



Immigration in the Rockies

Inmigración en Los Rockies
L'immigration dans les Montagnes Rocheuses
Pansamantalang pandarayuhan sa Rockies
Иммиграция в регионе Скалистых гор
Einwanderung in den Rockies

By Simon Cataldo

THE 2008 COLORADO COLLEGE STATE OF THE ROCKIES REPORT CARD

Key Findings

- The immigrant population in the Rockies region today is approximately 11 percent; in 1900, immigrants represented more than 18 percent of the region's population.
- The growth of the Rockies' immigrant population is significantly outpacing the United States as a whole: from 2000-2005 the regional immigrant population rose 27 percent versus 16 percent nationwide.
- 6 of 8 Rockies states rank in the highest percentage (40-54 percent) of foreign born residents who are unauthorized.
- About two thirds of immigrants in the Rockies are Hispanic, but over 60 percent of Hispanics in the region are not immigrants. In fact, there is not a single state in the Rockies where immigrant Hispanics outnumber native Hispanics.
- Poor immigrants use fewer public services than poor American citizens, even though immigrants are far less likely to have health insurance.

About the author: Simon Cataldo (Colorado College class of 2008) is a student researcher for the 2007/08 State of the Rockies Project.

Our ancestors ... possessed a right, which nature has given to all men, of departing from the country in which chance, not choice has placed them.

- Thomas Jefferson¹

Unless the stream of these people can be turned away from their country to other countries, they will soon outnumber us so that we will not be able to save our language or our government.

- Benjamin Franklin²

Introduction

During the first decades of the twentieth century a wave of European immigrants rolled across the Atlantic Ocean. The newcomers hailed from diverse ethnic backgrounds: Italians, Jews, French, Irish, and Russians alike converged on the eastern shores of the United States for the first time in a unique social experiment. In an attempt to describe this new phenomenon, a catchy but inaccurate term was coined; the United States became the world's "melting pot."

America's immigrant experience, both from the perspective of immigrants and receiving communities, tells us that the "melting pot" expression scarcely describes the result of an influx of foreigners. William Timken, the current U.S. Ambassador to Germany, characterized the immigrant society with more insight during a speech in Berlin in 2006. He cited fears that the influx of Germans to Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century threatened to "Germanize" the city. This did not turn out to be the case, but neither were the immigrant Germans "Anglified." "Immigrant integration," Timken declared, "means that both newcomers and residents change."³

To re-phrase: America does not only change immigrants, immigrants change America too. Resistance to change is part of the human condition, a challenge Americans have dealt with throughout the nation's history. America's struggle to integrate immigrants and new ethnic minorities has borne some of the most colossal successes and horrendous atrocities in U.S. history.

Immigrants have played an essential role in the evolution of the nation's economy, demography, and culture. Nevertheless, immigration has also historically been the nexus for a heated debate across the United States. The arrival of the foreign-born in large numbers generates strong sentiments regarding national identity, social justice, economic opportunity, and education. Today's foreign-born share of the population is approaching levels of the 1930s, both in the Rockies region and the country as a whole. As a result, immigration has once again arrived at the forefront of national, regional, and local politics.

The turn of the twenty-first century marked a new era of immigration to the United States, distinguished by a redistribution away from the "Big Six" settlement states of California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey. Today Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and even Idaho have become major "destination states," especially for unauthorized migrants, joining Arizona and New Mexico.⁴ The growth of the Rocky Mountain West's foreign-born population significantly outpaces the United States as a whole.

This rapid influx of immigrants into the Rockies region introduces a unique challenge of integration to both the receiving communities and new immigrants. Compared to native workers, foreign-born members of the workforce are typically low-skilled and have low-incomes. In many key indicators of well-being, foreign-born children and families in the Rockies region fare far worse than the general U.S. foreign-born population. The gap is exaggerated for non-citizens and those who speak Spanish.

Uncertainty regarding immigrants' whereabouts, role in the economy, and legal status has promoted confusion amongst natives and immigrants of the Rockies, leading many to point fingers at immigration for a bevy of social and fiscal problems. This chapter of the *2008 State of the Rockies Report Card* will explore the issues of immigrant labor and immigrant integration as they pertain specifically to the eight-state Rocky Mountain West, working from a quantitative and spatial viewpoint on this highly emotional topic.

Today's Trends in a Historical Context

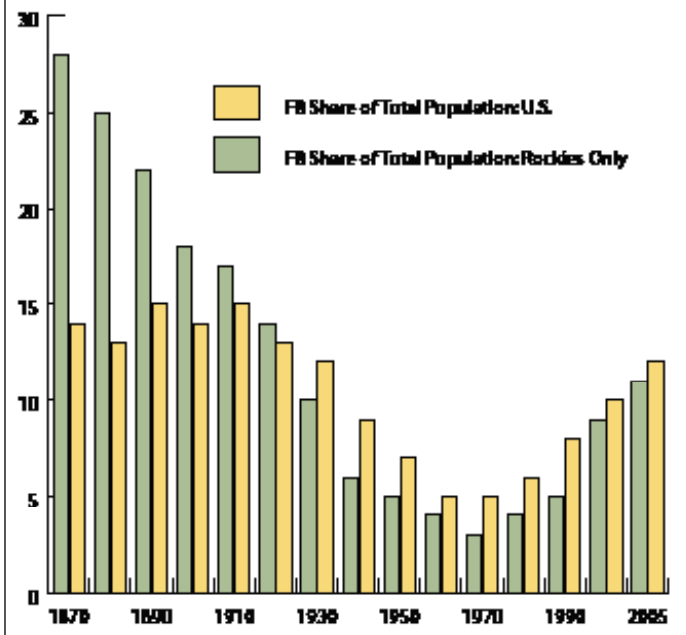
The beginning of the twenty-first century marks a unique period in immigration patterns for the Rocky Mountain West. While the number of immigrants residing in the Rockies region has never been greater, the foreign-born share of the Rockies region's population today pales in comparison to that of the beginning of the last century. (See Figure 1.)



Border crossing at Algodones, Mexico

Figure 1
Foreign-Born Share of Total Rockies and U.S. Population, 1970 to 2005

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition Online, 2000 Decennial Census, American Community Survey



In 1900 nearly 20 percent of people in the region hailed from afar. This percentage decreased steadily until the mid-1970s, when a new immigration surge commenced. Today the rate of increase of the foreign-born share of the population continues to climb. As the demography

and origin of the Rockies region's population changes, it is easy for long-time residents to forget the historical context of the region's immigrant past.

One hundred years ago, the Rocky Mountain West had a significantly higher percentage of immigrants than the United States (approximately 20 percent and 14 percent, respectively). Between 2000 and 2005 immigrants arrived to the eight-state region twice as fast as the country as a whole.⁶ Even as a rapidly growing region in terms of general population, the Rockies' immigrant population grew three times faster than the total region's population between 2000 and 2005.⁷ (Figure 2)

However, at mid-century, the foreign-born share of the Rockies region's population dipped below that of the nation, and has yet to catch up. Immigrants' share of the total population in the Rockies region today is only 11 percent compared to 12.4 percent for entire country.⁸

Characteristics of the Foreign-born: Unauthorized Migrants

Legal status rests at the center of the immigration debate. The concept of a foreigner entering the United States illegally and without documentation irks many U.S. citizens. Perhaps generating even stronger anti-illegal immigrant sentiments are the perceptions that these residents use public services to which they are not entitled and that they take jobs from Americans. This feeling has become prevalent enough that in 2007 a

Terminology

Hispanic: Derived from the Latin word for Spain, "Hispanic" refers to any Spanish speaker from either hemisphere. Thus, "Hispanic" defines neither race nor ethnicity. Some consider the word to be offensive because of its Anglo roots. This chapter will use "Hispanic" when necessary to be consistent with U.S. Census Bureau terminology.

Latino: Refers to a person from Latin America, or whose ancestors are from Latin America. "Latino" describes U.S. Spanish-speaking immigrants more acutely than "Hispanic," because most are from Latin America. Like "Hispanic," "Latino" refers to no specific race. Unlike "Hispanic," "Latino" carries an ethnic connotation. "Latino" refers to males and "Latina" to women.

Limited English Proficient (LEP): Limited English Proficient (LEP) is the term used by the federal government, most states and local school districts to identify those students who have insufficient English to succeed in English-only classrooms.⁵ These students may also be called English Language Learners (ELL).

Foreign Born: The U.S. Census Bureau counts a "Foreign Born" as anyone who

- A) is a citizen by naturalization OR
- B) is NOT a citizen of the United States.

Naturalized Citizen: A naturalized citizen was born into foreign citizenship, but has legally become a citizen of the United States with all the benefits of a native citizen except the right to become Vice President or President.

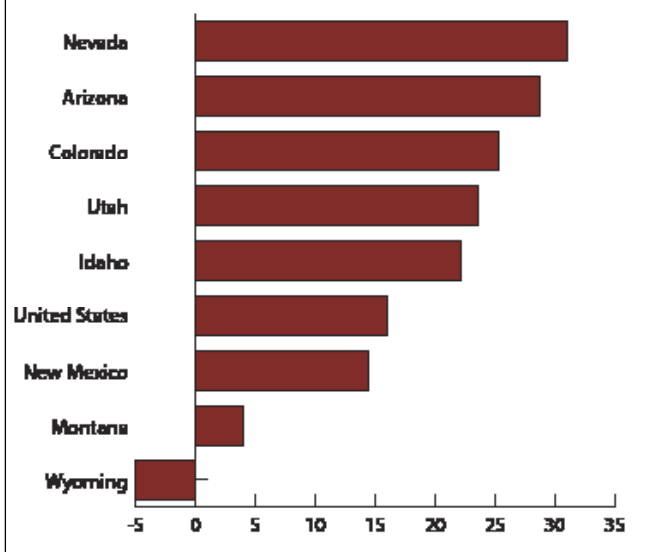
Non-Citizen: Includes anyone who is residing in the U.S., but is not a naturalized citizen. Non-citizens include Legal Permanent Residents (Green Card holders), Temporary Legal Residents (temporary work or leisure visa holders), Refugee Asylees, and Unauthorized Migrants.

Unauthorized Migrant: Any person residing in the United States without legal authorization. Also referred to as Undocumented Immigrant or Illegal Immigrant. "Unauthorized Migrant" is the most accurate term because some people have forged documentation and many actually emigrate back to their home country.

Immigrant Family: In this chapter, the term "immigrant family" refers to a family in which one of the heads of the household is an immigrant. Therefore, U.S.-born children and spouses are often members of an "immigrant family."

Figure 2
Percent Change in Rockies Immigrant Population
by Rockies State and United States, 2000-2005

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey



Colorado congressman, Tom Tancredo, staked a Presidential campaign on it:

“As President, I will secure our borders so illegal aliens do not come, and I will eliminate benefits and job prospects so they do not stay.”

On the opposite end of the spectrum, many Americans value the labor and cultural infusions immigrants – legal or not – bring to their communities. Across the Rockies region unauthorized migrants occupy a large portion of the workforce within individual businesses and entire industries. Local governments and citizen groups are scrambling to integrate the rapidly growing number of immigrant families into the larger community, but the fear, confusion, and anonymity of unauthorized migrants hinders these efforts.

Politicians in Washington, D.C., thrust the issue to new heights on the national stage in July 2007 when a national immigration reform bill, which proposed a path to citizenship for the estimated 13 million unauthorized migrants currently residing in the U.S., was voted down in the Senate. President George W. Bush and several notable Republican legislators supported the bill, which also would have required measures to improve border security.

Twelve million people currently live in the United States without full subjection to or benefit from the nation’s laws, taxes, and regulations. Regardless of political inclination, there is a consensus that this status quo is not acceptable. In the Rockies, the political climate is particularly volatile in regard to illegal immigrants. This may be explained by its geographical location (Arizona

and New Mexico occupy a large section of the U.S.-Mexico border), as well as the drastic change in foreign-born population during the last thirty years, highlighted by a relatively rapid influx of immigrants over the last five years. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

But the Rocky Mountain West is experiencing immigration in another unique way as well. According to the most widely accepted estimates of the unauthorized migrant population by Jeffrey Passel of the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington, D.C., all Rockies states except Montana and Wyoming rank among those with the highest percentage of foreign-born residents who are unauthorized. (See Table 1.) Only eleven of the remaining states are within this category. Nevada and New Mexico are among the “Very Highest” states, with more than 48 percent of immigrants unauthorized. It appears that in the Rockies region, a significantly higher percentage of the foreign-born are unauthorized than in the country as a whole (Figure 3).

The effects of unauthorized status are severe on the personal, family, community, state, and national level. Unauthorized migrants often live in the shadows of society, fearing deportation. An inability to speak English and cultural confusion contribute to ignorance regarding legal rights, access to services, and other critical information. In families with one or more unauthorized migrants, the disadvantages of illegal status affect those who are legal. This effect is especially felt by children of immigrant parents who are born into U.S. citizenship within the nation’s borders.¹⁰ For instance, an unauthorized parent might keep his child home from school when a rumor of a raid circulates, or prevent his child from receiving services she is entitled to as a citizen.

The Difficulty of Counting Unauthorized Migrants in the U.S.

Determining the number of unauthorized migrants residing in any geographic location, from the local to the national level, is extremely difficult in large part because those without legal status are hesitant to complete



U.S. – Canada border crossing

Figure 3

Estimated Unauthorized Population as a Percentage of the Foreign-Born Population, 2005

Source: Passel (2005), Pew Hispanic Center

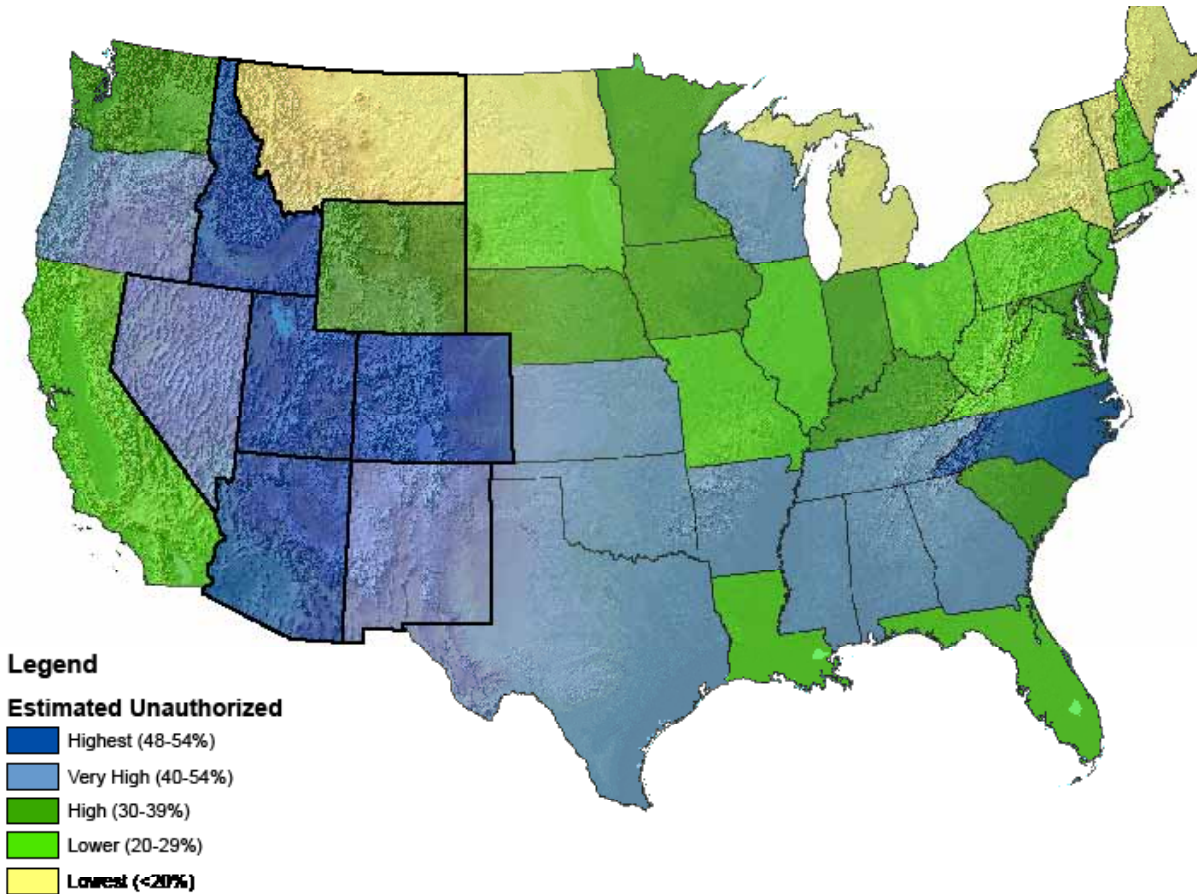


Table 1

Estimated Unauthorized Migrant Populations by State and U.S. Rankings, Thousands

Source: Jeffrey Passel's estimates based on 2005 CPS data

	Rank	Lower	Upper
U.S.		10,700	11,500
AZ	5	400	450
CO	12	225	275
NV	15	150	200
UT	23	75	100
NM	28	50	75
ID	38	25	45
WY	44-51	NA	10
MT	44-51	NA	10

any surveys or census forms. A breakdown of foreign-born residents into citizens and non-citizens is more attainable, but note that only a fraction of non-citizens are unauthorized. The Pew Hispanic Center's Passel estimated that in 2004 only 29 percent of foreign-borns resided illegally in the country. The remaining foreign-born residents included Legal Permanent Resident

Aliens (29 percent), Naturalized Citizens (32 percent), Temporary Legal Residents (i.e. those with temporary student or work visas—3 percent), and Refugee Arrivals (7 percent). The citizen/non-citizen breakdown is nonetheless useful because it demonstrates a startling gap in many well-being and financial indicators. In 2005:

- 66 percent of immigrants in the Rockies region lacked citizenship
- A tenth of Nevadans in 2005 were not citizens of the United States.
- Nearly a fifth (18 percent) of people living in Arizona in 2005 lacked citizenship.
- In Idaho, the non-citizen immigrant population grew by nearly 250 percent from 1990 to 2005, outpacing the growth of naturalized immigrants in the state by more than a factor of 2. In both Colorado and Utah, non-citizen immigrant populations grew by over 330 percent during that time.

It is likely the above statistics are under-exaggerated, given the inherent under-counting of unauthorized migrants.¹¹

Why Don't Immigrants Just Become Legal?

The barriers to acquiring legal entry to or naturalization in the United States are substantial. After the 2005 acceptances for U.S. naturalization applications, there remained a 552,940-person backlog. Low-skilled foreign workers find themselves out of luck, even when an employee is willing to sponsor them. Currently there is a limit of 66,000 H2B visas (for non-agricultural, low-skill labor) per fiscal year in the United States. Allotments of these have been known to run out in March or April, long before the cycle begins again on October 1. In 2007, the visa quota was filled on March 23.¹²

The Changing Face of Immigrants: Origin of the Foreign-Born

An understanding of the basic characteristics of the immigrant population in the Rockies region is an essential step towards addressing the immigration issue. For example, the Hispanic origin and native country of an immigrant may be correlated with his or her wage, primary language, and likelihood to have attained a certain level of education or occupation skill.

The majority of today's immigrants are Hispanic. In 2005, 53 percent of the U.S. foreign-born population hailed from Latin America, up from 44 percent in 1990. Each year, since at least 1986, Mexico has been the top source country of immigrants to the United States.¹³ Meanwhile, Europe and Canada's share has declined significantly (see Figure 4). Only a quarter of the immigrants admitted to the United States during the 1950s originated in the Western Hemisphere, not including Canada, while more than 60 percent of the immigrants admitted to the United States during the decade

originated in Europe or Canada. In the 1990s, those numbers were 47 percent and 17 percent, respectively. By 2005, Europeans composed only 11 percent of the foreign-born population, down from 23 percent fifteen years earlier.¹⁴

Although the birthplace of immigrants varies from community to community, in general Latin Americans dominate the foreign-born population in the Rocky Mountain West. More than 66 percent of the Rockies region's foreign-born population is Latin American (Figure 5). Fifty-eight percent of immigrants in the region were born in Mexico, compared to only thirty percent in the nation as a whole.¹⁵

In turn, Hispanics and Latinos represent the majority of immigrants in the Rockies—more so in the region than in the United States. This trend is magnified in Arizona and Wyoming, where more than 70 percent of the immigrant populations are Hispanic/Latino (Figure 6).

This being said, it is important to note that while most immigrants in the Rockies are Hispanic, *most Hispanics in the region and the country are not immigrants*. The Rocky Mountain West has a long and rich native-born Latino heritage that can be confused with the new immigrant population. It is statistically inaccurate for Hispanics to serve as a proxy for immigrants. In truth, there is no state in the Rockies where immigrant Hispanics outnumber native Hispanics. Of the Rockies region states with high immigrant populations, this trend is especially strong in New Mexico, where only 11 percent of Hispanics are foreign-born.

Today's immigrants represent a very different ethnic mix than the immigrant peaks of the early and mid-twentieth

Figure 4
Change in Immigrant Country of Origin, Rockies, 1990-2005
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey

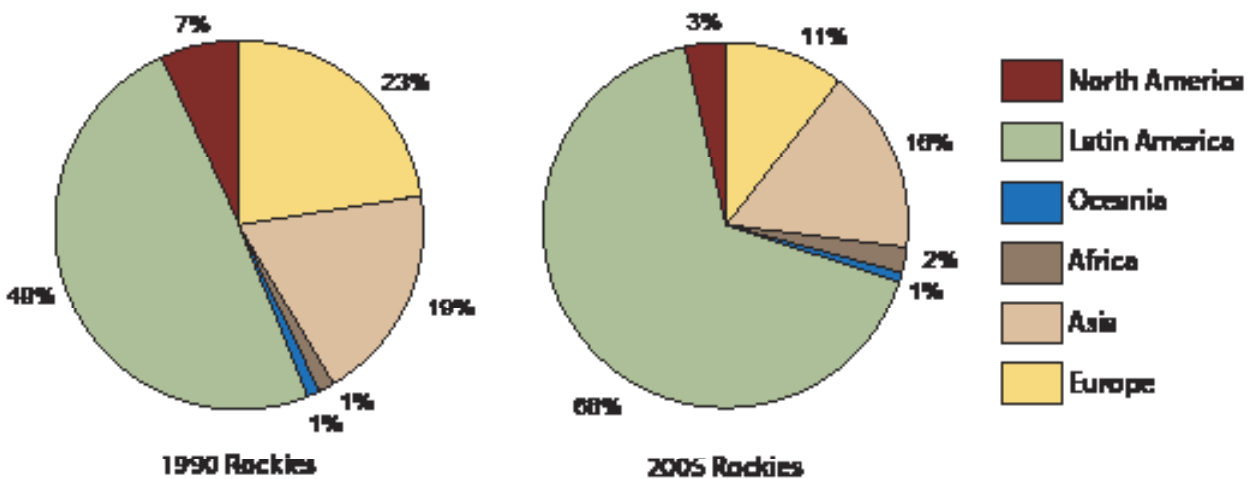
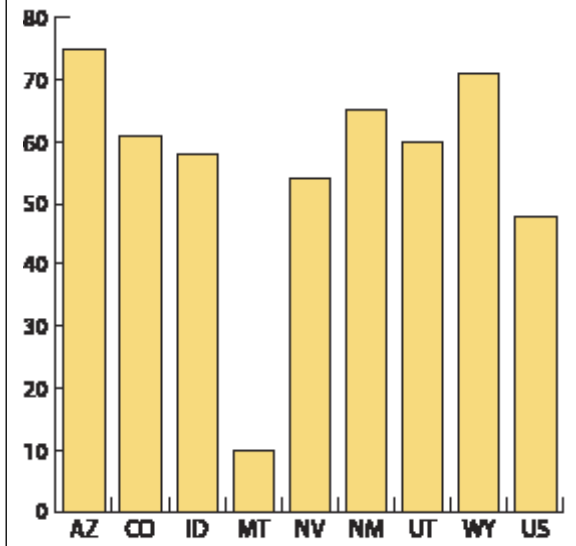


Figure 5
Percent of Immigrant Population
that is Hispanic, 2006

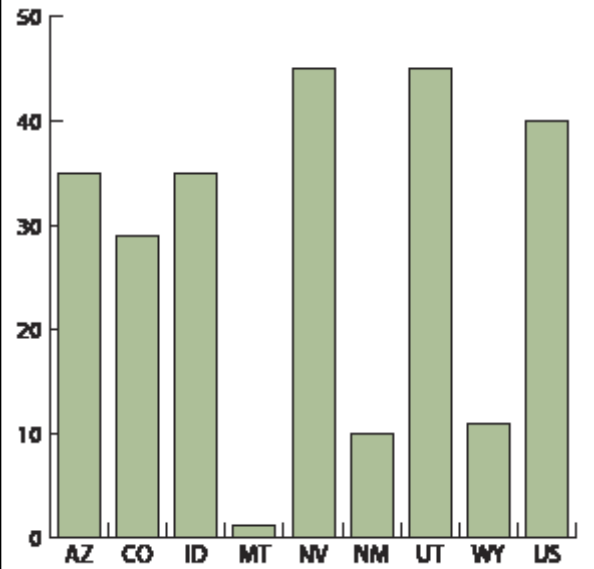
Source: Calculated from 2006 Current Population Survey



century, with most of the foreign-born population native to the Western Hemisphere south of the U.S. However, immigrants to the United States have historically been considered ethnically and racially different from the majority of those already living here. For example, Italians were not considered to be “white” during the peak of Italian immigration to America in the twentieth century. Now Italian-Americans, along with other ethnic groups of European descent, are counted as “white” on the U.S. Census. Americans must ask themselves, “How does ethnic origin and skin color change our attitude towards and treatment of immigrants?” and “How is an influx of

Figure 6
Percent of Hispanic Population
that is Foreign Born, 2006

Source: Calculated from 2006 Current Population Survey



Latin Americans affecting our perceptions of native U.S. Hispanics?” One might even ask, “Are most of the perceived differences between immigrants and natives real or imaginary?”

The Immigrant Workforce of the Rockies

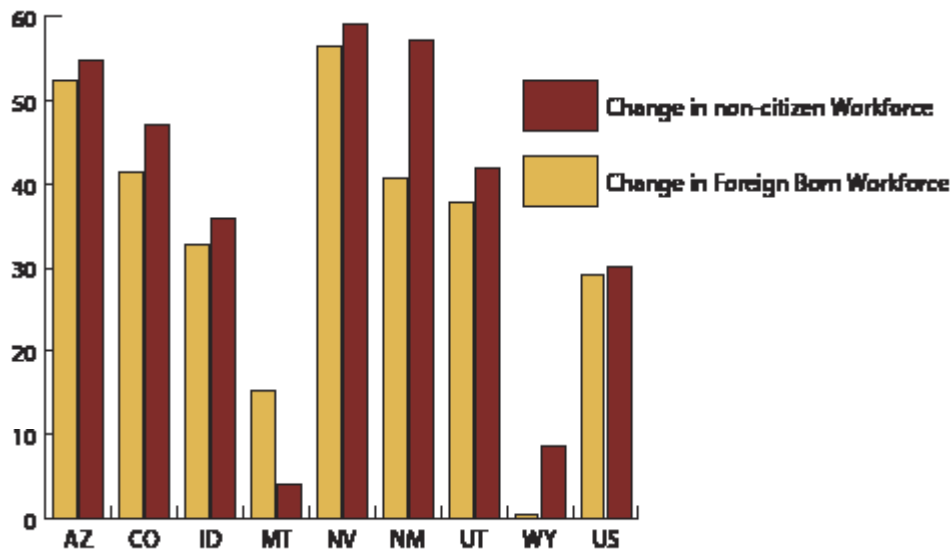
Immigrants comprise a growing share of the workforce in the Rockies region. From 1995 to 2006, the foreign-born workforce in the region grew by nearly 300 percent. That increase represented a rise in the share of the total workforce from 10 to 15 percent.¹⁶ During the

first five years of this century, the foreign-born and non-citizen workforces grew considerably faster in most Rockies region states than in the nation as whole. As Figure 7 shows, non-citizen workforce accounts for almost all of this growth in most states in the Rockies. This immigrant portion of the nation’s and region’s workforce has grown to the point that its economic impact is felt throughout all strata of the economy.

Extensive research has been done by several economists exploring the intricacies of immigrant labor’s economic impact in the United States.¹⁷ These studies have yielded contrasting results, particularly in regards to the effect on job availability and wages for less-skilled

Figure 7
Percent Change in Rockies Foreign-Born and Non-Citizen Workforce,
2000-2005

Source: Migration Policy Institute Tabulations of U.S. Census Bureau Data (Decennial Census and ACS)



native workers.¹⁸ Judging by immigrant workers' substantial contribution to the growth of the U.S. and Rockies region's workforce, it is likely that immigrants play an integral role in the net economic growth of the country and the region. According to Edward Lazear, Chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisors for the Bush administration, "Our review [in 2007] of economic research finds immigrants not only help fuel the Nation's economic growth, but also have an overall positive effect on the income of native-born workers."¹⁹

A comprehensive economic impact study released in July 2007 by Judith Gans of the University of Arizona reported that in 2004 Arizona's immigrant population had a net positive fiscal impact of approximately \$942 million.²⁰

A 2001 report by the Committee for Economic Development (CED) raises significant doubts concerning the nation's ability to continue on a path of economic growth without immigrant labor. The results of the CED's study make it clear that the U.S. will depend on newcomers for an increase in the workforce in the near future. According to the CED, in the 1950s and 1960s, immigrants "made no net contribution" to the U.S. working age population, but between 1996 and 2005 immigrants accounted for one-third of that growth. If current trends continue, they will account for more than half of the net growth from 2006 to 2015, and all of the net growth in the working age population between 2016 and 2035.²¹

Still, the debate revolves around immigrants' "taking" of Americans' jobs and the potential impact of losing immigrant laborers. Around the Rockies region, even as some elected officials rail against immigrants for un-

Key Findings from the Judith Gans Report:

Total State Tax Revenue Attributable to Immigrant Workers: \$2.3 Billion (\$862.1 million for naturalized citizens and \$1.5 billion for non-citizens)

Fiscal Cost of Immigrants (including education, health care and law enforcement): \$1.4 billion

Economic Output of naturalized citizen (immigrant) workers: \$14.8 billion (4 percent of total)

Economic Output of non-citizens: \$28.9 billion (8 percent of total)

dercutting natives' jobs, many community members and business owners claim that their local economies and industries rely heavily on immigrant labor, and that losing them would have a devastating economic impact (see Case Study: ICE raids).

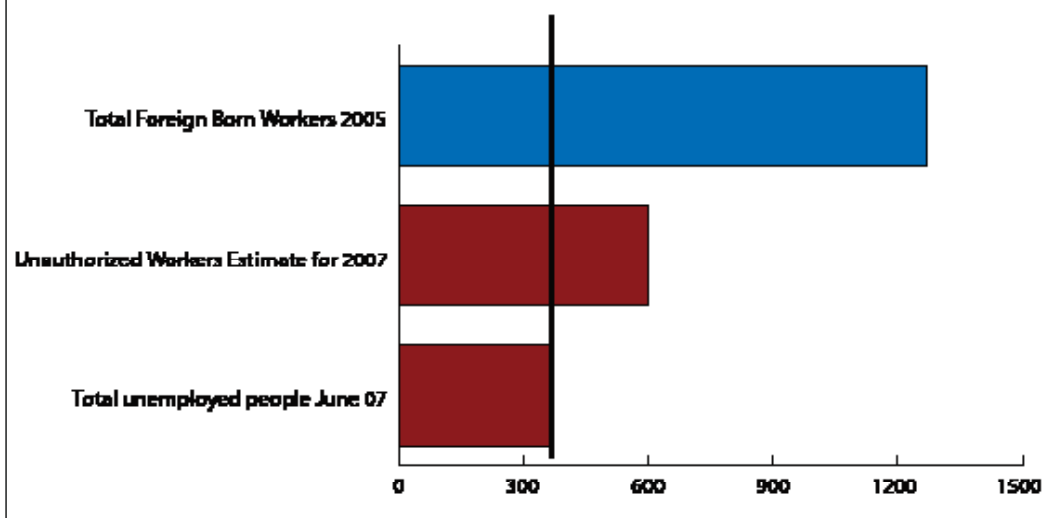
An analysis of the foreign-born workforce of the Rocky Mountain West challenges the notion that if immigrants were to leave the workforce, native workers could even fill the void. The number of immigrant workers in 2005 far exceeded the total number of people looking for work in June of 2007. Most of this gap is due to the non-citizen workforce, although citizen immigrants alone also outnumber the unemployed population. A size estimate of the unauthorized migrant workforce in 2007 (see data section on page 32) suggests that unemployed persons could not replace even the region's illegal workers, as those laborers outnumber the unemployed population by nearly a factor of two (Figure 8).

A *Denver Post* editorial in July 2007 highlighted this point with respect to agricultural workers. Colorado farmers claimed that they, "can't find enough workers, immigrant or native, even offering \$400 a day."²²

One approach to explore the job "taking" issue is an analysis of the education level of immigrants relative to that of natives. According to Gans' analysis, when natives and immigrants have similar skill-sets and abilities, it leads to job competition and wage decreases. When immigrants and natives have a stratified education distribution, they fill different roles in both

Figure 8
Comparison of Immigrant Workers to Number of Unemployed in the Rockies
(Thousands of Workers)

Source: Computed from Bureau of Labor Statistics and Passell (2005), see methodology for estimate of unauthorized workers.



Case Study: The ICE raids at the Swift meatpacking plant in Greeley, Colorado

Background:

Many unauthorized migrants harbor a keen fear of immigration raids and deportation. Rumors of immigration enforcement, often unfounded, spread quickly and paralyze communities. Such fear is not merely paranoia, however, given the drastic consequences of deportation on the individual, family, and community.

The effects of immigration raids, made clear by the events in Greeley, are far-reaching. Swift and Company is the third-largest processor of fresh beef and pork in the U.S., with \$9 billion in annual sales. The economic impact of Swift beyond the company itself is substantial. For instance, Swift's livestock purchases total more than \$900 million, mostly from local sources. When processing at Swift stops, so do sales to the company from local livestock producers.

On December 12, 2006, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents raided the Swift meatpacking plant in Greeley, as well as five other Swift plants around the country. "Operation Wagon Train" resulted in the arrest and detention of 1,282 Swift employees nationwide, 261 of them in Greeley. Many of these workers were ultimately deported to their home countries, primarily Mexico and Guatemala.

Perspectives: Swift and Company

Companies must straddle the line between respecting civil rights and complying with documentation requirements. In 2001, the U.S. Department of Justice sued Swift for \$2.5 million for discrimination, "for going too far in determining applicant eligibility" of employees. Swift settled the case for less than \$200,000 with no admission of wrongdoing.

Since 1997, Swift has used the federal government's online verification program, "Basic Pilot," to check the legal status of its workers. Although Swift claims that "a company cannot legally and practically do more than we have done to ensure a legal workforce," the ICE opened an investigation of Swift and its hiring practices prior to its enforcement action. No criminal charges have been levied against Swift in connection with its hiring practices following the raids.

The company says that it tried repeatedly to work with ICE to apprehend and remove "all potential illegal workers and criminals in order to minimize disruption to the company, communities, and livestock producers." ICE rejected these efforts and ended the investigation with a very public enforcement action. Swift contends that politics and public relations played a part in the manner in which ICE carried out the raids. Swift did not return to full employment until May of 2007 and reports that, overall, it suffered a \$53 million



State of the Rockies Researchers meet immigrant laborers in Greeley, Colorado

loss as a result of the 2006 raids.

The company would like to see comprehensive immigration reform in order to better integrate immigrant labor, which it deems integral to the nation's economy. Swift Vice President of Investor Relations and Public Communications, Sean McHugh is doubtful that native workers are willing and able to fill the void: "Every year Swift hires 5,000 employees, with two times the minimum wage and full benefits, so why don't Americans come to work here?...The low-tech and high tech industry needs immigrant labor, period...The inescapable conclusion is that [immigration] policy is broken."

Perspectives: Greeley Hispanic immigrant workers

In the aftermath of the raids, Roberto and Emanuel felt that the Latino community in Greeley lacked a strong, cohesive voice. In addition, immigrant support from within the Latino community and the broader Greeley community was and still is insufficient despite valiant efforts by the Catholic church and local organizers. Rallies in Denver in support of immigrant workers following the raids gave them hope, but they became disappointed when no concrete improvements came.

Roberto tells the story of his cousins, Jorge and Martha who both worked at Swift full-time for the ten years they lived in Greeley. The couple had been living and working in the country illegally, as well as paying off their decade-old mortgage on the home where they and their two young children lived.

When ICE apprehended and deported Jorge and Martha to their native Mexico, they lost their mortgage and all of their possessions. Their 10-year-old son and 4-year-old daughter learned of their parents' arrest when a relative picked them up from school. All four are now living in Mexico, trying to save enough money to return to the United States.

Conclusion:

Immigration raids are a delicate issue. Raids carry the potential for acute and broad negative impacts, which must be balanced with ICE's obligation to enforce immigration regulations passed down by state and national lawmakers. Greeley exemplifies a trend which the Rockies can expect to see more of if the unauthorized migrant community continues to grow within the region's current political climate.

On July 10, 2007, just days after the State of the Rockies team visited Greeley, ICE again raided the Swift meatpacking plant there. The raid resulted in the arrest of 19 employees.

¹Shandley, Jack. Testimony on "Problems in the Current Employment Verification and Workforce Enforcement System" before the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Congress. Washington D.C. 24 April 2007. Page 3.

²Shandley, 4.

³Interview with Sean McHugh. 11 July 2007.

⁴Pseudonyms used; conversation conducted in Spanish with translation provided by Pablo Navarro.

the general economy and specific industries, leading to a complementary skill set which benefits the workforce as a whole.²³ For example, a single ski resort needs to employ a wide array of workers, from accountants and lawyers to dishwashers and janitors. An immigrant with a 9th grade education does not compete with the lawyer for his job, or the high school educated citizen for a managerial job.

A breakdown of educational attainment levels by origin in the Rockies region (Figure 9) confirms that, in fact, the region enjoys this complementary workforce effect between immigrants and natives:

- 30 percent of foreign-born adults over age 25 in the Rockies region have less than a 9th grade education, while this is true for only about 2 percent of natives.
- More than half of immigrant adults lack a high school degree, while just over 10 percent of natives do not have a high school diploma.

The issue of foreign-born laborers transcends the legalization debate because a large portion of foreign-born workers are either citizens or have temporary visas. However, many workers who obtain temporary visas “overstay” because of the price of renewal is prohibitive. The H2A and H2B seasonal worker visas, which allow an immigrant to work in the U.S. for up to a year (but normally only 6 months), require the individual to return to his or her home country and reapply without guarantee of renewal. The total duration of stay for these visa holders cannot amount to more than three years.²⁴ The cost of the trip to a worker’s native country and the risk of rejection, incentivize temporary workers to remain in the country illegally when their visas expire.²⁵ Further complicating the temporary visa issue is its seasonal nature. The immigrant workforce of the Rockies is highly concentrated in the service industry, which needs year-round employees.

Construction companies are also strong employers of foreign-born workers in the Rockies region. One third of construction workers in Nevada are foreigners from countries within the Americas, second highest in the nation. Thirty-one percent of Arizona’s construction workers are foreigners from the Americas, and New Mexico’s and Colorado’s shares are both over twenty percent.²⁶

When analyzing workforce statistics for the foreign-born, especially non-citizens, one must keep in mind inherent under-counting; illegal workers often go unreported in statistical surveys. Available data shows a large discrepancy in the industry breakdown of citizen and non-citizen foreign-born workers. Non-citizen workers are more prevalent in the Rockies region than foreign-born citizens, as most of the region’s foreign-born work-



force in all states except Montana lacks citizenship.

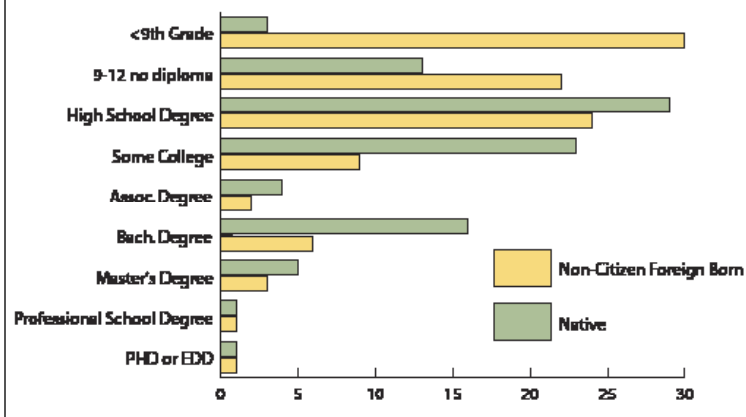
The discrepancy in citizenship of workers is most notable in construction. Five percent of citizen immigrant workers are in the construction trade, while more than twenty percent of non-citizen workers are in construction. The service industry is the top employer for both groups, drawing 26 and 29 percent of citizen and non-citizen foreign-born laborers, respectively. (See Figure 10.) Presumably, these industries, two of the Rockies region’s strongest, would be among those hit hardest by a crackdown on immigrant labor in the region.

Immigrants also occupy a large portion of the workforce in several other, smaller industries. (See Table 2.) For example, 40 percent of the more than 16,000 workers in the plastics and rubber products industry of the Rockies (mostly in Colorado, Utah, and Arizona) are immigrants, and virtually all of them non-citizens; 43 percent of machinery manufacturers in the region are foreign-born.

Immigrant workers in the Rockies region earn less than the U.S.-born workforce on average. Both male and female foreign-born workers earn significantly less than

Figure 9
Educational Attainment for Non-Citizen Foreign Born and Native Populations, 2006

Source: Calculated from 2006 Current Population Survey



native workers, enough to make them considerably more likely to live in poverty. Colorado has the second highest difference between median earnings of native and foreign-born male workers in the country. Nevada, Arizona, and Utah rank fourth, fifth, and seventh, respectively. New Mexico's foreign-born population ranks second in the nation in poverty rate and Arizona's is sixth.²⁷

Thus, the influx of immigrant labor is accompanied by a population of people who earn less and often live in poverty. This, compounded by limited English ability, complicates the integration of new immigrant families into communities across the Rocky Mountain West.

The Well-Being and Integration of Immigrants in Communities of the Rockies Region

Integration of the recent, burgeoning foreign-born population and their families into the general community is an active process, not a passive one. Cultural differences and authorization status issues contribute to communication deficiencies, which can breed fear and contempt. Efforts to integrate new immigrant populations require a significant amount of political will, patience, social activism, communication, and in some cases, reallocation of public funds. The desire and subsequent success of communities in the Rockies region to do this varies greatly, largely due to local politics and availability of funding for support services. (See Case Study: Jackson, Wyoming).

The forces that shape immigrant integration operate on several levels (Table 3). On the macro-level, national laws lay out basic civil rights and federal funding directed towards immigrants. Federal immigration policy also determines entrance standards to the United States and the number of people allowed entry each year. Such policies carry significant weight in terms of the origin,

occupational skill, and family connectedness of new arrivals. On the federal level, immigrant integration is not prioritized as it is in countries such as the Netherlands and Canada, which have Offices for Immigrant and Refugee Integration.²⁸

The failure of the federal government to pass comprehensive immigration reform has burdened the states to deal with immigration individually. From January to June of 2007, state legislatures enacted 171 new immigration-related laws, double the number from the same period in 2006; 44 of these laws were enacted by the eight Rocky Mountain states.²⁹

States wield considerable influence in documentation and enforcement policies, which can affect integration of unauthorized migrants or any immigrant with English language difficulties. States also make funding decisions with profound effects on their immigrant populations.

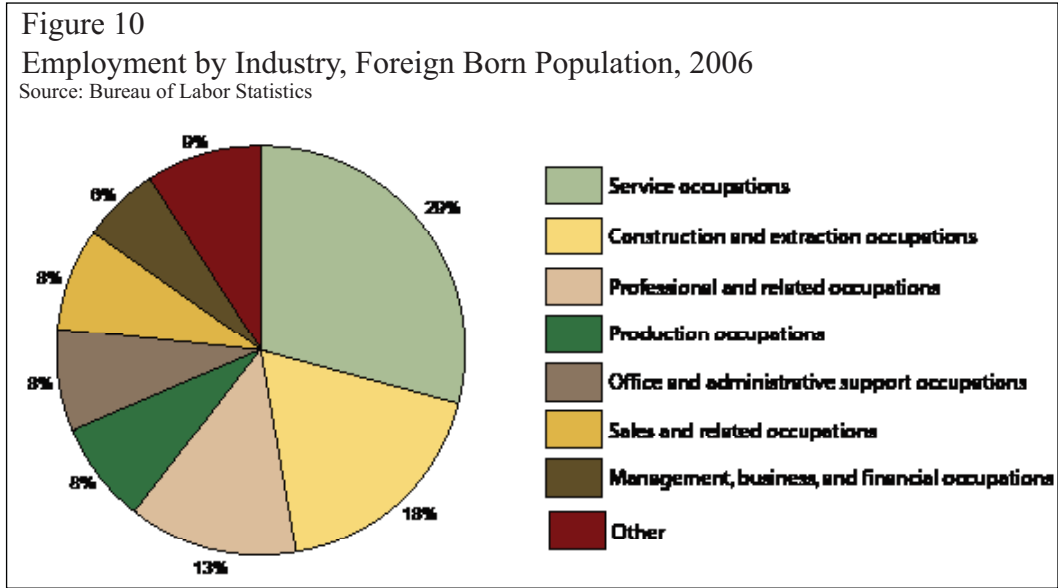
For those communities seeking some semblance of equality between immigrants and the general population, data shows that there is a long way to go in the Rockies. In particular, children in immigrant families (immigrant children or native ones with immigrant parents) are suffering. Many of those represented in the following KIDS COUNT statistics from the Annie E. Casey Foundation project are U.S. citizens by birth, yet clearly the negative implications of being an immigrant in the Rockies region are being imposed upon them. In 2004, an estimated 67 percent of children with an unauthorized parent were themselves U.S. citizens.³⁰ As previously mentioned, anyone born within the borders of the United States is automatically a legal citizen, regardless of the authorization status of the parents. Therefore, future immigration enforcement policies are unlikely to eliminate most of these children from the population. In other words, they are here to

stay. In line with the poverty trends of the general immigrant population, children in immigrant families are far more likely to live in poverty than their native peers (see Figure 11).

Topics in Integration: Public Education

Education is a hot topic in communities with large or growing immigrant populations. Rising enrollment of immigrant children in

NEW MEXICO'S FOREIGN BORN POPULATION RANKS SECOND IN THE NATION IN POVERTY RATE AND ARIZONA'S IS SIXTH.



Case Study: Jackson, Wyoming and the Latino Services Network

Background:

Teton County, Wyoming is one of a number of communities in the Rockies with a strong, service-driven economy thanks to beautiful natural surroundings and an internationally-renowned ski resort. The nature of the county's economy, specifically in Jackson, requires a low-skilled workforce to maintain and service the town's many tourist facilities.

In the early to mid-1990s Latino immigrants, mostly Mexican men, began to arrive in Teton County to work in the agriculture and employment sectors. Slowly their wives followed suit and in time the immigrant couples had children. Latino immigrants were a new phenomenon for the residents of Jackson. As Manuel Lopez, a Jackson restaurant owner and native Cuban recounts, "I think there may have been two or three Hispanics in Jackson when I arrived in 1973."¹

Like many communities in the Rockies, the Latino population grew rapidly. Jackson's Latino immigrant population has grown by a factor of four since 1990, to 2,700 residents in 2006.² From 2001 to 2007, the Latino share of total school enrollment in Teton County climbed from 6 percent to 19 percent.

Teton County's Action:

As the Latino population expanded, the Jackson community realized it had to respond. Most citizens recognized that immigrants played an essential role in the town's economy (and still do today), but also saw that immigrants' low-income, English language deficiencies, and cultural differences required support from the town as a whole.

In 2000, focus groups at the Teton County Library spurred a coordinated effort to improve collaboration and information dissemination between both service providers and engaged community members. Their efforts have thus far resulted in what today is called the Latino Services Network (LSN), composed of more than 25 local agencies, including medical translation services, Headstart Programs, and the police department. The LSN's main purpose is to improve information sharing between entities that serve the Teton County's Latino community in order to reduce duplication of services and make more efficient use of human and financial resources. The benefits reach not only Latinos, but the community's support network overall.

The Teton County Library has led

the way in Jackson's efforts towards the integration of the Latino immigrant community. The library has a full-time Latino Services Supervisor, as well as a Spanish Computer Class Instructor and a College Preparation Program Coordinator specifically for designed for Latino high school students. Also piloting Jackson's integration initiatives are "study circle" conversations, supported by both public entities and private businesses, which address residents' concerns and ideas regarding the Latino community.

Continuing Challenges:

Despite intensive human and financial resource investments in Teton County's Latino immigrant community, several difficulties persist. For instance, the LSN has struggled to increase involvement from Latinos themselves, as many of the adults who work multiple jobs are not inclined to devote time to volunteering. This, in part, limits the LSN's ability to diffuse the fear of raids which continues to permeate the immigrant population. Fear of deportation is becoming more legitimate, as some say the state highway patrol increasingly stops Latino motorists and requests documentation.

On the economic level, Jackson struggles to obtain enough temporary work visas year round; there is still a shortage of labor in the town. In addition to the seasonal nature of the H2B visa (whereas many low-skilled jobs in Jackson require year round workers), the visas obligate workers to return to their native country for renewal. Anecdotal evidence suggests that employers pressure workers to "overstay." This, compounded by the severe financial implications of a home-and-back trip without guarantee of renewal, cause some immigrant workers in Jackson to remain in the country illegally. Members of the LSN estimate that about half of the town's foreign born workers are currently authorized.

The Bottom Line:

Teton County's immigrant experience is common throughout the Rocky Mountain West, as Latino immigrant communities emerge to provide labor for booming service economies. Jackson's response shows how one town can impact the integration of the immigrants, using human resources, innovative practices, political will, and some public funds. In Jackson, community leaders have determined that the effort and fiscal expenditures committed to the Latino community are outweighed by the newcomers' cultural and economic contributions.



State of the Rockies Researchers meet with the Latino Services Network in Jackson, Wyoming.

¹Rice, Lucille. "Taking Root: Valley Reaps Benefits from Successful Immigrant Businesses". *Planet Jackson Hole*. 4-10 July 2007.

²GCIR toolkit

³Valencia, Gina, et al. "A Changing Community: Diversity and Immigration in Teton County" July 2007

Table 2
Non-Citizen and Immigrant Composition for Selected Industries
in the Rockies, 2006

Source: 2006 Current Population Survey

Industry	Non-citizens		All Immigrants	
	Share of Industry's Workforce	Number in Industry's Workforce	Share of Total Workforce	Number in Industry's Workforce
Plastics and rubber products	40.4%	16,629	40.4%	16,629
Furniture and fixtures manufacturing	32.3%	12,080	36.8%	13,779
Textile, apparel, and leather manufacturing	30.7%	6,372	38.2%	7,922
Food manufacturing	26.5%	27,265	34.5%	35,442
Private households	24.2%	17,468	31.2%	22,507
Management of companies and enterprises	23.6%	544	23.6%	544
Beverage and tobacco products	23.0%	4,448	23.0%	4,448
Wood products	22.9%	6,924	22.9%	6,924
Waste management and remediation services	22.7%	6,522	22.7%	6,522
Construction	21.5%	234,030	25.8%	280,896
Accommodation	18.6%	48,053	32.7%	84,443
Agricultural	18.6%	32,930	22.2%	39,311
Food services and drinking places	18.0%	121,530	24.0%	162,231

are at a socio-economic disadvantage because, compared to natives, many of their parents do not have a high school degree (See Figure 12). In addition, about a third live in linguistically isolated households.³³

Schools' approach to English language acquisition for ELLs has become as much a political issue as it is an academic one. "English Only" advocates, led by the groups U.S. English and Pro-English, vehemently defend English immersion techniques as the best way to teach English, adding that the use of a native language in the classroom only prolongs English acquisition.³⁴ Others argue that a bilingual approach not only is a more effective way for students to quickly learn English, but also helps preserve cultural heritage and can be used to teach native children a second language.³⁵

Language curricula in schools reflect this wide philosophical spectrum, as they vary greatly in their allowance for (or encouragement of) native language use in the classroom. (See box, p. 18).

In the Rockies region as a whole, the language issue cannot be correctly characterized as an "immigrant problem." The rich Chicano and Native American past in the Rocky Mountain West coincide with longtime resident popula-

schools, or children of immigrants, often means that classrooms find themselves full of students who speak little or no English. In 2000, nearly a fifth of all children in U.S. schools had an immigrant parent.³¹ For schools with already exhausted resources and other students with special needs (especially in low-income districts), an influx of immigrant children creates considerable hardship in the absence of additional support. Understandably, parents of native children in such school systems are deeply concerned that limited school resources are being diverted to absorb growing numbers of Limited English Proficiency (LEP), immigrant students.

In 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the case *Plyler v. Doe* that public schools could not deny an education to immigrant students or those with immigrant parents, regardless of legal status.³² Thus all immigrant children in the United States are legally entitled to attend school without suffering from discrimination.

Immigrant school children in the Rockies region

Table 3
Immigrant Integration Policy Framework

Geographic Level	Examples of Role in Immigrant Integration
Federal Government	•Civil Rights of Immigrants
	•Eligibility of Immigrants for Federally Funded Public Services (i.e. welfare, health care)
	•Entrance Standards for Prospective Immigrants
	•Number of People Allowed Entry
State Government	•Documentation required to receive services
	•Immigration Enforcement
	•State Funding Directed Towards Immigrants
	•Eligibility of Immigrants to receive State-Funded Public Services
Local Government/ School District/ and Community Initiatives	•Immigration Enforcement
	•General Community Integration Initiatives
	•Language and Cultural Resource Initiatives
	•English Language Acquisition Methodology in Schools

Figure 11
Percent of Children in Native and Immigrant Families
in Poverty, 2005

Source: Kids Count Statistics Calculated From 2005 ACS Data

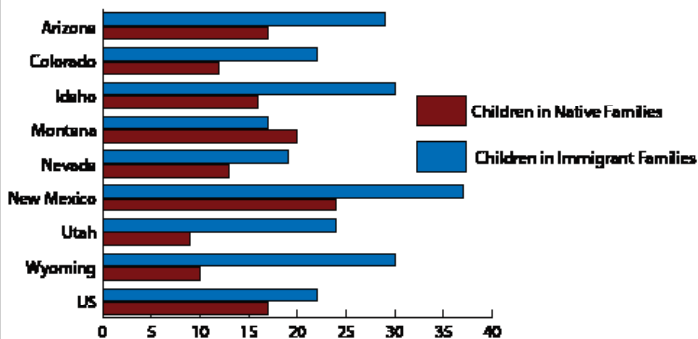
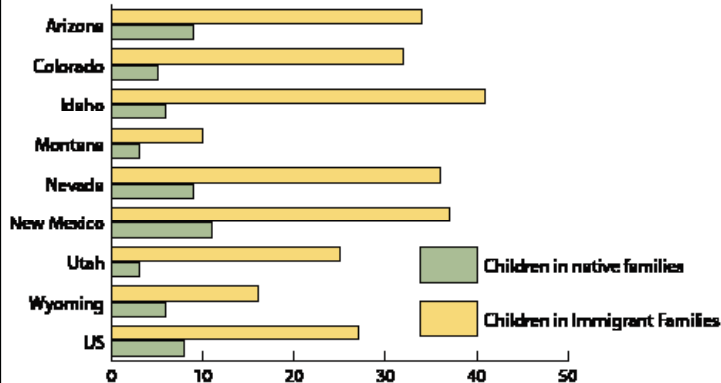


Figure 12
Percent of Children in Native and Immigrant Families
Whose Parents Have Less Than a High School Degree,
2005

Source: Kids Count Statistics Calculated From 2005 ACS Data



tions whose primary language is not English. Children who are raised speaking Spanish or another language at home are also likely to be labeled as LEP in school. Because there is no federal mandate to ask students or their parents country-of-origin information, most states do not tabulate how many immigrant students are in their school systems. Therefore it is not clear how many LEP students are also immigrants.

Colorado is one state that does ask students if they were born in the United States. Colorado Student Assessment Program (CSAP) results for 2006 reported that in grades 3 through 10, the number of non-English proficient and limited English proficient students outnumbered the number of immigrant students by a factor of seven (about 35,000 to 5,000).³⁷

While many immigrant parents are unlikely to divulge the birthplace of their children because of the current political climate, the CSAP statistics suggest that a strong majority of LEP students are not immigrants in some districts.³⁸ In New Mexico, anec-

IN 2000, NEARLY A FIFTH OF ALL CHILDREN
IN U.S. SCHOOLS HAD AN IMMIGRANT PARENT

dototal evidence suggests that more than 80 percent of the state's LEP students are native born to native parents.³⁹ Even if the LEP challenge is not a new one, it is certainly growing in magnitude and immigrant students are responsible for part of this growth.

Across the nation, LEP students comprise a growing share of the total student population. From 1995 to 2005, the number of LEP students grew by 56 percent compared to only 2.6 percent growth of the general student population.⁴⁰ This trend is also evident in the Rockies, although some of the eight states have LEP growth rates far higher than the national average. Colorado's LEP enrollment grew by 237 percent from 1995 to 2005, compared to 11 percent growth for the general enrollment. Idaho's rose 97 percent compared to 3.1 percent for the entire student population. Utah's enrollment grew by 163 percent for LEP students and 18 percent total. On the other end of the spectrum, Wyoming's LEP population declined by 16 percent, while the state's total enrollment more than doubled.

Topics in Integration: Immigrants' Access to Public Services and Health Care

The low income and high poverty rates of new immigrant working families in the Rockies region creates a dire need for a safety net in the form of public services. In addition to non-citizens' inability to vote, work in many government jobs, or run for political office,⁴¹ the average non-citizen occupies a starkly different socio-economic stratum than the general populace. Immigrants' use of public services, such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Food Stamps, and health care, is a key point among those who generally argue for immigration reduction and anti-illegal immigrant policies.⁴² In this view, immigrants strain the American tax base and providing services to the poor serves to attract immigrants who become dependent on public assistance. Given the socio-economic condition of immigrants in the Rocky Mountain West, it might be expected that foreign-born residents are creating a disproportionate drain on public services.

However, the data shows that in the Rockies, poor immigrants, both citizens and non-citizens, use drastically less public assistance money than poor natives in several categories (Figures 13 and 14).

The U.S. Congress fundamentally changed immigrants' access to public services in 1996 when it passed the controversial Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity and Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). Before PRWORA, most legal immigrants were eligible to receive the same Medicaid, State Children's Health Insurance Program

(SCHIP), food stamps, Welfare, and social security income benefits as U.S. citizens.⁴³ The law prohibited most authorized, non-citizen immigrants from receiving these services within the first five years of their residency in the United States, regardless of legal status. These restrictions raised concerns regarding civil rights and public health, as legal immigrants still pay taxes and are subject to much the same civic presence as native U.S. citizens, including service in the military.⁴⁴ In response to PRWORA, many states immediately attempted to fill the gap left in federal aid by offering state-funded health care and public assistance to those specifically left out in the new policy framework.

As a whole, the state governments of the Rockies region have been among the least generous in providing health and assistance services to recent, legal immigrants in the wake of PRWORA. This raises serious doubts about the legitimacy of the alleged services “magnet” for poor immigrants,



as the Rockies region’s foreign-born population growth appears unhindered by a relative hardship in attaining basic services.⁴⁵

As shown by Figure 15, just three of the eight Rocky Mountain states are among the twenty-two which fund coverage for immigrants ineligible for federal Medicaid and State Children’s Health Insurance Program. However, these provisions are extremely limited with the exception of New Mexico. Colorado only extends state-funded health care to pregnant women, while only certain battered or paroled immigrants qualify in Wyoming, for a maximum of one year.

As of 2005, none of the eight Rockies region states counted among those in the U.S. which had replaced nutritional assistance to immigrants not eligible for the federally-funded Food Stamp Program.⁴⁶ Only New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming offered Temporary Assistance for Needy Families to such immigrants, provided they met

Selected Approaches to Limited English Proficiency Students³⁶:

Dual Language Program/Dual Immersion:

Also known as two-way immersion or two-way bilingual education, these programs are designed to serve both language minority and language majority students concurrently. Two language groups are put together and instruction is delivered through both languages. The goals of the program are for both groups to become biliterate, succeed academically, and develop cross-cultural understanding.

Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE):

TBE is an instructional program in which subjects are taught through two languages—English and the native language of the English language learners—and English is taught as a second language. The primary purpose of these programs is to facilitate the LEP students’ transition to an all-English instructional environment while receiving academic subject instruction in the native language to the extent necessary. Transitional bilingual education programs vary in the amount of native language instruction provided and the duration of the program.

English as a Second Language:

English as a Second Language (ESL) is an educational approach in which English language learners are instructed in the use of the English language. Their instruction is based on a special curriculum that typically involves little or no use of the native language, focuses on language (as opposed to content) and is usually taught during specific school periods. For the rest of the school day, students may be placed in mainstream classrooms, an immersion program, or a bilingual education program.

Structured Immersion:

In this program, language minority students receive all subject matter instruction in their second language. The teacher uses a simplified form of the second language. Students may use their native language in class; however, the teacher uses only the second language. The goal is to help minority language students acquire proficiency in English while at the same time achieving in content areas.

Figure 13
Food Stamp Payments to Households Below Low Income Level by Citizenship and Nativity, Rockies, 2006
 Source: 2006 Current Population Survey

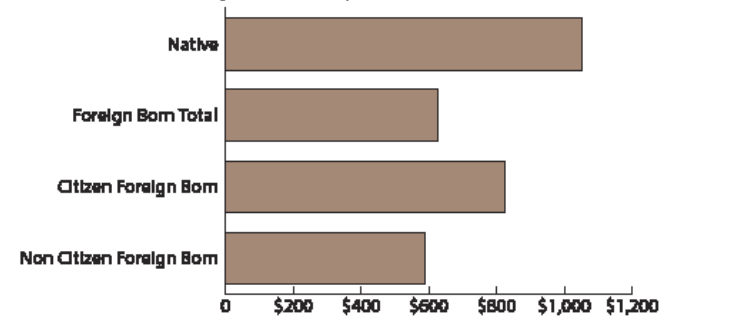
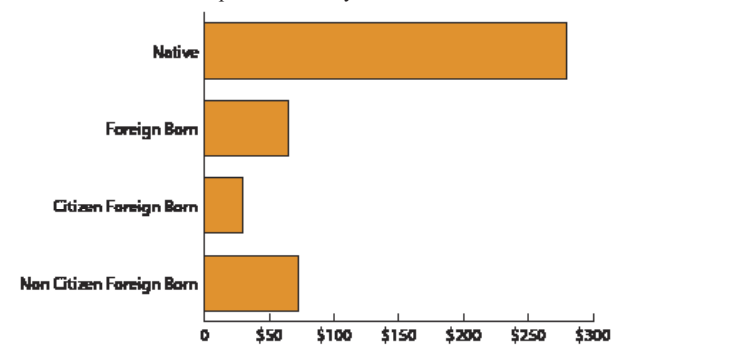


Figure 14
Food Public Assistance to Households Below Low Income Level by Citizenship and Nativity, Rockies, 2006
 Source: 2006 Current Population Survey



one of several qualifications.⁴⁷

In 2006, Colorado and Arizona were two of only three states (the other being Georgia) that took measures to reduce immigrants' access to public services. Proposition 200 in Arizona and HB1023 in Colorado did not change who could receive services or what services one could receive, but instead increased the documentation requirements necessary for receipt of services.⁴⁸

It is unlikely that immigrants' low use of services is due solely to eligibility requirements. Additional barriers exist for poor immigrants eligible to receive public services. These include confusion caused by limited English proficiency, fear of becoming a "public charge,"⁴⁹ and requests for sensitive information not pertinent to the receiving individual, such as legal status documentation or Social Security numbers.

Immigrants in the Rockies region, given their low rate of English proficiency, are vulnerable to be perplexed by



the complicated matrix of eligibility rules on the federal and state level. Two-thirds of foreign-born residents in the region speak English less than "very well" according to tabulations from the 2005 American Community Survey. In the absence of adequate and easily accessible translation services, poor immigrants miss out on services they are legally entitled to receive. In particular, parents may not understand the potential for their children to receive benefits that the parents themselves cannot, such as SCHIP, or all the benefits of citizenship if the child is U.S.-born.⁵⁰

Health insurance is perhaps the most crucial component of the government's safety net. Most Americans today are keenly aware of a health insurance crisis, but the issue is even more pertinent to U.S. immigrants.

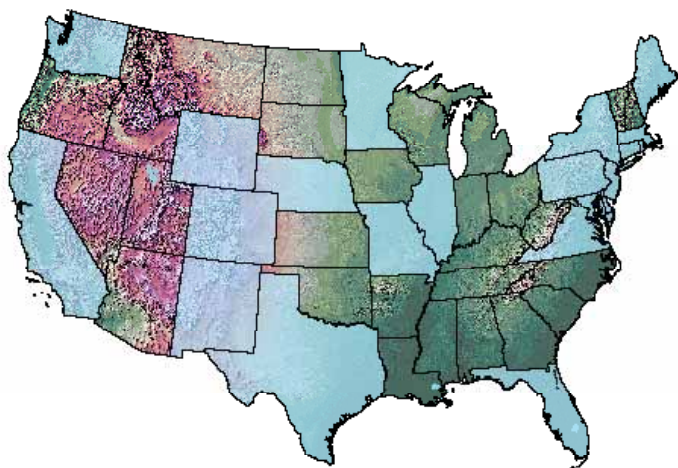
Analysis of Current Population Survey data from 2006 shows that immigrants' health coverage in the Rockies region is at critically low levels (Figure 15).

The uninsured gap exists for two primary reasons: for poor people, the gap is mostly due to immigrants' comparatively low receipt of government-provided health care and Medicaid



Figure 15
States Providing Coverage for Immigrants Who are Ineligible for Medicaid or SCHIP, May 2004

Source: Fremstad and Cox (2004)



Blue Indicates States With Some Form of Coverage

(see figures 16 and 17). Employer-based insurance is a second big contributor to the Rockies region's health insurance gap. While 60 percent of U.S. natives receive employer-based health insurance, only 40 percent of immigrants do.⁵¹ This gap comes partly because immigrants in the Rockies hold low wage jobs that are less likely to offer health insurance.

Nationally, Latino immigrants are nearly 40 percent less likely to be offered health insurance at work than white U.S. citizen workers.⁵² The temporary nature of many immigrants' jobs and their higher likelihood to work for labor contractors also likely contributes to lower employer-provided insurance rates for immigrants.⁵³

Uninsured immigrants cost states financially, because when immigrants lack preventative care and basic health coverage they must rely on health services provided at the state and community level, which are likely to go uncompensated by the federal government. These include state and county "safety net clinics" for reduced-price health care, and charitable organizations such as churches. A common concern is the cost of emergency room care for unauthorized migrants and immigrants in general.⁵⁴ Yet the framework of health care provided to immigrants, especially by government, clearly funnels recent immigrants (non-citizens) towards waiting until a health emergency to seek medical assistance.

Despite the high cost of emergency room services, a recent study showed that total expenditures, public and private, on natives far outweighed that of the average immigrant, \$2,546 to \$1,139.⁵⁵ The Rocky Mountain states could further reduce these costs by strengthening insurance programs for immigrants as a way to prevent reliance upon emergency care.

Conclusion

The Rocky Mountain West is confronted by an extraordinary challenge as foreigners move to the region at a record pace. The well-being indices of new immigrants show that they are operating at a severe socio-economic disadvantage in the Rockies, the effects of which could cascade to the population as a whole. Language, cultural differences, and widespread misinformation are all formidable barriers to the seamless and healthy integration of a new demographic. It is essential that the inhabitants of the Rockies, regardless of origin or political inclination, find a common ground upon which they can work towards goals that encompass the diverse needs of all of the region's people. Individuals, communities, and local and state governments must work hard to ensure that today's immigrants find the American West to be the land of opportunity that has greeted people from around the world for over two centuries, including the ancestors of many of those who live here today.

Figure 16
Percent of People Below 200 Percent of the Poverty Line who Receive Medicaid, Natives and Non-Citizen Immigrants, 2006

Source: 2006 Current Population Survey

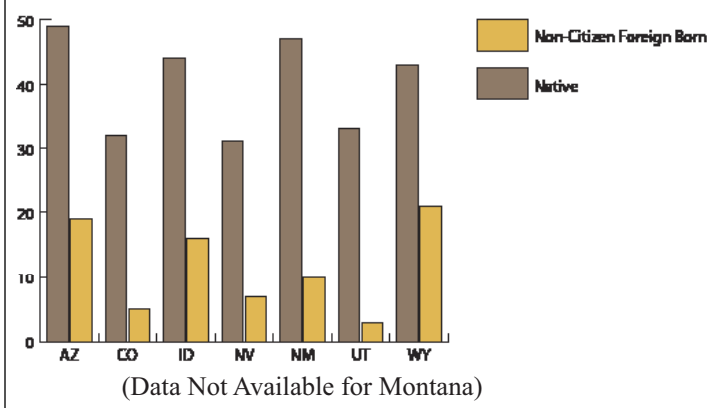
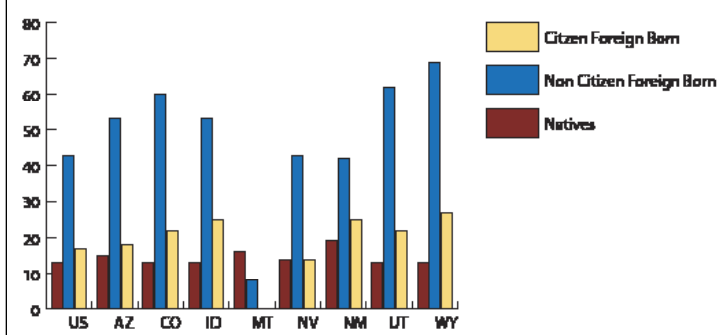


Figure 17
Percent of the Population Without Health Insurance by Citizenship and Nativity Status, 2006

Source: 2006 Current Population Survey



A Note About the Data:

Current Population Survey:

The Current Population Survey (CPS) is a monthly survey of about 50,000 households conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The CPS is the primary source of information on the labor force characteristics of the U.S. population. The sample is scientifically selected to represent the civilian non-institutional population. Respondents are interviewed to obtain information about the employment status of each member of the household 15 years of age and older. However, published data focus on those ages 16 and over.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. <http://www.census.gov/cps/> Accessed 2.2.2008

American Community Survey:

The American Community Survey (ACS) is a nationwide survey designed to provide communities a fresh look at how they are changing. It is a critical element in the Census Bureau's reengineered 2010 census plan. The ACS collects information such as age, race, income, commute time to work, home value, veteran status, and other important data from U.S. households. As with the official decennial census, information about individuals will remain confidential.

The ACS collects and produces population and housing information every year instead of every ten years. About three million households are surveyed each year, from across every county in the nation.

The ACS began in 1996 and has expanded each subsequent year. Data from the 2006 ACS are available for geographic areas with a population of 65,000 or more, including 783 counties, 436 congressional districts, 621 metropolitan and micropolitan statistical areas, all 50 states, and the District of Columbia.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. <http://factfinder.census.gov/> Accessed 2.2.2008

Decennial Census:

Most Census data are available for many levels of geography, including states, counties, cities and towns, ZIP codes, census tracts and blocks, and much more. A limited number of questions were asked of every person and housing unit in the United States. Information is available on Age, Hispanic or Latino origin, Household Relationship, Sex, Race, and Housing Characteristics
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. <http://factfinder.census.gov> Accessed 2.2.2008

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⁵From National Clearinghouse of Language Acquisition website. <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/expert/glossary.html#L>. "Glossary of Terms."

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⁷Author's tabulations of ACS and MPI data.

⁸Author's tabulations of ACS and MPI data.

⁹"Tom Stands for America," http://www.teamtancredo.org/tancredo_issues_index.asp.

¹⁰Anyone born in the United States automatically becomes a citizen, regardless of the legal status of his/her parents.

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[They found that wages of native workers declined by 3 percent between 1980 and 2000, and by 9 percent among the least educated workers, due to immigration. In contrast, Ottaviano and Peri) Ottaviano, Gianmarco I. P., and Giovanni Peri. 2006. "Rethinking the Effects of Immigration on Wages." NBER Working Paper no. 12497. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.)

found that wages of native workers actually rose by 1.8 percent between 1990 and

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²⁹Morse, A., Steisel, S., Howard, J., Serrat, M. 6 August 2007. "2007 Enacted State Legislation Related to Immigrants and Immigration" National Conference of State Legislatures.

³⁰Passel, p. 19

³¹Batalova, J., Fix, M., Murray, J., 2007 "Measures of Change: The Demography and Literacy of Adolescent English Learners" *Migration Policy Institute*. Carnegie Corporation of New York. p. 12.

³²457 U.S. 202. Plyler v. Doe. Supreme Court of the United States. Argued December 1, 1981. Decided June 15, 1982. No. 89-1538. http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0457_0202_ZS.html.

³³American Community Survey Definition: Linguistic Isolation--A linguistically isolated household is one in which all adults (high school age and older) have some limitation in communicating in English.

³⁴"Teach Our Children English!" www.proenglish.org.

³⁵"What is Bilingual Education?" National Association for Bilingual Education. www.nabe.org.

³⁶Descriptions are paraphrased by the author. The George Washington University. National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition. "Glossary" <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/expert/glossary.html>.

³⁷Colorado Department of Education, Unit of Student Assessment. "CSAP summary data 2006". http://www.cde.state.co.us/cdeassess/documents/csap/csap_summary.html 28 January 2008.

³⁸Telephone conversation with Joanna Bruno, Consultant and Research Associate for the Colorado Department of Education English Language Acquisition Unit. 9 August 2007.

³⁹Telephone conversation with Robert Romero, Education Administrator, Title III Bilingual Education. July 2007 .

⁴⁰Batalova et al., p. 12.

⁴¹Gelatt, J., and McHugh, M., February 2007. *Migration Policy Institute*, "Immigration Fee Increase in Context."

⁴²Camarota, S. Center for Immigration Studies, and Rep. Tom Tancredo.

⁴³Fremstad, S., and Cox, L. November 2004. "Covering New Americans: A Review of Federal and State Policies Related to Immigrants' Eligibility and Access to Publicly Funded Health Insurance." Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured. p. 5.

⁴⁴Fremstad and Cox, p. 15.

⁴⁵Ku, L. and Demetrios Papademetriou. 2007. "Access to Health Care and Health Insurance: Immigrants and Immigration Reform." *Securing The Future* Migration Policy Institute. p.97.

⁴⁶"State-Funded Food Assistance Programs" National Immigration Law Center. Table Updated October 2005. From www.nilc.org. [20 July 2007].

⁴⁷State Funded TANF program, by NILC. Updated March 2004.

⁴⁸Broder, T. May 2007. "State Policies on Immigrants' Access to Services: Promoting Integration or Isolation?" NILC. pp. 3-6. www.nilc.org. 28 January 2008.

⁴⁹A "Public Charge" is "an alien who has become (for deportation purposes) or is likely to become (for admission or adjustment of status purposes) "primarily dependent on the government for subsistence, as demonstrated by either the receipt of public cash assistance for income maintenance, or institutionalization for long-term care at government expense." (USCIS Fact Sheet on Public Charge, 1999).

⁵⁰Fremstad and Cox, p. 21.

⁵¹Author's tabulations of 2006 Current Population Survey, March Supplement Estimates.

⁵²Schur, C. and Feldman, J. May 2001. "Running in Place: How Job Characteristics, Immigrant Status, and Family Structure Keep Hispanics Uninsured." New York City: Commonwealth Fund.

⁵³Ku and Papademetriou, p. 87.

⁵⁴Ku and Papademetriou, p. 84.

⁵⁵Mohanty, Sarita MD, MPH, Steffie Woolhandler, MD, MPH, David U. Himmelstein, MD, Susmita Pati, MD, MPH, Olveen Carrasquillo, MD, MPH and David H. Bor, MD. August 2005. "Health Care Expenditures of Immigrants in the United States: A Nationally Representative Analysis." *American Journal of Public Health*. p. 95.