newer, emerging communities.

III. IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION AND OTHER TRENDS ON KEY SERVICE AREAS

A) Implications of Shifts in Legal Status of Immigrants in Los Angeles
Generally speaking, the changing dynamics within the immigrant population in Los Angeles may be opening opportunities to redeploy and better target investments and community assets. The noncitizen population is falling; the number of new immigrants is declining; and the size of the unauthorized population is stable. The first generation is gradually ceding ground to a second generation that will be composed of citizens who, at minimum, will enjoy the same rights as other citizens. If history is any guide, their incomes should rise along with educational achievement and the quality of jobs. But, while analyses of the second generation are generally hopeful, they find that Mexicans and Latinos continue to lag significantly when it comes to college attendance and completion — important, obvious targets for public investment.³

B) Adult English Language Instruction
Language represents a powerful barrier to integration nationwide and particularly in areas with highly concentrated immigrant communities such as Los Angeles. Two-and-a-half million Angelenos are LEP. According to our analysis, there are roughly 1 million adult

LPRs who are LEP and 700,000 LEPs among the unauthorized. While Los Angeles receives substantial state support to provide adult English language instruction through its adult education system and community colleges, concerns with issues such as program accessibility, relevance, student persistence and performance, and the ability of current providers to meet the demand that would be triggered should a legalization program be enacted in coming years must be addressed if the needs of adult LEP individuals are to be met.

The issues raised by the provision of language instruction go beyond simple supply to include the nature of the adult English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction that is provided. While program offerings may be quite varied and robust, to immigrant students, they often appear as an unintegrated mix of basic English, civics, citizenship, workplace and family, health, or financial literacy classes. Further, many immigrants seek classes that will improve their job prospects and earnings, but instruction geared to vocational English and workforce skills is usually in short supply.

As the data presented in this report suggest, there may also be a mismatch between the basic English proficiency levels taught in most classes and the higher proficiency levels and differing instructional needs of many adult LEPs.

C) Recognition of Foreign Credentials
Despite popular assumptions that highly educated immigrants do not pose a challenge to immigrant integration, high education qualifications do not appear to guarantee immigrants’ economic integration. Our research finds that 43 percent of recent Latin American immigrant workers to California who entered the country after they were 25, with a bachelor’s degree or higher, were employed in unskilled jobs. Much talent, then, is going unused. Often, the culprit is an inefficient system for translating foreign credentials into qualifications that US employers understand.

D) Poverty and Public Benefits
While poverty rates have stopped rising for immigrants, they have been increasing among the native population — a worrying sign, perhaps, of the stalled progress of the second generation and one that calls for further analysis. Moreover, despite popular assumptions to the contrary, low-income LPR families have lower participation rates than citizen families in three federal public benefits program: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Food Stamps, and Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Notably, LPR families have higher participation rates than citizen families in Medicaid, in part because the low-skill jobs they hold do not offer insurance.

E) Health Care and Uninsurance
Indeed, in many ways the data on health coverage we array nationwide and for Los Angeles are particularly disheartening. Nationwide, low-income noncitizen children in noncitizen families were three times more likely than low-income citizen children with US-born parents to be uninsured. Low-income legal noncitizen children and refugee children were twice as likely as their citizen counterparts to be uninsured, nationally. In

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4 This analysis includes both legal and unauthorized immigrants.
Los Angeles, noncitizens are 21 percent of the total population but they make up 44 percent of the County’s uninsured.

**F) ELLs and PreK-12 Education**

Looking to schools, while the number of ELL students in Los Angeles is declining, their number and characteristics underscore the challenges of meeting their needs. Eighty percent of ELLs in elementary schools and 49 percent of ELLs in secondary schools were born in the United States and were presumably educated in US schools. The predominance of the “long-term LEPs” reflects a breakdown in instruction and the need for accountability. At the same time, large shares of foreign-born elementary and secondary students arrived within the past three years. Thus, the ELL population in Los Angeles and the United States is dominated by two subpopulations: the recently arrived and long-term LEPs. Both pose difficult and distinct challenges for schools, challenges that are arguably complicated by California’s Proposition 227 barring bilingual education.

But there are opportunities here as well. Our analysis of the National Assessment of Educational Progress finds that “former” ELLs perform as well as their non-ELL counterparts. In other words, for many students, ELL *is* a transitional status. The key is to determine which practices promote success for transitioning out of ELL status and replicating those successes for all children. The powerful imperatives of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act to identify and serve these children may create a broad, and perhaps new, receptiveness to experimentation in general, and to multigenerational parent initiatives in particular. Our own research on immigrant integration has made clear that many complex issues strongly need addressing: the development of reliable assessments, valid accommodations, teacher supply and quality, challenging and reliable curricula, and parent involvement strategies that can serve both education and civic engagement goals.

**IV. POTENTIAL DIRECTIONS: INTEGRATION POLICY AND PROGRAM INITIATIVES THAT INCORPORATE CIVIC ENGAGEMENT**

Looking back over the data in this report, it appears to us that the decline in noncitizens, the rise in the naturalized population in Los Angeles, and the growth in the second generation all seem to point toward promoting new strategies for civic engagement within immigrant communities. The strategies involve several types of investments in civic engagement. One set of investments would lead to greater political engagement through promoting naturalization, registration and voting. A second would focus on language and civics instruction. The third would focus on the year-round civic engagement of immigrants in their communities on issues that are important to them, most notably quality educational services for their children, access to affordable health care, and means by which they can improve their job skills and earnings.

In the final section of this report, we describe a number of differing national and regional models of immigrant integration and civic engagement strategies. For the California Community Foundation, an immigrant integration strategy that builds on demography,
borrows from model national and local policies and programs, and catalyzes informed engagement to address key community needs could incorporate a number of elements:

- **An express integration policy** led by a partnership between, for example, the Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs (should it be recreated), philanthropy, business and nonprofit groups that, similar to efforts in Illinois and some cities, promotes language access, civic engagement, and language acquisition. The initiative would respond to scale issues and the changing character of the population documented above, and it would anticipate piecemeal or comprehensive immigration reform.

- **A leadership development** strategy aimed at both immigrant community leaders and civil servants who work on immigrant integration issues (similar to the strategy adopted by Santa Clara County).

- Immigrant integration-focused **community planning grants** along the lines provided to local government and community collaboratives by the Colorado Trust and the “state integration councils” incorporated into the most recent version of comprehensive immigration reform legislation. Plainly, program support could follow planning grants.

- Deeper investments in institutions that **promote naturalization, registration, and voting**, with a focus on providing language and civics instruction to the 2.7 million California residents who are eligible to naturalize but have not done so and who face a tougher citizenship test and higher fees.

- Ideally, these naturalization and voter engagement efforts should be connected to, or provide the foundation for, initiatives that promote year-round engagement of community members in issues that are important to them. These could include: 1) **parent involvement programs** that serve both school reform and civic engagement purposes and leverage the incentives built into NCLB; 2) programs that address the **limited capacity of language instruction for adults for civic- and workplace-related purposes and also the quality of adult language instruction**; and 3) a sustained investment in health care, with a special focus on **engaging immigrant communities in health care quality, access, and affordability issues**.
INTRODUCTION: IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY

While our nation’s immigration policies and debates have traditionally been concerned almost entirely with questions of who, how many, and what kinds of immigrants should be admitted to the country, immigrant integration policies — the ultimate test of whether immigration succeeds — are skeletal, ad hoc, and underfunded. Immigrant integration is a complex phenomenon that can be understood and described in many ways. We define integration broadly as the process by which immigrant newcomers achieve economic mobility and social inclusion in the larger society. It implies a two-way process that involves changes on the part not just of immigrants but also of members of the receiving community. Although policies governing the admission of immigrants to the United States have traditionally been a federal prerogative, immigrant integration has historically occurred at the local level — primarily through the efforts of families, employers, schools, churches, communities, and local benevolent societies.¹

In light of recent political developments at the national level — including the collapse, in June 2007, of comprehensive immigration reform proposals in the US Senate — it is likely that local communities will continue to play the lead role in immigrant integration. In this paper, we outline some of what we view to be the most critical national trends in immigrant integration in the United States, citing in some instances parallel or distinct trends in Los Angeles and in California. In some cases, we draw on existing data and analysis. In others, such as the estimates of demand for adult English language instruction, we conducted fresh analyses for this report. We conclude by synthesizing the

broad trends that any integration agenda in Los Angeles should address, referencing a number of integration policy models and practices that the California Community Foundation might consider further as it proceeds with its deliberations. The referenced programs and models are highlighted both in the relevant chapters as well as in the final chapter of this report. Ultimately, our objective is to provide an analytical framework rather than provide targeted recommendations. This report should assist the Foundation with framing a discussion of possible directions that it might take vis-à-vis immigrant integration, and serve as background for a more detailed portrait of Los Angeles as well as for regional stakeholder conversations.
CHAPTER 1. THE NATIONAL FRAMEWORK: INTEGRATION IMPERATIVES AND TRENDS

There are, we think, four strong imperatives for taking a more proactive approach to immigrant integration: (1) economic self-interest given evolving demographic and global economic trends; (2) an institutional mismatch between immigration and immigrant integration policies in the United States; (3) the decline of mediating institutions that have traditionally served to advance immigrant integration; and (4) the recent collapse of comprehensive immigration reform in the US Congress.

Economic Self-Interest

The nation’s integration policy — like its immigration policy — should not only flow from its charitable values, but also from deeply self-interested motives, as the US faces the convergence of several demographic and global economic trends:

- the aging of the baby boom generation and its impending retirement;
- no real growth within the prime-age native labor force;
- intense new competition in globalized markets.

Assuming current immigration levels continue, immigrants will account for approximately half of the growth of the working-age population in the United States between now and 2015, and immigrants will account for all labor force growth from 2015 to 2025, when the share of the native-born in the working-age population is projected to decline.6 As the native-born population ages, immigrants will increasingly constitute the productive portion of the US population. Concurrent to this demographic

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shift, global competition for high-skilled laborers has intensified. Only 9 percent of the world’s engineering graduates worldwide come from the United States, and US high school students had among the lowest math and sciences scores of the 30 member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Europe produced twice as many science and engineering PhDs in 2000 as the United States, while Asia has taken the lead in graduating science and engineering students. If current trends continue, 90 percent of the world’s PhD-holding scientists and engineers will live in Asia by 2010.\textsuperscript{7} In a global knowledge economy, high-skilled immigrants will remain vital to economic sustainability in the United States, California, and the Los Angeles region. Immigrants are also vital to other, lower-skilled segments of the Los Angeles economy such as transportation, entertainment, logistics, and agriculture.

\textbf{Institutional Mismatch}

A second reason to confront our integration challenges is the mismatch between the nation’s immigration policies — which, however broken, are on the whole comparatively generous — and the United States’ immigrant integration policies. There is no national office charged with immigrant integration to guide policy and, in the absence of congressional action, integration policies fall, by default, to an increasingly restive set of state and local governments. California, with the nation’s largest immigrant population, has no office dedicated to immigrants, despite the recommendations of a June 2002 Little

\textsuperscript{7} Doris Meissner, Deborah W. Meyers, Demetrios Papademetriou, and Michael Fix, \textit{Immigration and America’s Future: A New Chapter} (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2006).
Hoover Commission report. At the Los Angeles city level, efforts to reestablish a Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs are only now getting underway. In sum, in an era of high, sustained immigration, little formal or express attention is given to the integration of immigrants or their children in local, state, or national policy.

Decline in Mediating Institutions

The neglect on the part of policymakers and federal agencies is particularly relevant given the recent decline of other institutions that have historically been central to immigrant integration, including unions, manufacturing firms, urban schools, churches, and local political party machines. For example, the share of foreign-born wage and salary workers who belong to unions fell between 1996 and 2006, and immigrant workers remain underrepresented in manufacturing, construction, and other labor unions.

The Collapse of Comprehensive Immigration Reform

The recent collapse of comprehensive immigration reform in the United States Senate will certainly complicate the business of immigrant integration, slowing progress for communities with large unauthorized populations and many mixed-status families. While it is hard to make predictions, the defeat does not bode well for the important piecemeal reforms that were included in the bill and might have provided some federal action to facilitate the integration of certain immigrant subgroups. These include the

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Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act (which would offer a path to legalization to students who were brought to the United States by their illegally resident parents) and the Agricultural Job Opportunities, Benefits, and Security (AgJOBS) bill (which would reform the temporary worker program for perishable crop agriculture and include a legalization program). In fact, the Senate recently rejected the DREAM Act in a 52-44 vote that fell short of the 60 votes needed to bring the bill to the Senate floor for debate.\(^{10}\)

The failure of comprehensive immigration reform also removes a powerful impetus for this large population to learn English as legalizing immigrants would have been compelled to pass the naturalization test in English in order to remain in the United States. Although the provisions were in a formative state, the collapse removes, for the foreseeable future, any prospect of substantial “impact aid” for state and local governments for providing health or language services to the unauthorized population. The defeat of comprehensive immigration reform holds powerful implications for Los Angeles County with its estimated unauthorized population of 1 million.\(^{11}\) Ultimately, the failure of immigration reform will only make the legal and resource challenges of immigrant integration more difficult at the state and local levels.

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\(^{11}\) Karina Fortuny, Randy Capps and Jeffrey Passel, “The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles County, and the United States” (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2007).
Summary: The National Framework

The logic of focusing on immigrant integration originates from the need to respond to powerful, global economic forces including

- the aging of the baby boom generation;
- no growth in the non-elderly share of the native work force;
- intense new competition in globalized labor markets.

A more active focus on integration should also attempt to address

- the mismatch between our comprehensive immigration policies and our ad hoc and under-funded integration policies;
- the decline of important mediating institutions such as unions and urban schools;
- the collapse of immigration reform in the US Congress, which leaves state and local governments with large unauthorized populations but no new federal support to respond to their needs.

Investment implications: Private organizations can encourage reticent or resource-poor state and local governments to examine the challenges and opportunities that immigration poses to their communities, and support efforts to fill agency coordination or service gaps. The long history of locally driven immigrant integration efforts demonstrates how private organizations can target their efforts to change their communities.
CHAPTER 2. IMMIGRATION TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES AND LOS ANGELES

The challenges and opportunities of integration are shaped by three immigration-driven demographic changes: (1) high and shifting flows, (2) the increasing dominance of the second generation, and (3) changes in the immigrant population’s legal status.

High Flows

In some ways, the map below (Figure 1) captures these flows at a glance. It reveals that, as of 2007, almost half of the metropolitan areas in the world with 1 million or more immigrants, including Los Angeles, are in the United States. Further, these US destinations are not all traditional gateway cities: They now include the Washington, DC, and the Dallas metropolitan areas, for example.

Figure 1. Cities with 1 Million or More Foreign-Born Residents

Let us put the power of these national flows differently:

- One in eight US residents are immigrants (12 to 13 percent)
- Children of immigrants are 27 percent of all US children age 18 and under
- Children of immigrants make up 30 percent of all low-income children (i.e., children living in families with incomes under 200 percent of the federal poverty line)

Nationwide, 75 percent of the children of immigrants are US born and are citizens. Almost two-thirds of children with one or more unauthorized parents are US citizens. Among children of immigrants under age six, 93 percent are US citizens. These citizen children enjoy full legal rights to most public benefit and service programs, such as the State Child Health Insurance Program (SCHIP).

**Immigration to Los Angeles.** A look at immigration flows to Los Angeles reveals a somewhat different picture. According to the 2006 American Community Survey, there are approximately 3.5 million foreign born residents in Los Angeles County. They represent nearly 36 percent of the county’s total population — a rate three times higher than the nation as a whole (see Figure 2).
Figure 2. Population by Nativity, 2006

Los Angeles has a diverse population. In 2005, Mexicans accounted for less than half of immigrants (42.9 percent), with the next largest populations including (in order of size), El Salvador (6.7 percent), the Philippines (6.3 percent), China (5.8 percent), Guatemala (5.1 percent), Korea (4.6 percent), Vietnam (3.0 percent), Iran (2.6 percent), Taiwan (1.9 percent), and Armenia (1.5 percent). The challenge of integration, then, falls to a wide range of both established and newer, emerging communities.

Rapid growth in the immigrant population in Los Angeles and California was very much a product of the 1970s and 1980s. Since then, a different trend has emerged: The number of new immigrants to Los Angeles declined by nearly 20 percent between 1990 and 2005 (see Figure 3).12

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As Passel and Zimmermann have demonstrated, this decline in the growth of the California and Los Angeles immigrant population resulted from the dispersal of the immigrant population to nontraditional receiving states across the country — a pattern that initially emerged in the 1990s. Indeed, recent arrivals are a smaller share of the foreign born in Los Angeles County than in the United States overall (see Figure 4).

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A second macro trend that presents both challenges and opportunities for integration is rapid changes in the legal status of the immigrant population. We will mention three trends, some of which have been more prominent than others in the public debate. They are (1) changes in the unauthorized immigrant population, (2) increases among the number of naturalized, (3) declines in the number of refugees, but increases in protection for victims of human trafficking.

**The Unauthorized.** There are approximately 37 million foreign-born residing in the United States. As Figure 5 indicates, the unauthorized population nationwide is now roughly the same size (30 percent of total foreign-born population, or 11.1 million people) as the naturalized (31 percent, or 11.5 million people). The LPR population (28

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**Figure 4. Period of Entry of the Foreign Born in Los Angeles County and the United States, 2006**

![Bar chart showing Period of Entry of the Foreign Born in Los Angeles County and the United States, 2006.]

Source: American Community Survey 2006.
percent, or 10.5 million people) has more than doubled as a share of the immigrant population over the past decade.\textsuperscript{14}

**Figure 5. Foreign-Born Population in the United States, 2005**

![Pie chart showing the distribution of foreign-born population in 2005.](image)

*Note:* The temporary legal migrant population shown in this figure includes an adjustment for Current Population Survey omissions. Refugee arrivals are for post-1980 only.  

From an integration perspective, it is especially troubling that 5 million children live in households with one or more unauthorized parent and that 2 million of these children are themselves unauthorized. While it may be intuitive, powerful new evidence from Los Angeles appears to be emerging that growing up in these unauthorized households is

leading to persisting intergenerational disadvantages — including lower high school
graduation rates and lower rates of college attendance — even among citizen children.¹⁵

*The Unauthorized in Los Angeles.* Trends in the Los Angeles unauthorized population
differ in some important ways from those nationwide.

First, while the unauthorized population has grown rapidly across the United States, in
Los Angeles it has remained relatively stable. The unauthorized population in Los
Angeles County increased just slightly between 2000 and 2004, from 937,000 to 1.0
million, and the unauthorized share of the metropolitan population remained constant at
10 percent during the same period. By contrast, the United States as a whole experienced
a 23 percent growth of the unauthorized population, from 8.4 million in 2000 to 10.3
million in 2004. The share of the national population that is unauthorized grew from 3.0
to 3.6 percent.¹⁶

Second, despite the slow growth of the unauthorized population, the Los Angeles
metropolitan area still had more than twice as many unauthorized immigrants — about 1
million — than any other metropolitan area in 2004.

¹⁵ Frank D. Bean, Susan K. Brown, Mark A. Leach, and James Bachmeier, “Becoming Stakeholders: The
Structure, Nature and Pace of U.S. Integration Among Mexican Immigrants and Their Descendants,”
Report to the Merage Foundation for the American Dream Symposium on Immigrant National Leaders,
¹⁶ Fortuny, Capps, and Passel, “The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles
County, and the United States,” (see n. 11).
Third, the unauthorized in Los Angeles appear to be more “settled” than other major metropolitan areas: 49 percent of unauthorized immigrants in Los Angeles arrived in the United States more than 10 years ago; nationwide the rate is around 35 percent. This means that the unauthorized in Los Angeles are more likely to have had children in the United States and are more likely to have established stronger bonds to their communities.

**Rising Naturalized Citizen Population.** There has been a sharp — if often overlooked — increase in the number and share of immigrants who are naturalized citizens over the past decade, despite the arrival of many new immigrants. The number of naturalized immigrants increased from 7.2 million (48 percent of those eligible to naturalize) in 1995 to 12.4 million (59 percent of those eligible to naturalize) in 2005 although the share remains at historic lows (see Figure 6).

The shares vary for different nationality groups. Among Mexicans, for example, the proportion naturalized among the eligible population peaked at 36 percent in 2004 before declining slightly to 35 percent in 2005. By contrast, 77 percent of immigrants from the Middle East and 71 percent of immigrants from Asia who were eligible to become citizens had done so by 2005.17 Refugees also display high naturalization levels, in part

because of the difficulty of return to their country of origin, and in part, perhaps, to the long-term integrating effects of federal refugee resettlement program services.  

Figure 6. Percent Naturalized Among Lawful Permanent Residents in the United States, 1920 to 2005

![Figure 6. Percent Naturalized Among Lawful Permanent Residents in the United States, 1920 to 2005](image)


While we have witnessed a sharp rise in the size of the naturalizing population, there are nonetheless approximately 8.5 million LPRs who are eligible to naturalize who have not done so. A large share of this eligible population is LEP (55 percent), has less than a high school education (38 percent), and lives in poverty (24 percent). Some cities, notably Boston, have launched citywide efforts to encourage this population to naturalize and to facilitate the process (see Box 1).

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19 In this paper, we use the terms English Language Learner (ELL) and Limited English Proficient (LEP) interchangeably.
Box 1. Spotlight on Citizenship NYC

Launched in the wake of the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, Citizenship NYC was an initiative of the office of then New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Following cuts in federal public benefits to noncitizens, Giuliani warned that the city would be forced to make up for the lost federal aid, which would have implied approximately $76 million in extra city expenses. In response, the city pushed for immigrants to naturalize. At the time the initiative was launched, New York City already had a sturdy network of community organizations and legal services providers that offered citizenship information, English classes, and legal representation, all funded through a combination of public monies (most notably the Community Service Block Grant program) and private foundations. Citizenship NYC leveraged these resources while creating a citywide hotline, and establishing new borough-level offices that assisted immigrants in completing citizenship applications and connecting them to English and civics classes.

Six offices were established to provide references to volunteer immigration lawyers, publicize the offices’ services, answer questions via telephone and home visits, and produce a Directory of Services to Immigrants. The directory ultimately listed 300 community-based organizations that provide services to immigrants.


The Naturalized in Los Angeles. We see similar and perhaps even more promising trends among immigrants in Los Angeles. While the foreign born remained a relatively constant percentage of the Los Angeles County population between 1990 and 2006 (ranging between 33 and 36 percent), the percentage of naturalized citizens among the foreign born increased from 9 to 16 percent between 1990 and 2005. Concurrently, the percentage of noncitizens declined from 24 to 20 percent during the same period (see Figure 7).
Despite this progress, there were nearly 3 million LPRs eligible to naturalize in California in 2005, with an additional 736,000 LPRs who should become eligible by 2010.

The characteristics of the legal immigrant population that is eligible to naturalize but has not done so raise two integration policy issues. One is the rising costs of naturalization. Naturalization applications surged this year in anticipation of a scheduled fee increase for naturalization implemented in July 2007. The fee increase raised the total minimum cost for naturalization for a family of four to $2,430. For a family of four whose income falls within the Department of Health and Human Services’ poverty guidelines, applying for US citizenship under the new fee framework would absorb 12 percent of their annual


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household income. 21 With one-fifth of Los Angeles’ foreign-born living in poverty, the high cost of naturalization can be especially prohibitive for low-income LPRs who are eligible to naturalize.

A second issue is the increased English proficiency needed to pass the citizenship test. Beginning in January 2008, US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) will implement a redesigned naturalization exam intended to make the citizenship process and exam “more meaningful.” 22 The new exam will include fewer fact-based questions and more questions about US democratic principles, such as the meaning of “self-government.” The revised exam will still test English speaking, reading, and listening skills. While USCIS officials assert that the new test will not be more difficult, some immigrant advocacy groups claim the test could become harder for LPRs with less education and English ability, due to its reliance on testing for understanding of abstract concepts. 23

Changing Legal Status of the Immigrant Population: Refugees. Another important shift in immigrants’ legal status has been the sharp decline in the number of refugees admitted to the United States, from 122,066 in 1990 to 41,150 in 2006. From an integration perspective, many integrating institutions at state and local levels have been supported by the refugee resettlement program — the only express federal immigrant

integration program. However, as refugee numbers dwindled, so did refugee resettlement funding and capacity. If in the future the United States accepts increased numbers of Iraqi refugees, Los Angeles County will likely be the destination for a significant share. Los Angeles was home to 101,878 Iraqi immigrants in 2006 — one of the largest communities of Iraqi immigrants in the United States — and refugees are often resettled in communities with existing concentrations of their conationals.

**Victims of Human Trafficking.** Since the passage of the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), the United States has strengthened its capacity to protect the victims of human trafficking and to prosecute offenders. Victims of human trafficking present unique integration challenges as they often require a more comprehensive array of social services, including food, shelter, health and mental health services, education, legal services, English instruction, and job training. The US Department of Justice estimates that between 14,500 and 17,500 individuals are trafficked into the United States on an annual basis.\(^\text{24}\)

State and local governments have also made significant law enforcement efforts against human trafficking. As of January 1, 2006, human trafficking for the purposes of forced labor has been a felony crime in California punishable by a sentence of three to five years in state prison. In addition, California laws provide for mandatory restitution and allow

trafficking victims to bring civil action against his or her trafficker.\textsuperscript{25} It is likely, then, that the number of immigrants in Los Angeles admitted on these new humanitarian grounds will increase, along with their use of the services for which they are eligible.

**Transition from First to Second Generation: Los Angeles on the Leading Edge**

After high flows and the changing legal status of many immigrants, a third macro immigration trend that affects integration is the rapid transition of the California and the Los Angeles population from the first to the second generation. Reflecting the state’s importance as an immigrant destination during the latter half of the 20th century, California is home to one in every four second-generation immigrants in the United States, compared to only one in every 12 in the third-plus generation.

Second-generation immigrants in California in 2004 accounted for 21 percent of the state’s residents and number 7.4 million people. This represents a significant shift from 1970 when second-generation immigrants were 16 percent of the state’s population, or 3.1 million people. Within the state, the share of second-generation immigrants is largest in Los Angeles County (26 percent).\textsuperscript{26} The demographic bias toward the second generation in Los Angeles is even more pronounced among children. While the second generation of all ages composes 26 percent of the region’s population, second-generation children are 55 percent of the entire child population. By contrast, second-generation adults are just 15 percent of the entire adult population.

\textsuperscript{26} S. Karthic Ramakrishnan and Hans Johnson, “Second Generation Immigrants in California” (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2005).
Latinos and Asian and Pacific Islanders (API) currently account for 76 percent of the second generation in California, and nearly 90 percent of second-generation children who will reach adulthood during the next two decades are Latino or API.\(^{27}\) Compared to neighboring counties, second-generation immigrants of Latino origin are more numerous in Los Angeles County, where the top countries of origin of second-generation children in 2004 included Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala.\(^{28}\)

**Summary: Key Demographic Trends**

There are a number of critical demographic trends that should guide development of new integration efforts in Los Angeles:

- High flows over past decades: 36 percent of Los Angeles residents are immigrants, a rate three times that of the nation as a whole.
- The post-1990 slowdown in the number of new immigrants to Los Angeles.
- The large but, in contrast to the United States as a whole, much more stable size and settled character of the unauthorized population in Los Angeles.
- The sharp recent rise in the naturalized citizen population in Los Angeles.
- A decline in the flow of refugees to the United States, but the possibility of higher refugee flows to Los Angeles in the near future.
- The large size of the legal immigrant population in California that is eligible to naturalize but has not done so.
- The emergence of the second generation (i.e., US-born children of immigrants): Second-generation children make up 55 percent of the child population in Los Angeles.

**Investment implications:**

- Barriers preventing those who are eligible to naturalize should be explored and understood, e.g., English instruction needs, cost, availability of application assistance. In addressing barriers, effective approaches will likely include ones that leverage existing services.
- Language and other integration efforts should take into account the needs of multigenerational families.
- The strengths and weaknesses of refugee resettling institutions should be explored in light of sharp declines in recent flows and the prospects of much higher flows in the future.

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\(^{27}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{28}\) The top countries of origin of second-generation immigrants in neighboring Ventura, Orange, and San Bernardino Counties included Mexico, El Salvador, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Canada.
CHAPTER 3. IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOR FORCE

The power of the nation’s high immigration flows ripples through the nation’s work force, where unlike in Europe, immigrants are over-represented. While immigrants are 12 percent of US residents, they are 15 percent of all workers. Within the low-skill and low-wage segments of the labor force, immigrants are 21 percent of low-wage workers (i.e., with incomes below 200 percent of the minimum wage), and almost half — 45 percent — of all low-skilled workers in the United States (i.e., who have not graduated from high school). As Figure 8 indicates, more than half of immigrant workers who entered in the United States in the 1990s are LEP.

Figure 8. Percent LEP Among Full-Time Immigrant Workers Age 25 and Older, by Period of Arrival, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All foreign born</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Limited to population age 25 and older. 
Source: American Community Survey 2005.
The bimodal character of the immigrant workforce — with large concentrations of both low- and high-skill workers — is widely recognized. Thus, on the high-skill end, we see that immigrants are

- one in four doctors;
- two in five medical scientists;
- one in five computer programmers;
- one in three US computer software engineers.  

**Credentialing Issues**

The challenge of economic integration in the United States affects not just low-skilled immigrants, but many high-skilled immigrants as well. As a forthcoming Migration Policy Institute study indicates, fully 43 percent of recent Latin American immigrants in California who entered the United States after they were 25 and who hold at least a bachelor’s degree were working in unskilled jobs (see Figure 9). These immigrants are significantly less likely to be found in unskilled work. As a result, credential recognition, as well as language learning, may represent barriers to higher-skilled immigrants’ mobility.

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30 This analysis includes both legal and unauthorized immigrants.

31 Jeanne Batalova and Michael Fix, “Credentialing and High Skilled Immigrants” (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, forthcoming).
Figure 9. Percent of College-educated Workers in Unskilled Occupations in California, 2006†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Recent Immigrants (arrived in 1996 or later)</th>
<th>Long-term Immigrants (arrived prior to 1996)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US Born</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe*</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: †Includes employed workers 25 and older. *Refers to persons from Europe, Canada, and Oceania.

The economic impact of this underutilization of skills is significant. It has been estimated that Australia has incurred an estimated loss of approximately 100 to 350 million Australian dollars since 1990 due to the underrecognition of foreign degrees. Similarly, estimates in Canada suggest that the economic impact of immigrant skill underutilization amounts to 2 billion Canadian dollars annually.32 In the United States, some innovative efforts have been launched to reverse these losses although they remain relatively small scale (see Box 2).

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Box 2. Upwardly Global: Translating Foreign Credentials to Maximize Human Capital

Upwardly Global is a nonprofit organization based in San Francisco that works with skilled legal immigrants and employers. It offers services to job seekers that include help with writing résumés, sharpening interview skills, and developing professional networks. Upwardly Global also works with employers to match positions with skilled immigrants and evaluate foreign credentials of job applicants.

According to Upwardly Global, employers may lack the resources and knowledge to hire immigrants. Examples of barriers in the path of qualified immigrants seeking work include

- recruiters who pass over a résumé because of a foreign-sounding name;
- interviewers who insist on conducting a phone screening (which could handicap nonnative English speakers);
- employers who overemphasize “perfect” English (e.g., requiring flawless grammar for an accounting position);
- employers who consider foreign universities and degrees to be invalid or inferior;
- employers who do not have the capacity to verify foreign credentials;
- employers who will not hire someone who does not have US work experience;
- companies that advertise that only permanent residents or US citizens need apply (many immigrants or refugees are authorized to work but are not permanent residents or citizens).


Immigrants in the California and Los Angeles Labor Markets

Immigrant workers are a much larger share of the Los Angeles economy than the US economy. Almost half of the Los Angeles County workforce (46 percent) is foreign born, a level three times that of the nation (15 percent). At the same time, over 40 percent of immigrant adults in Los Angeles County had less than a high school education in 2005, and a third of the county’s adults were LEP. LEP adults in the county grew 23 percent between 1990 and 2005, from a 2.0 to 2.5 million people.
Particularly in certain sectors, immigrants are vital to the state and regional economy. For example, 61 percent of registered nurses in the state in 2005 were immigrants (see Figure 10). Many of the sectors where immigrants are heavily concentrated are expected to undergo significant growth in the coming decade (see Figures 10a and 10b). The California Employment Development Department projects that 90 percent of the industries expected to grow over the next decade are in the service-producing sector, including administrative and support services; health care; retail trade; accommodation and food services; and professional, scientific, and technical services. Over the same 10-year period, the State of California Employment Development Department estimates that the number of workers needed will grow by about 288,300 retail salespersons, 158,400 waiters and waitresses, 130,700 food preparation and food service workers, 69,400 landscapers and groundskeepers, and 34,000 busboys.

### Figure 10a. Fastest Growing Occupations in California, 2004 to 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Title</th>
<th>Annual average employment</th>
<th>Percent change</th>
<th>Median hourly wage</th>
<th>Education and training levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Network systems and data communications analysts</td>
<td>24,200-38,500</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>$32.74</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home health aides</td>
<td>41,200-60,900</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>$9.12</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer software engineers, applications</td>
<td>84,400-123,600</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>$42.84</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer software engineers, systems software</td>
<td>51,100-74,500</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>$44.28</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network and computer systems administrators</td>
<td>29,600-42,000</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>$33.11</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental hygienists</td>
<td>19,900-28,200</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>$38.93</td>
<td>Associate degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Database administrators</td>
<td>11,300-16,000</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>$34.88</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental assistants</td>
<td>41,300-58,200</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>$15.38</td>
<td>One to 12-month on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaming dealers</td>
<td>9,100-12,600</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>$8.10</td>
<td>Postsecondary vocational training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician assistants</td>
<td>5,900-8,100</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>$39.72</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Median hourly wage is the estimated 50th percentile of the distribution of wages; 50 percent of workers in an occupation earn wages below and 50 percent earn wages above the median wage. The wages are from the first quarter of 2006.

**Source:** State of California Employment Development Department.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational title</th>
<th>Job openings¹</th>
<th>Median hourly wage²</th>
<th>Minimum required education training levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail salespersons</td>
<td>288,300</td>
<td>$9.94</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashiers</td>
<td>205,700</td>
<td>$8.73</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiters and waitresses</td>
<td>158,400</td>
<td>$8.05</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand</td>
<td>143,400</td>
<td>$9.71</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office clerks, general</td>
<td>134,200</td>
<td>$12.21</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food</td>
<td>130,700</td>
<td>$8.20</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered nurses</td>
<td>109,100</td>
<td>$33.85</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors and cleaners, except maids and housekeeping cleaners</td>
<td>93,300</td>
<td>$10.02</td>
<td>30-day on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General and operations managers</td>
<td>85,900</td>
<td>$46.47</td>
<td>Bachelor's degree and work experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school teachers, except special education</td>
<td>83,000</td>
<td>NA³</td>
<td>Master's degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (1) Job openings are the sum of new jobs and net replacements for the total 10 years. Some occupations may have declining employment during the projection period due to industry change. However, they have a substantial number of job openings due to the need for replacements. Net Replacement openings are an estimate of the number of job openings expected because people have permanently left an occupation. It estimates the net movement of a) experienced workers who leave an occupation and start working in another occupation, stop working altogether, or leave the geographic area minus b) experienced workers who move into such an opening. It does not represent the total number of jobs to be filled due to the need to replace workers.

(2) Median hourly wage is the estimated 50th percentile of the distribution of wages; 50 percent of workers in an occupation earn wages below and 50 percent earn wages above the median wage. The wages are from the first quarter of 2006.

(3) In occupations where workers do not work full-time or year-round, it is not possible to calculate an hourly wage.

Source: State of California Employment Development Department.
Summary: Immigrants in the Labor Force

Immigrants are overrepresented in the US labor force, in Los Angeles more so than elsewhere. Generally, immigrant integration into the US labor force occurs in a bimodal pattern; that is, immigrants tend to concentrate in both high-skilled and low-skilled sectors.

Nationally, immigrants are 21 percent of low-wage workers (i.e., with incomes below 200 percent of the minimum wage) and 45 percent of all low-skilled workers (i.e., who have not graduated from high school). But they also represent one in five doctors and one in five computer specialists.

In Los Angeles, immigrants are
- nearly half (46 percent) of the Los Angeles County workforce, a level three times that of the nation as a whole;
- often categorized as low skilled: 40 percent of immigrant adults in Los Angeles do not have a high school degree;
- not always proficient in English — a building block for economic mobility. One-third of Los Angeles adults are LEP; a number that has risen from 2 to 2.5 million between 2000 and 2005.

The challenge of economic integration in the United States affects all immigrants. High educational attainment does not guarantee smooth integration into the labor market. Fully 43 percent of recent Latin American immigrants in California who entered the United States after they were 25 and who hold at least a bachelor’s degree were working in unskilled jobs. Thirty-eight percent of those in California for 10 or more years were still working in unskilled jobs.

Investment implications:
- Investments to ensure that immigrants meet US labor market needs and realize their skill and earning potential must be sensitive to the bimodal skill distribution of immigrant workers.
- Many high-growth jobs require at least a two-year technical degree, heightening the importance of first- and second-generation immigrants’ access to community colleges and the availability of affordable, contextualized English literacy and workforce skill instruction at such institutions.
- Creative solutions to translating foreign degrees and work experience to qualifications that US employers understand could play an important role in an immigrant integration agenda.
CHAPTER 4. ADULT IMMIGRANT ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEEDS

The recent Congressional debates on immigration reform raised questions about the number of immigrants who are LEP, the demand for English language instruction, and the available supply. The information these debates rested upon was generally impressionistic and not particularly useful for planning or budgetary purposes at national, state, and local levels. In July 2007, the Migration Policy Institute released estimates for the nation and for each of the 50 states of the number, educational attainment, and English skills of immigrant adults currently residing in the United States who are LPRs or unauthorized immigrants.35 The report translates these numbers into estimates of the hours of instruction these immigrants will need to achieve the English skills necessary for full integration into US society. The study assumes that a higher level of English attainment will be necessary for youth ages 17 to 24.36 We have subsequently developed parallel estimates for California’s major counties, and we present the results for Los Angeles County below.

National Results

We found that approximately 5.8 million LPRs and 6.4 million unauthorized immigrants in the United States would need English instruction in order to pass the citizenship test (those 24 and older) or, at a somewhat higher level of proficiency, to engage in postsecondary education (those ages 17 to 24). Based on an assumption that it requires

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36 We assume that young adults should be expected to attain an even higher level of English language proficiency given that they will likely spend their entire adulthood in the United States. A higher level of English proficiency for youth facilitates postsecondary study without the need for remedial classes and promotes their full participation in the country’s community, economic, and political life.
110 hours of instruction to rise one level of English language ability, at a cost of $10 per hour of instruction, we estimate the number of hours necessary to achieve these proficiency levels at approximately 1.6 billion hours for the LPR population and 1.9 billion hours for the unauthorized population. After taking into account several factors that might influence demand for instruction and savings, such as increased use of instructional technology, we estimate additional costs of $200 million per year nationwide over the next six years to meet instructional demand from LPRs (on top of the roughly $1 billion currently spent on these services by states and the federal government), and a need for $2.9 billion per year for six years to meet demand from unauthorized immigrants should a legalization program of the type envisioned by the most recent version of comprehensive immigration reform be enacted. Plainly, these numbers point to enormous needs that dwarf the scale and capacity of the current adult ESL and literacy systems.

In Figures 11 through 13, we report the number of LEP adults by their English language proficiency level and age. Level “0” is the lowest, level “5” proficiency is sufficient to pass the citizenship test, and level “6” is sufficient to engage in postsecondary education.
### Number of Legal Immigrants by Age and English Ability, Indexed to National Reporting System Levels: United States, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Level 0</th>
<th>Level 1</th>
<th>Level 2</th>
<th>Level 3</th>
<th>Level 4</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 56+</td>
<td>162,159</td>
<td>399,799</td>
<td>162,759</td>
<td>269,219</td>
<td>115,760</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 50 to 55</td>
<td>39,025</td>
<td>98,357</td>
<td>67,389</td>
<td>121,980</td>
<td>58,521</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 25 to 49</td>
<td>178,394</td>
<td>689,961</td>
<td>587,413</td>
<td>1,204,737</td>
<td>642,371</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>17,800</td>
<td>67,010</td>
<td>70,352</td>
<td>112,380</td>
<td>203,475</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5,800,554</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MPI analysis of tabulations of 2000 census data and 2005 CPS with imputations of legal status by the Urban Institute.
Figure 12. Number of Unauthorized Immigrants by Age and English Ability, Indexed to National Reporting System Levels: United States, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 25 and older</td>
<td>4,951,995</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 0</td>
<td>311,069</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>1,358,856</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>939,982</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>1,638,555</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>703,533</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>1,440,458</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 0</td>
<td>39,304</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>192,500</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>169,198</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>194,126</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>301,259</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>544,071</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6,392,453</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MPI analysis of tabulations of 2000 census data and 2005 CPS with imputations of legal status by the Urban Institute.

Figure 13. Hours of Instruction Required to Reach English Proficiency by Age and Legal Status: United States, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LPR</td>
<td>1,662,165,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 56+</td>
<td>390,770,981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 50 to 55</td>
<td>120,251,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 25 to 49</td>
<td>931,249,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>219,893,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unauthorized</td>
<td>1,913,498,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 25 and older</td>
<td>1,517,049,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>396,448,883</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: We assume a goal of bringing all immigrants (LPRs and the unauthorized) to a level 5 English proficiency for those age 25 and older, and to a level 6 English proficiency for those ages 17 to 24.

Source: MPI analysis of tabulations of 2000 census data and 2005 CPS with imputations of legal status by the Urban Institute.
Adult English Language Needs for Los Angeles

We replicated our national analysis using 2000 census data for Los Angeles. Given the quite modest growth in the noncitizen population generally, and the unauthorized population in particular in recent years, we believe these estimates are still valid today.

We estimate that 913,144 LPRs in Los Angeles County would require English language instruction to pass the naturalization exam or to have the necessary skills to participate in the country’s civic life. We also estimate that 688,884 unauthorized immigrants in the county would require English language instruction in order to gain the necessary skills to pass the naturalization exam and obtain LPR status, or to fully participate in the country’s civic life. Based on an average of 110 hours of instruction to rise one level of English ability, and a cost of $10 per hour of instruction, it would require about 278 million hours of ESL instruction to bring all current adult LPRs in Los Angeles County to a desired level of English ability, at a cost of about $2.8 billion over six years. \(^{37}\) In addition, it would require about 289 million hours of ESL instruction to bring all current adult unauthorized immigrants in Los Angeles County to a desired level of English ability, at a cost of about $2.9 billion over six years (see Figures 14 through 16).

\(^{37}\) Estimates of the hours required to achieve one level of English proficiency range from about 85 to 150 hours for most adults, or as high as 200 hours for those with learning disabilities or other impediments to learning.
Figure 14. Number of Legal Immigrants by Age and English Ability, Indexed to National Reporting System Levels: Los Angeles County, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 25 and older</td>
<td>805,389</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 0</td>
<td>80,591</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>216,858</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>138,665</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>249,893</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>119,383</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>107,775</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 0</td>
<td>2,338</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>8,109</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>8,956</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>12,614</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>20,445</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>55,292</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>913,144</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MPI analysis of tabulations of 2000 census data and 2005 CPS with imputations of legal status by the Urban Institute.

Figure 15. Number of Unauthorized Immigrants by Age and English Ability, Indexed to National Reporting System Levels: Los Angeles County, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age 25 and older</td>
<td>544,629</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 0</td>
<td>38,024</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>143,164</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>105,480</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>179,665</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>78,296</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>144,255</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 0</td>
<td>3,234</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>14,927</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>15,327</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>18,525</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>27,672</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>64,569</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>688,884</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MPI analysis of tabulations of 2000 census data and 2005 CPS with imputations of legal status by the Urban Institute.
Figure 16. Hours of Instruction Required to Reach English Proficiency by Age and Legal Status: Los Angeles County, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LPR</strong></td>
<td>278,297,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 25 to 49</td>
<td>253,610,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>24,686,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unauthorized</strong></td>
<td>288,665,268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 25 and older</td>
<td>166,852,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 17 to 24</td>
<td>121,812,335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: We assume a goal of bringing all immigrants (LPRs and the unauthorized) to a level 5 English proficiency for those ages 25 and older, and to a level 6 English proficiency for those ages 17 to 24.

Source: MPI analysis of tabulations of 2000 census data and 2005 CPS with imputations of legal status by the Urban Institute.

The Supply of Adult English Instruction

In California, state-funded adult schools and community colleges provide the bulk of publicly funded adult English language education; adult schools, administered by local school districts, are the largest providers of free ESL classes in the state, teaching more than 75 percent of California’s ESL students. Other traditional providers of adult English instruction include libraries and community organizations. More recently, nontraditional providers, notably educational centers administered by the Mexican consulate, have also begun to offer adult English language courses (see Box 3).

The fundamentals of the current funding system for adult literacy education were set out in state legislation passed in 1979. Total state funding for adult schools is calculated according to the average daily attendance, and funding growth is limited to 2.5 percent per year. In addition to state funding, adult schools and community colleges that teach ESL can apply for federal funding under Title II of the Workforce Investment Act (WIA).

38 Arturo Gonzales, California’s Commitment to Adult English Learners: Caught between Funding and Need (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2007).
In 2005-2006, Los Angeles County adult schools received $310 million from the state and over $27 million from WIA.\textsuperscript{39} Community college districts receive funding from the state’s general fund, and each district allocates adult education funding depending on community interest, need, and the level of priority assigned to noncredit programs by administrators.

**Box 3. Spotlight on Mexican Consulates and Plazas Comunitarias**

Plazas Comunitarias are educational community centers organized by the Mexican Consejo Nacional de Educación para la Vida y Trabajo (CONEVyT, National Council on Education and Work) and administered through Mexico’s 48 consulates in the United States.

The Plazas offer a number of educational opportunities to Mexicans residing in the United States, including vocational training, computer courses, parenting courses, primary and secondary school equivalency, literacy, Spanish language courses, and ESL courses. Individuals over the age of 15 may attend these courses for free although students are expected to pay for course materials, including books.

As of October 2007, CONEVyT listed 52 Plazas Comunitarias in California, 11 of which were in Los Angeles County.


In 2002-2003, the last year for which enrollment information is available, Los Angeles County accounted for 40 percent of all adult ESL enrollment in California.

Approximately 272,000 adults enrolled in English language courses in Los Angeles County, 247,000 in adult schools and 25,000 in community colleges (see Figure 17).\textsuperscript{40}


\textsuperscript{40} Arturo Gonzales, *California’s Commitment to Adult English Learners* (see n. 38).
Questions related to the sufficiency of adult English and literacy instruction in Los Angeles are complicated by several factors.

First, Los Angeles is the largest recipient of state adult education funds. However, administrators there report falling enrollment numbers in adult ESL courses, similar to other large districts in the state. Given the large number of individuals who need English instruction, it appears there is an underutilization of existing program services. This could be due to a variety of factors, including lack of awareness on the part of immigrants of the instructional resources available; inaccessibility of classes due to work

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41 Ibid.
and family conflicts, transportation or child care issues; and, for intermediate and advanced courses, slow student progress and discouragement due to underlying deficits in their native language literacy.

Second, historic competition for preeminence and funding between adult schools and community colleges results in a haphazard services delivery system in many areas.\textsuperscript{42} The lack of system alignment across the systems makes them more difficult for consumers to understand and effectively access.

Third, much of the authority to improve the scale, quality, relevance, or accessibility of adult education services rests with the state, making it difficult to support the system in meeting the needs of immigrant residents without collaborating with other stakeholders throughout California.

\textsuperscript{42} Julie Strawn, “Policies to Promote Adult Education and Postsecondary Alignment,” Center for Law and Social Policy, September 2007.
Summary: Adult English Language Acquisition Needs

- According to research conducted for this report, there are approximately 910,000 LPRs and 690,000 unauthorized adults in Los Angeles County who would require English language instruction to pass the naturalization exam or to have the necessary skills to participate in the country’s civic life.
- Based on an average of 110 hours of instruction to rise one level of English ability, it would require about 278 million instructional hours to bring all current adult LPRs and about 289 million instructional hours to bring all current adult unauthorized immigrants in Los Angeles County to a desired level of English ability.
- Much of the demand for language instruction is among LEP adults with some English language proficiency, while many ESL courses focus on providing basic instruction. As a result, there is often a misalignment between student needs and available classes.

Investment Implications:

- Attempts to address issues of awareness of, accessibility, quality, or scale of English instruction could begin now to address the needs of the LPR population and have the added effect of preparing the system for the enormous new demand for classes that would likely be triggered should a legalization program be enacted in the future.
- The levels of language instruction classes must be balanced so they meet the needs of LEP adults with low, intermediate, and higher levels of proficiency.
- Approaches to system reform issues must include stakeholders throughout the state given that much of the policy and budget authority for the current systems rests with state officials.
CHAPTER 5. PREK-12 EDUCATION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Schools are, perhaps, the most important public institution for immigrant integration and constitute the largest single state and local expenditure on immigrants.

One of the US education systems’ biggest challenges is responding to rapid growth of the ELL population while meeting the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act’s controversial academic assessment standards. In this regard, NCLB requirements that schools identify, teach, and disaggregate ELL scores can be seen as representing a revolution not just in education but in immigrant integration policy as well (see Box 4).

Box 4. Opportunities to Encourage Parent Engagement through the No Child Left Behind Act

NCLB placed new requirements on schools to provide parents of ELLs with several types of specific information related to English language instructional programs, their child’s program placement, and their child’s progress in learning English. Although schools have struggled with providing adequate language access to immigrant parents under NCLB, investing in parent education resource centers and supporting other successful models for parent engagement are ideal areas for increasing the civic participation of immigrant families. With approximately 44 percent of Los Angeles schoolchildren classified as ELLs, leveraging NCLB’s requirement for parental involvement can be an entry point for many immigrant parents to become engaged in civic life.

For example, among the most successful civic engagement efforts facilitated by the Los Angeles’ Human Relations Commission has been the “Pacoima Moms.” The “Moms” are foreign-born, mono- and bilingual mothers who came together because they were concerned about their children’s education and because they feared their children were not learning in Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) public schools. Providing “LAUSD/City Bureaucracy 101” training and leadership development, the commission enabled this group of concerned parents to attend school board meetings and advocate on their children’s behalf. Consequently, schools where the “Moms” are active have seen a 50 percent drop in suspensions and a drop in disciplinary transfers.

Source: Patricia Villasenor, Deputy Director of Field Services, Los Angeles Commission on Human Relations, phone interview by Migration Policy Institute on August 8, 2007.
Nationwide, ELL enrollment over the past decade increased dramatically — by 56 percent — while overall growth in the student population rose only 5 percent. Today, one in 10 students in US schools is LEP (see Figure 18).

Looking at California, we see a substantial (nearly 30 percent) rise in the ELL population despite a small increase in overall enrollment (see Figure 19). Over a quarter of the state’s students are ELLs, and California accounts for almost one-third of all ELLs in US schools. According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA), 44 percent of students in Los Angeles schools are ELL. The number of ELLs in Los Angeles schools is almost three times higher than the number in any of the 10 districts that enroll the most ELL students in the nation.

Source: National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA) 2006.
Most Children Who Lack English Proficiency Are Born in the United States

The conventional wisdom is that most ELLs are foreign-born children who enter US schools at some point in their educational careers. Many are, but many are not. As Figure 20 indicates, nationwide, over three-quarters of LEP children in elementary schools and over half in secondary schools are second- or third-generation children. Born in the United States, these children were presumably educated in US schools but do not appear to have been well-served by them.
At the same time, 52 percent of ELLs in elementary schools and 42 percent of ELLs in secondary schools arrived within the past three years. The ELL population is dominated, then, by two subpopulations that pose difficult and quite distinct challenges for schools: the recently arrived and long-term LEPs.

Consistent with a decline in the number of recent entrants overall, we see that recently arrived immigrants are a smaller share of recently arrived ELLs in the Los Angeles schools than nationwide (see Figure 21).
Figure 21. Immigrant Children and English Language Proficiency in Los Angeles

Note: The figures refer to LEP students, ages 5 to 18, currently enrolled in school. Los Angeles refers to Los Angeles-Long Beach-Orange County metro area. “Recent arrivals” have been in the United States for three years or less. Source: US Census 2000.

Rising Concentration

A second worrying trend concerning integration is the spatial concentration of ELLs in US schools. Research using the 1999 Schools and Staffing Survey has found a growing concentration of LEP students in the nation’s schools. As Figure 22 indicates, nationwide, over half of LEP students attend schools where 30 percent or more of their schoolmates are also LEP — a share that has risen since 1995. Stated differently, 70 percent of ELL elementary school students nationwide go to 10 percent of US schools.43 This phenomenon means that children are not just attending schools that are economically and ethnically segregated, but linguistically isolated as well. Early

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implementation studies suggest that these high LEP schools are disproportionately likely to be in need of improvement and to be eventually subject to sanctions under the accountability mechanisms of NCLB.

**Figure 22. LEP Students and Linguistic Segregation in the United States**

![Bar chart showing the distribution of LEP students across different percentage ranges in child's school.](chart)

Source: Schools and Staffing Survey 1999.

**ELL Student Performance**

It is particularly difficult to assess the real academic progress of ELL students, but scholars have begun to offer partial answers. In a recent report, we compare 4th and 8th grade LEP and non-LEP students’ results on the national reading and math National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) exam.\(^{44}\) Because 8th grade is such a critical year, we focus here on their progress on the math NAEP from 1996 to 2005. Furthermore, we focus on math rather than literacy outcomes because the NAEP math test measures more than just a student’s ability to manipulate numbers; it also relies

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\(^{44}\) Jeanne Batalova, Michael Fix, and Julie Murray, *Measures of Change: The Demography and Literacy of Adolescent English Learners* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2006).
heavily on communication, the ability to make connections, and reasoning capacity, all of which would be included in broad definitions of literacy.

As Figure 23 indicates, LEP students’ scores substantially lag those of non-LEP 8th graders, a finding that throws into sharp relief the NCLB goal of 100 percent proficiency by 2014. The figure also indicates that LEP students’ scores rose only modestly between 2000 and 2005. More interestingly — and perhaps more promisingly — the results reveal that, in 2005, former LEPs’ scores in math (which can be seen in the red square) are roughly equal to those of non-LEPs. These outcomes suggest that, for many children, LEP is a transitional status. They also beg the question of what accounts for the academic success of LEPs and how it can be more frequently achieved.

Figure 23. Average Scores of 8th Graders in Math on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 1996 to 2005

Similar results are observable in California and in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). In fact, in LAUSD, former LEPs outperformed their non-LEP counterparts on the California State Test (CST) English/language arts assessment. Nevertheless, the district still lags significantly behind the state overall.

Overall in California, 39 percent of 8th grade students scored at or above the proficient level on the CST English/language arts assessment while in LAUSD the share was 23 percent. ELLs scored much lower than their fluent English peers both in the state and in the district. California breaks its non-ELL students into three groups. There are English Only students, who are native English speakers; Initially Fluent English speakers, who are native speakers of another language but who were assessed to be English proficient at the time of enrollment in school; and Redesignated Fluent English speakers, who are essentially former ELL students, that is, students who reached adequate English proficiency after receiving language instruction services in a school. The results of Initially Fluent English speakers are notable: They outperformed all other groups both statewide and in the district, achieving 50 percent proficiency in California and 42 percent proficiency in LAUSD (see Figure 24). 45

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45 This section borrows on, Batalova, Fix, and Murray, Measures of Change: The Demography and Literacy of Adolescent English Learners (see n. 44).
Figure 24. Percentage of 8th Graders Scoring at or above Proficient Achievement Level on the Reading/English Language Arts Assessment by Reported ELL/LEP Status in California and in the Los Angeles Unified School District, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>California</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All students</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Only</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initially Fluent English proficient</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redesignated Fluent English proficient</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Learner</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in California public schools less than 12 months</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in California public schools 12 months or more</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles Unified School District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All students</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Only</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initially Fluent English proficient</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redesignated Fluent English proficient</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Learner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in California public schools less than 12 months</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in California public schools 12 months or more</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: California Department of Education 2005.

Summary: PreK-12 Education

- Schools are perhaps the most important integrating institution in the society. NCLB’s focus on accountability for ELL students can be considered not just a revolution in education but in immigrant integration policy. Notable statistics include 44 percent of all students in Los Angeles are ELLs;
- 80 percent of ELL elementary school students in Los Angeles and 49 percent of ELL secondary school students were born in the United States and were presumably educated in US schools;
- a substantial share of ELLs in Los Angeles schools have been in the US for less than three years.

Thus, the ELL population is dominated by two subgroups — recent arrivals and long-term LEPs — that pose distinct and difficult challenges to schools. National results on NAEP suggest that, while LEPs trail non-LEPs in math and reading, “former LEPs” do comparatively well.

Investment implications:
- The extraordinarily large concentration of ELLs in Los Angeles public schools make issues such as ELL testing and accountability under NCLB and potential conflicts with the interpretation and implementation of California’s Proposition 227 of particular salience to local funders.
- Schools and the complex and controversial issues surrounding ESL instruction offer opportunities for developing immigrants’ engagement in school policy and funding issues.
- The concentration of immigrant and ELL students in underperforming schools raises civil rights concerns that should be monitored and explored.
CHAPTER 6. POVERTY AND THE COSTS OF THE UNINSURED

The portrait of immigrants and poverty in the United States and in Los Angeles suggests both peril and promise. While the share of immigrants living in poverty has declined over the past two decades, immigrants are still more likely to live in poverty than the native born.

**Immigrants and Poverty in the United States**

In 2005, 16.9 percent of immigrants in the United States lived below the federally designated poverty threshold.\(^{46}\) By contrast, just 12.8 percent of the native born lived in poverty. Contrary to the popular wisdom, the share of immigrants in poverty in 2005 (16.9 percent) was lower than the share in 1990 (17.9 percent), owing in part to an expanding economy through the 1990s. Although the share of immigrants who are poor may have fallen between 1990 and 2005, the number of immigrants in poverty rose by 75.5 percent over the same period, reflecting net immigration. Moreover, the share that immigrants represent of the total population in poverty rose from 10.9 to 15.7 percent between 1990 and 2005.

While the portrait of immigrants living in poverty yields a somewhat ambiguous picture, when immigrants are disaggregated by citizenship status, a much more detailed story emerges. Naturalized immigrants had a much lower incidence of poverty (10.4 percent) than noncitizens (21.6 percent). Indeed, the share of naturalized citizens living in poverty

\(^{46}\) There are two different poverty measures used by the federal government: the poverty thresholds and the poverty guidelines. Poverty guidelines are used by the Department of Health and Human Services for administrative purposes. Poverty thresholds are calculated by the Census Bureau and are used mainly for statistical purposes; they vary by sex of the family head, family size, number of children, and farm-nonfarm status. In 2005, the weighted average poverty threshold for a family of four was $19,971.
in the United States was lower than the share of US natives living in poverty (12.4 percent) in 2005.

**Immigrant Poverty Rates in Los Angeles**

According to the 2006 American Community Survey, the share of immigrants living in poverty in Los Angeles County (16.9 percent) was identical to the share at the national level.

While poverty rates among the foreign born in both Los Angeles and California increased from 1970 to 1990, they have since leveled off. By contrast, poverty rates among natives were generally stable between 1970 and 1990 but have since increased. With such a large second-generation population in Los Angeles, increased poverty in the native population possibly reflects a worrying trend in the economic mobility of the second generation (see Figure 25).
Immigrants and Public Benefits Use

Another critical, if controversial, indicator of integration is immigrants’ use of public benefits. One set of concerns raised by comprehensive immigration reform’s opponents was that it would be expensive because of high new welfare costs. The national data suggest that these concerns have been overstated.

As Figure 26 indicates, when we examine benefit use rates comparing low-income legal immigrant families with children to their low-income citizen counterparts, we find the following: 47

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Contrary to popular notions, low-income legal immigrants’ use of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Food Stamps (FS), and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) was lower than natives’ use before welfare reform, and their rates remained below citizens’ rates through 2004.

TANF use continued to decline through 2004.

FS use rebounds slightly beginning in 2002, a likely result of congressional restorations and other reforms that made the FS program generally more accessible to immigrants.

Figure 26. Share of Families with Children under 200 Percent of Poverty Participating in Program

It is debatable if these declines are a policy success or not. Recent research by Frank Bean and Jennifer Van Hook suggests that immigrants use welfare as a form of settlement assistance that does not lead to dependence over time, but rather to higher wages and longer employment spells.48 Specifically, they find that Latino immigrants leaving welfare in more generous states are more likely to be employed and that their tendency to be employed increases with the length of time in the country. These findings appear to reinforce the merits of California’s past policies of instituting state substitutes for lost federal benefits.

**Immigrant Health and Public Insurance Coverage**

We see different patterns, though, when it comes to legal noncitizens’ use of Medicaid. As Figure 26 above indicates, legal noncitizens had higher Medicaid use levels before reform, and their rates continue to exceed citizens’ rates in 2004. These are likely the intended results of several policy and program initiatives, including

- the State Children’s Health Insurance Program’s (SCHIP) introduction,
- extensive — often foundation-funded — outreach, and
- broader institutional reforms in Medicaid that expand access. Also important are
- declines in private insurance coverage among immigrant families, many of whom work in low-wage industries.

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Despite these trends and some states’ efforts to restore health insurance to immigrant children (California is perhaps the most notable example), low-income legal immigrant children and low-income refugee children remain almost twice as likely to be uninsured as their native counterparts. Moreover, low-income legal immigrant children remain barred for five years from Medicaid and SCHIP, so their public insurance costs are wholly shifted to state and local governments. Further, our own research finds that the health outcomes of low-income children of immigrants appear to lag those of low-income children of natives.\textsuperscript{49} Outreach efforts by some states, including Massachusetts, have shown promise in reversing these trends (see Box 5).

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\textbf{Box 5. The New York Immigration Coalition’s Immigrant Health Access and Advocacy Collaborative}

For the past several years, the New York Immigration Coalition (NYIC) has provided small contracts to 12 immigrant-serving organizations who participate in the Immigrant Health Access and Advocacy Collaborative. The organizations are situated in diverse newcomer communities throughout the New York metropolitan area and participate in the project’s capacity building, outreach, advocacy, and direct client assistance activities. Each group receives support through NYIC to employ a part-time, bicultural, bilingual health advocate.

As a result of NYIC’s training and technical support, the community-based advocates help newcomer families untangle the complex web of immigrant health access concerns, and provide support to their clients including case management and enrollment assistance, as well as representation at fair hearings and administrative advocacy with hospitals, clinics, Medicaid, Social Security, etc.

A major aspect of the collaborative is the provision of intensive capacity-building assistance by NYIC and its pro bono legal services partners. This assistance enables immigrant community-based groups to become confident as experts and as primary resources in their communities for people who are seeking help in accessing and navigating the health care and insurance systems.

The collaborative’s direct services component allows all of the project’s partners to identify obstacles to health care that cut across newcomer communities, and informs

\textsuperscript{49} Jane Reardon-Anderson, Randy Capps and Michael Fix, “The Health and Well-Being of Children in Immigrant Families” (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2002).
the collaborative’s systemic advocacy. NYIC has coordinated successful advocacy campaigns with its collaborative partners, resulting in New York State adopting the nation’s strongest hospital financial assistance and communication assistance laws; improving immigrants’ access to public benefit programs; and creating groundbreaking confidentiality policies aimed at protecting immigrants’ access to programs and services.

Source: Migration Policy Institute.

Because such a large share of recent entrants to the United States and to California are unauthorized, it is important to broaden the scope of this inquiry to all low-income noncitizens, not just those who are legally present. Using data from the Current Population Survey, Leighton Ku finds that, over the decade 1995 to 2005, noncitizen children lost publicly funded coverage and became more often uninsured as a result.50 Indeed, by 2005, low-income noncitizen children in noncitizen families were more than three times as likely to be uninsured than low-income citizen children with native-born parents (47.7 versus 14.9 percent).51

Ku also examines trends among noncitizen parents, again finding that uninsurance rates rose and Medicaid participation declined over the decade. In 2005, 57 percent of low-income noncitizen parents were uninsured — a rate almost double that of their US-born counterparts (29.3 percent).


51 The broad pattern of declining public insurance coverage among noncitizens seems at first glance to be at odds with those reported in the Capps, Fix and Henderson paper summarized above (which finds rising Medicaid use rates and declining levels of uninsurance). We suspect that the results can be reconciled by the fact that the Ku analysis does not differentiate noncitizens by legal status. Thus the rapid growth in the size of the unauthorized population and of the share it constituted of the noncitizen population between 1995 and 2005 may account at least in part for the results.
During the 1995-2005 decade, rates of employer or other forms of private insurance fell for noncitizens, explaining rising uninsurance rates and making it clear that congressional hopes that private sponsors would substitute private for public insurance were unrealistic.

**The Uninsured in Los Angeles.** Although noncitizens accounted for 20.8 percent of the total Los Angeles County population in 2005, they were 43.6 percent of the uninsured. The share of noncitizens among the uninsured was much higher in Los Angeles County than in the state of California overall, where noncitizens were 36.5 percent of the uninsured (see Figure 27).\(^5^2\)

**Figure 27. Citizenship and Immigration Status of the Uninsured, 2005**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>California</th>
<th></th>
<th>Los Angeles County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncitizen with a green card</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncitizen without a green card</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: “Noncitizen without a green card” includes residents who have another immigration status as well as unauthorized persons.

*Source: California Health Interview Survey 2005.*

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Box 6. **Ventanillas de Salud: A Binational Public-Private Partnership for Migrant Health**

Since 2004, the Institute of Mexicans Abroad, a branch of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations, has organized health clinics for Mexican migrants in the United States. The ventanillas are a joint effort of public, private, and nonprofit groups. US-based nonprofit health and legal services agencies operate the ventanillas, and Mexican consulates provide technical assistance and office space in consulates. Although the program has since expanded nationwide to include 18 ventanillas, the original project was funded through a grant from the California Endowment.

While the ventanillas do not provide direct medical care, they do incorporate bilingual and bicultural educators and health advocates into the regular flow of consular services to provide onsite assessment, referral, and linkages to available health services. Advocates assess consulate clients for eligibility to US and Mexican government-funded health insurance and for other primary care services. When necessary, such as in the case of incorrect denials of coverage or medical debt issues, advocates refer these cases to legal aid attorneys for further assistance. In addition, health educators conduct 15- to 30-minute consumer education sessions with a large number of persons per day.

The California Endowment has also collaborated with the Mexican consular network, the Mexican Ministry of Health, and the California Healthcare Foundation, among others, to organize an annual preventive health care festival, the *Semana Binacional de Salud*.


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**The Costs of the Uninsured.** In California, emergency Medicaid spending for uninsured immigrants for fiscal year 2007 is predicted to exceed $941 million according to the Secretary of the California Health and Human Services Agency. According to the California Hospital Association, unauthorized immigrants may account for as much as $750 million annually of the cost of uncompensated care in California hospitals — about 10 percent of the annual total — since they represent about 10 percent of the state’s emergency department patients. About one million of California’s 4.8 million uninsured residents are unauthorized adults, and about 136,000 are unauthorized children.53

As part of a proposal for comprehensive health care reform, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger is seeking to provide health insurance coverage through Medicaid and SCHIP to all children with family incomes at or below 300 percent of the federal poverty level, regardless of immigration status. In addition, the governor’s plan proposes to cover approximately 4.1 million uninsured LPR adults in the state. Other innovative efforts to provide health care to California’s immigrant populations include the *Ventanillas de Salud*, a joint effort by the Mexican consular network, the California Endowment, and US-based health and legal services nonprofits (see Box 6, above).

**Health Safety-Net Providers.** For the uninsured, the key safety-net provider in Los Angeles is the county’s Department of Health Services, which administers public hospitals, public clinics, and the public health system, including the Los Angeles County/University of Southern California Medical Center, one of the largest public hospitals in the nation. The department provides about 95 percent of inpatient care for the uninsured and 30 percent of all Medicaid services. In addition, the county has developed a public-private partnership system in which private clinics receive funds from the county to provide outpatient services for uninsured low-income people, even if they are not eligible for Medicaid. California uses state-only funds for nonemergency services, while emergency services are federally matched under Medicaid. For many years, the state has permitted unauthorized immigrants to enroll in Medicaid, signing

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them up for emergency-only benefits, while most states will only enroll them after an
emergency occurs.\textsuperscript{55}

\begin{boxedminipage}{\textwidth}
\textbf{Summary: Poverty, Public Benefits, and Health Care}

Noncitizens have higher poverty rates than US citizens, but they are not necessarily
more prone to public benefits use. Nationwide, legal immigrant families used less
TANF and Food Stamps benefits than their native counterparts.

- Poverty rates for both immigrants and natives are higher in Los Angeles than in
  California and the United States; however, immigrants in Los Angeles County
  have a higher poverty rate than natives.
- While poverty rates among immigrants in Los Angeles have remained flat
  since 1990, natives’ poverty rates rose, perhaps reflecting worrying trends within
  the second generation.

Many Los Angeles migrants are not receiving public assistance and are vulnerable,
particularly with respect to health care and health insurance.

- Although noncitizens were 21 percent of the total Los Angeles population in
  2005, they made up 29 percent of Los Angeles’ poor and 44 percent of the
  county’s uninsured.
- The share of noncitizens among the uninsured was much higher in Los Angeles
  County than in California overall, where noncitizens were 36.5 percent of the
  uninsured.

\textit{Investment implications:}

- Strategies to address access to affordable and high quality health care are
  needed.
- System reform initiatives must work at the local, state, and national levels given
  the complex set of governance and budgetary issues in this area. Past
  immigration reform measures have addressed local impact assistance needs in
  the health care area, indicating that future immigration reform legislation should
  not be overlooked as a possible vehicle for policy or budget action in this area.
- Service initiatives must address immigration legal status concerns, lack of
  understanding of how the Los Angeles and US health care systems operate,
  and options for accessing and paying for care. Collaborative efforts that
  leverage the frontline knowledge and political strength of diverse communities
  will likely be more helpful in addressing systemic reform issues.
\end{boxedminipage}

\textsuperscript{55} Leighton Ku and Alyse Freilich, \textit{Caring for Immigrants: Health Care Safety Nets in Los Angeles, New
CHAPTER 7. STATE AND LOCAL MODELS FOR IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The preceding portrait of the immigrant population in Los Angeles and how it is faring on key integration indicators underscores the idea that Los Angeles is unique with respect to the challenges of immigrant integration. The city confronts a number of particular challenges, notably the size of the immigrant population, the large presence of unauthorized and mixed-status families, and the growing size of the second generation and its concerns.

However, while immigrant integration certainly poses unique challenges to Los Angeles, it is hardly the only locality grappling with the issue. Whether in cities and states that have been gateways to immigrants for many generations, or in new-destination areas that have experienced a sharp rise in immigration in the past 10 to 15 years, evidence abounds of creative and proactive attempts by local governments to understand and respond to the impact and needs of new immigrant residents. Most often, these efforts are uniquely adapted to the localities they serve. Nevertheless, they provide a valuable perspective on the potential opportunities and pitfalls of different types of immigrant integration initiatives.

Below, we sketch several state and local structures aimed at promoting immigrant integration, including two examples drawn from Los Angeles. While the interventions described in the previous chapters focus on specific program areas — such as citizenship, health care, or credentialing — the list below focuses on cross-agency structures and
efforts that counties, cities, states, and charitable associations have created to allow them to provide a more coherent and coordinated response to integration issues. Many of these cross-agency structures serve advisory, service coordination, and service delivery functions with regard to immigrant residents.\textsuperscript{56} The list is not comprehensive and is not intended to identify best or worst practices, but simply to illustrate the various local experiences.

**Santa Clara County Immigrant Relations and Integration Services**

In the fall of 1996, the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors created a citizenship initiative that had the dual purpose of increasing the number of immigrant voters while reestablishing eligibility for federal benefits post-1996 federal welfare reform legislation.\textsuperscript{57} In 1999-2000, the county conducted one of the most extensive assessments of immigrants’ needs of any county in the United States. The resulting 400-page report examined the motivation to immigrate, health care access, criminal justice issues, and workplace conditions. Based on the report’s recommendations, the citizenship initiative was renamed Santa Clara County Immigrant Relations and Integration Services (IRIS), and IRIS programs expanded beyond citizenship services to include leadership development, immigrant cultural proficiency, community education, legal assistance, social services, health services, and criminal justice initiatives.

\hspace*{1cm} \textsuperscript{56} For a more comprehensive list and accompanying analysis, see Margie McHugh, Paco J. Cantu, and Laureen D. Laglagaron, *Responding to New Immigrants: State and Local Governance Structures that Coordinate Responses to Immigrant Residents* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, forthcoming 2007).

Los Angeles could benefit by reexamining the IRIS model for immigrant leadership development as one strategy for moving beyond citizenship classes. Begun as an experiment to enhance the organizing, policy, and media skills of immigrant communities, the IRIS program became a three-unit course at San Jose City College that focuses on understanding governments and nonprofits, learning about the backgrounds of various countries, and establishing social networks. Graduates from this course learn how to advocate on their own behalf, a key building block for participation in civic life.

The Colorado Trust Model: Private Funding as a Catalyst for Local Immigrant Integration Collaboratives

In 2000, the Colorado Trust launched the Supporting Immigrant and Refugee Families Initiative (SIRFI). SIRFI is an 11-year (2000-2011), $18.2 million initiative that supports 19 Colorado counties and cities in designing and implementing comprehensive integration plans. The plans are intended to go beyond service provision to efforts that would create systemic change in immigrant-receiving communities. The Colorado Trust envisions an integration model where both immigrants and the receiving community play a role in community building. Funding through SIRFI has helped localities improve access to English classes for immigrants, increase the ability of immigrant parents to become involved in their children’s schools, and provide cultural competency training to local health care providers.

Grantee communities receive initial planning grants ranging from $5,000 to $10,000 in order to set up a collaborative that will create an integration plan tailored to their community. Collaboratives have included health care providers, educators, businesses, law enforcement officials, faith-based organizations, immigrant-serving organizations, and immigrants themselves. Integration plans, which must include a 20 percent cash or in-kind match, become proposals to the Colorado Trust for four-year implementation grants of $75,000 per year.

The Colorado Trust model illustrates how a private foundation can use its grantmaking to leverage the ongoing participation of a large number of stakeholders in an examination of and response to immigrant integration needs. The collaborative projects it has created ensure both participant diversity and institutional buy-in from government agencies key to implementing any integration strategy. In fact, the last iteration of comprehensive immigration reform legislation included funding to development local councils, modeled on the Colorado Trust initiative, that would have addressed immigrant integration issues. The Colorado model remains a unique approach to funding both mainstream government agencies and immigrant-serving organizations in developing individualized community integration plans.

The Illinois Model: Immigrant Integration by Executive Order

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59 Congress envisioned these integration councils as state and municipal collaboratives between state and local governments, businesses, faith-based organizations, civic organizations, foundations, and nonprofit organizations. The proposed integration councils would have conducted needs assessments, convene public hearings, and develop a comprehensive plan to integrate immigrants. Secure Borders, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Reform Act of 2007, 110th Cong., 1st Sess., S.1639, S373-375.
In 2005, Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich signed an executive order creating a statewide immigrant integration initiative designed to coordinate policies and programs to help immigrants integrate into the state; study the impact of immigration on the state; and provide comprehensive services to immigrants living in Illinois. The executive order was passed in recognition of the contribution of immigrants to the state and as a proactive policy to maximize the benefits immigrants bring to Illinois, while helping immigrants overcome integration challenges. The executive order created four new entities: the Office of New Americans Policy and Advocacy, the New Americans Immigrant Policy Council, a New American Interagency Task Force, and a National Advisory Council.

The Office of New Americans coordinates the policies, actions, planning, and programs of the state’s government with respect to immigrant integration. It is the result of a collaboration between the governor and the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR). The New Americans Immigrant Policy Council consults with immigrant leaders, state governmental leaders, and national policy experts to recommend strategic directions on key issues. The New American Interagency Task Force examines how Illinois can systematically address changing state demographics and assist immigrant and refugee newcomers to integrate. Finally, the National Advisory Council consists of academics, business leaders, advocates, and governmental practitioners who guide the governor’s work on immigrant integration.

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As a result of the executive order, the Office of New Americans and ICIRR released a report entitled, “For the Benefit of All: Strategic Recommendations to Enhance the State’s Role in the Integration of Immigrants in Illinois.” The reported provided recommendations in the areas of citizenship, education, health care and human services. The governor’s office also collaborated with ICIRR to launch a New Americans Initiative, a coordinated multiyear campaign to directly assist Illinois immigrants in becoming US citizens. The New Americans Initiative uses media and outreach to link immigrants to citizenship preparation events and legal counseling. Lastly, the governor's office also provides information on learning English, health care, workers’ rights, education opportunities, and child care to immigrants through the state's website. The governor’s executive order has put into motion an ambitious, multifaceted process to create a more coordinated response from key state agencies to immigrant integration challenges and opportunities.

**El Monte Community Building Initiative: A Holistic Approach to Neighborhood Revitalization**

Funded by the California Community Foundation, the El Monte Community Building Initiative (CBI) is a 10-year effort to revitalize the community by engaging residents, developing their leadership capacity, and improving the physical environment and social services.  

The primary objectives of CBI are to improve

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• the physical infrastructure of the community through increased development of a range of housing options, community facilities, and public amenities;
• community engagement and problem-solving capacity through increased resident involvement and local leadership development;
• access to and delivery of services (e.g., high-quality education, health, human services, and arts/culture) for residents.

While the initiative’s primary focus is physical infrastructure improvements, when combined with resident engagement in neighborhood planning and the improved delivery of basic services, CBI is unusual in the holistic approach it takes to neighborhood revitalization by simultaneously focusing on physical development, human capital, and social services in a targeted community. The initiative also involves a partnership between local government, private sector partners, and philanthropy to ensure long-term results and sustainability. Depending on the success of this model in El Monte, CBI’s use of strategic investments and partnerships in a finite geographic area could be seen as a model for addressing immigrant integration issues that is at once place-based, population-focused, and service-area focused, while also addressing key community empowerment and engagement imperatives.
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