

# Attracting New Americans Into Baltimore's Neighborhoods

*Immigration is the Key to  
Reversing Baltimore's Population Decline*

A REPORT PREPARED FOR  
**THE ABELL FOUNDATION**

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# **ATTRACTING NEW AMERICANS INTO BALTIMORE'S NEIGHBORHOODS**

## **Part One: Summary and Recommendations**

During the last decade of the 20th century, the percentage of foreign-born Americans has surged to levels not seen since the early part of the century, reaching almost 11% of the total population. One-third of the increase in the U. S. population, from 249 million in 1990 to 285 million in 2000, was growth in the number of foreign-born residents. These national trends, together with a decade's experience with refugee resettlement, led Baltimore community leaders to ask whether attracting immigrants to Baltimore could reverse the five-decade decline in the city's population.

### **Baltimore Has a Small but Growing Immigrant Population**

This study was conducted to explore the demographic facts regarding Baltimore in comparison to other comparable cities. It delved deeply into the available census and INS data. The study also investigated the experience of comparable cities that had reversed declining populations, seeking models for Baltimore to follow.

In the last decade Baltimore lost 11.5% of its population, approximately 85,000 residents. It has a small immigrant population for a city its size, with just 5.5% foreign-born according to the latest Census figures. This is roughly half the national average, and much less than the 20% proportion that is common in areas that have stopped population decline with immigration.

Over 60% of Baltimore's current immigrant residents have arrived in the last 10 years. However, Baltimore is looking for a rate of growth that substantially exceeds what has occurred over the past decade, during which the net increase in foreign-born residents was about 20,000 but the overall population declined by almost 85,000. Stabilizing the population will mean attracting more than 8,000 net new residents each year, in addition to the prior decade's growth from immigrants averaging 2,000 per year.

A concentration of immigrants of particular nationalities has started to emerge. The numbers of Mexicans, Koreans, West Indians, Jews from the former Soviet Union, and Nigerians have grown more rapidly. While none of these groups exceeds 1 percent of the city's population, their recent growth makes them likely magnets for countrymen arriving from abroad or moving from other parts of the U.S.

Of course, an improved economic climate will stem departures and increase native-born arrivals, so foreign-born newcomers will not have to fill the whole gap, especially as the trends begin to reverse. Nonetheless, the goal is a four- to fivefold increase in the number of the foreign-born newcomers arriving each year.

### **Baltimore Must Become a Pioneer in Planning for Immigrant-Led Growth**

The results of this investigation lead to some stark conclusions:

- For cities of Baltimore's size (between 250,000 and 1 million) outside the Sun Belt, population decline is the norm without immigration. Moreover, immigration explains all of the growth that does occur. The premise of this study – that immigration is an answer to

stopping Baltimore's population decline – is more than confirmed. The data say that if Baltimore is to stabilize its population, immigrants are essential.

- The few comparable cities that reversed their population decline through immigration did not plan their success. Thus, there are no strategic plans or prospective programs to draw upon. In the absence of examples of planned activities that attracted immigrants to these cities, Baltimore must base its plans on those inherent characteristics that appear to have made these cities different.

These are not discouraging results. But they do mean that Baltimore must be a pioneer if it chooses to take conscious steps to increase its number of foreign-born residents to stem the decline in its population.

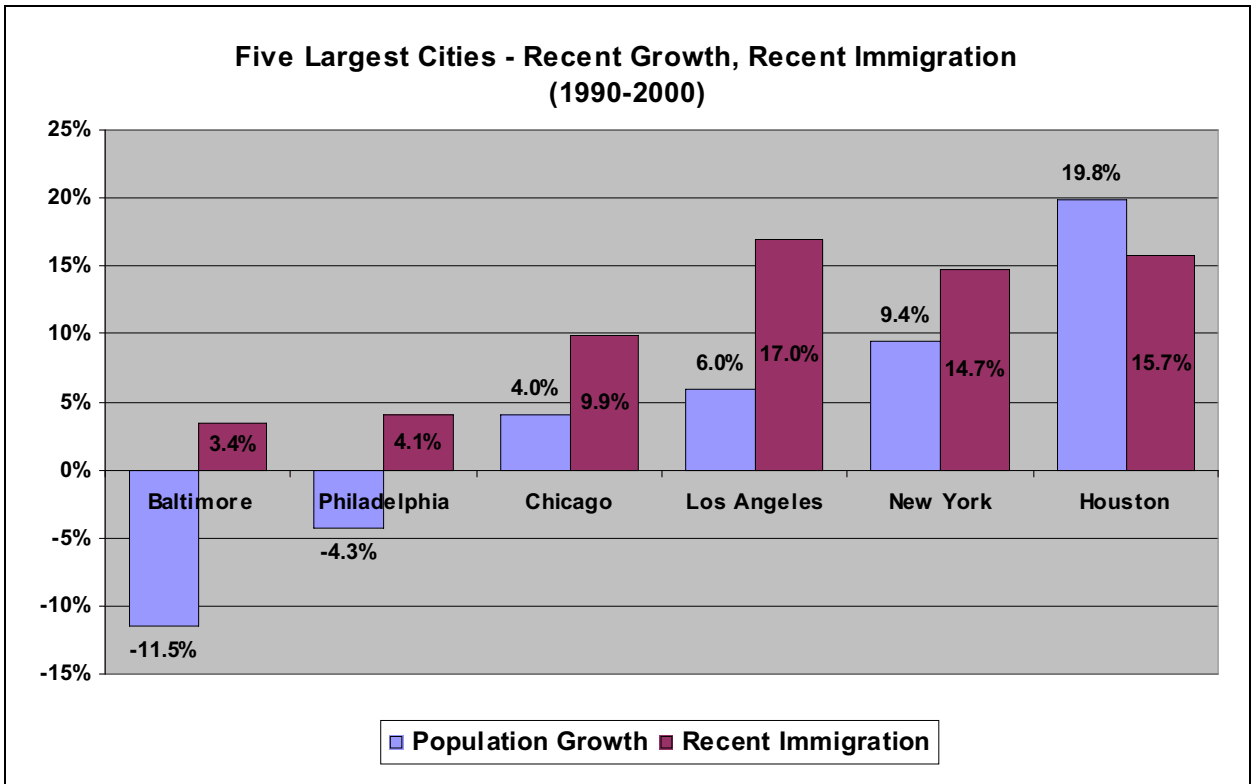
There are limitations in the nature of the data on immigration. The Census Bureau counts foreign-born residents living in various jurisdictions in the U.S. These numbers include both recent immigrants and those who have been here for decades. Nor do the numbers distinguish between legally admitted immigrants and those who are here illegally. In contrast, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) collects information about the intended place of residence of arriving legal immigrants. These two data sources each provide incomplete numbers from which to interpolate an approximate picture of the actual situation in Baltimore and elsewhere. For example, the Census Bureau's C2SS survey estimates that individuals born in Mexico now equal 17.3% of Baltimore's foreign-born population, compared to 0.3% in 1990. But INS counts only 2.7% of recent immigrants to Baltimore as being from Mexico. This means that many of the Mexicans are here illegally and that many have moved to Baltimore from elsewhere in the U.S., rather than coming directly from their home country.

### **Growth Comes from Immigrants or Not at All**

Our review of the demographic data has led to groupings of three types of cities that can usefully be compared to Baltimore: (1) the "five largest" U.S. cities; (2) "comparable cities" that have the same declining population, low immigration, situation as Baltimore; and (3) "model cities" that have stemmed population decline with immigration. City groupings are identified by these terms throughout this report.

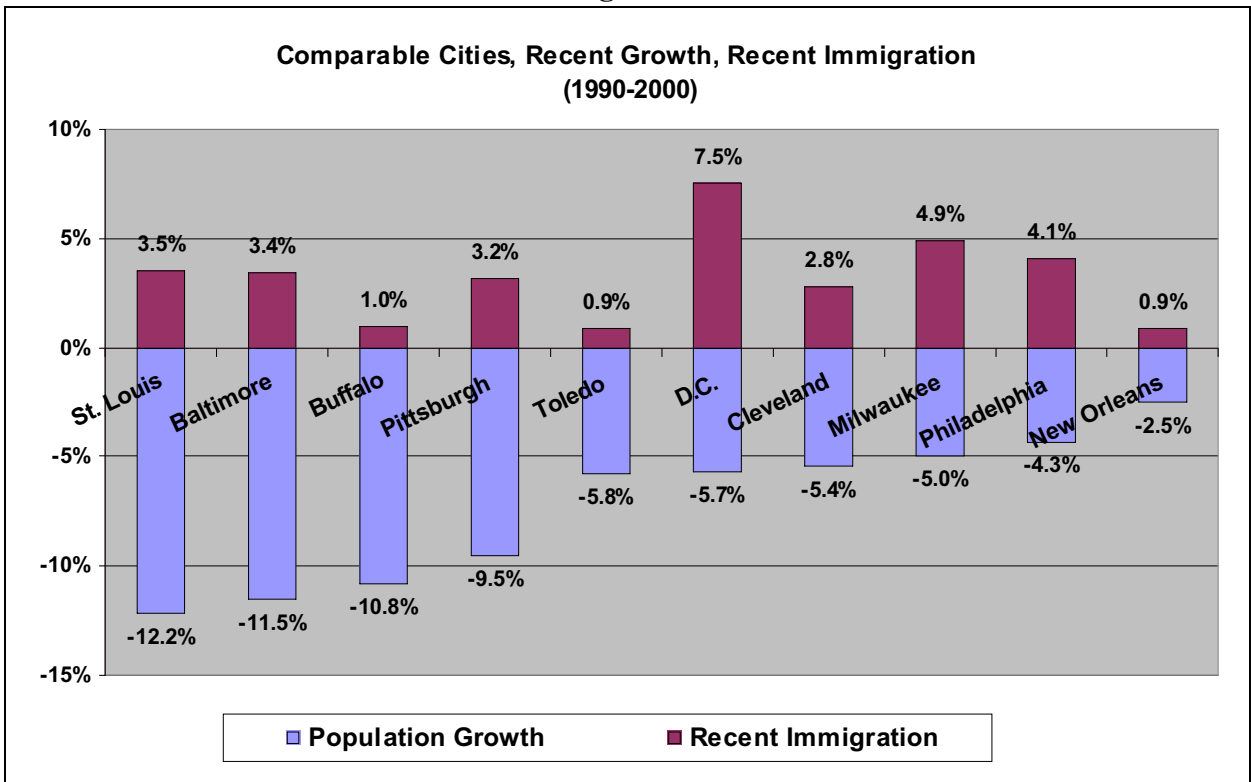
As Figure 1 illustrates, all of the largest cities except Philadelphia had substantial immigration in the past decade. For New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, this immigrant growth was greater than the overall growth in population for the city as a whole. Houston, reflecting the different demographic trends of the Sun Belt, would have had some growth without its new immigrants. Philadelphia lost population, having attracted relatively few immigrants. Had it not received those foreign-born newcomers, its population decline would have been twice as large.

Figure 1



(Source: 1990, 2000 Census)

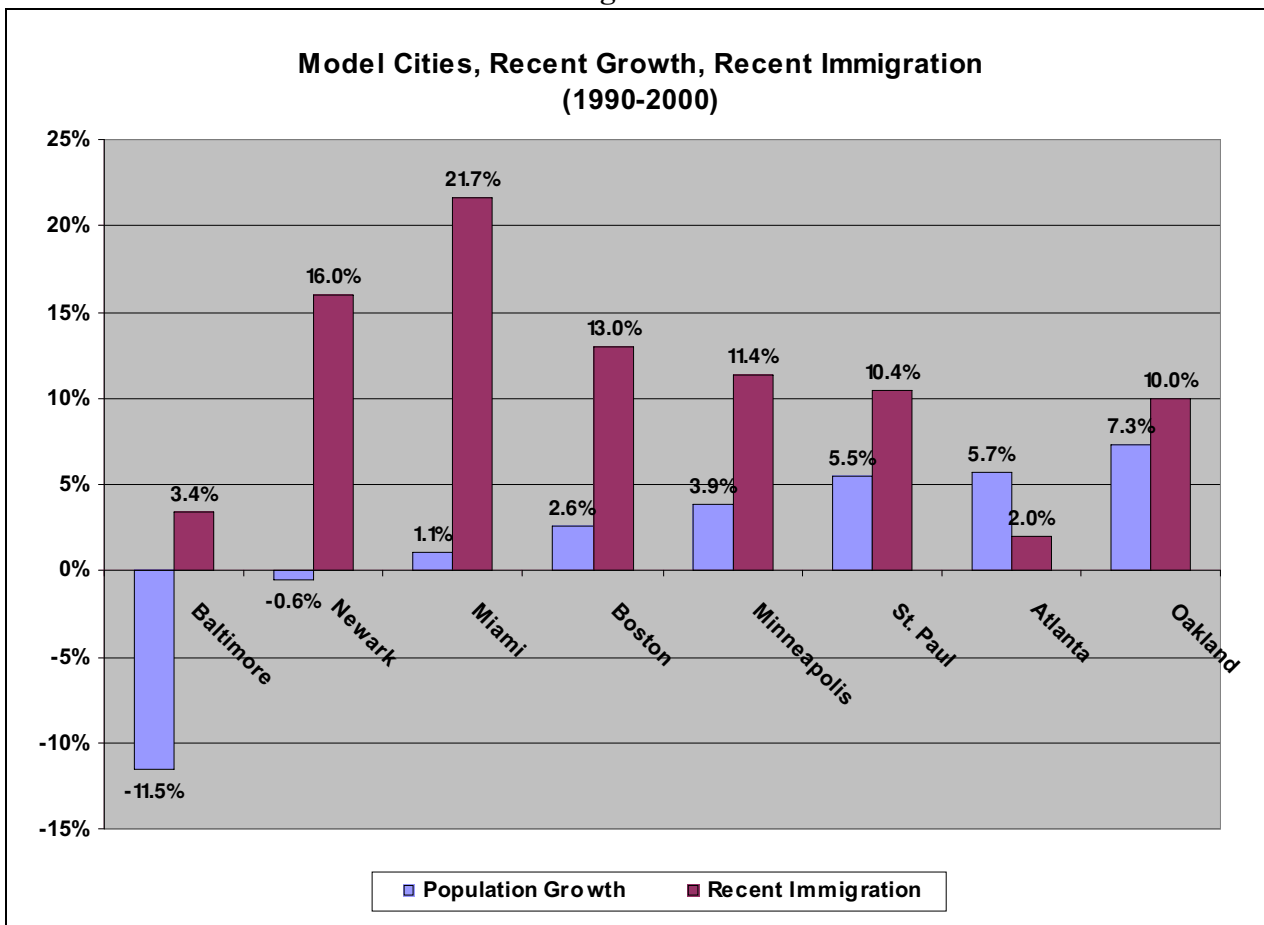
Figure 2



(Source: 1990, 2000 Census)

Among the large cities, Baltimore resembles Philadelphia, except that Baltimore's rate of population loss was more than twice as large. But when compared to a series of comparable cities in Figure 2, Baltimore exhibits a familiar pattern. The situation of low immigration and declining population is endemic to the cities in the Northeast-Midwest region. Figure 2 is drawn from cities comparable in size to Baltimore (plus Philadelphia), but smaller cities also are experiencing the same phenomenon.

**Figure 3**



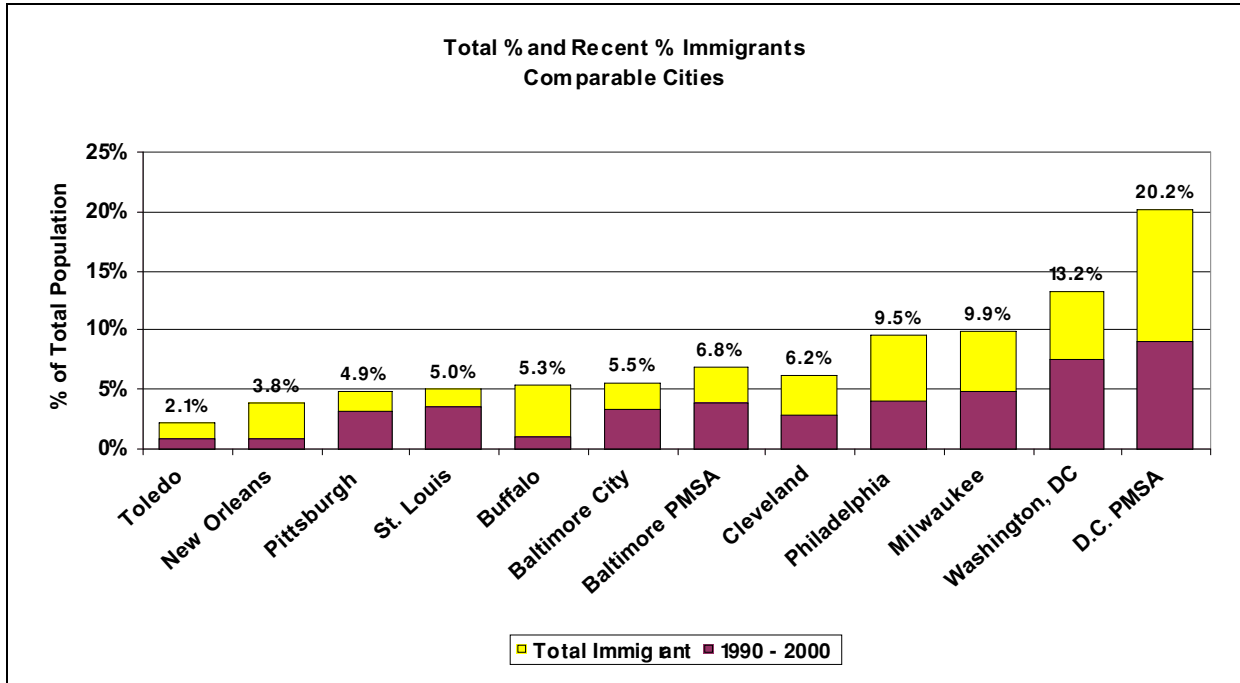
(Source: 1990, 2000 Census)

The model cities, all of comparable size to Baltimore, were selected for their success in attracting immigrants. As Figure 3 illustrates, except for Atlanta, these cities would be losing significant population without their recent immigrants. Atlanta exhibits the Sun Belt difference seen in Houston of some growth above immigration. Although they differ in many ways, all of the other model cities would have declining population similar to Baltimore and its comparable cities in the absence of significant immigration.

The conclusion is clear. Cities like Baltimore need immigration to stabilize their populations. Figures 4, 5, and 6 illustrate both the total immigration to the three groups of cities and the portion attributable to immigrants arriving since 1990. Baltimore and the surrounding region have shown an increased pace of immigration over the last 10 years. Of those foreign-born individuals in Baltimore City identified by the census in 2000, more than 60% had arrived since 1990. This is an encouraging statistic, since most of the destinations with substantial immigrant percentages have new immigration approaching or exceeding 50% of total foreign-born populations.

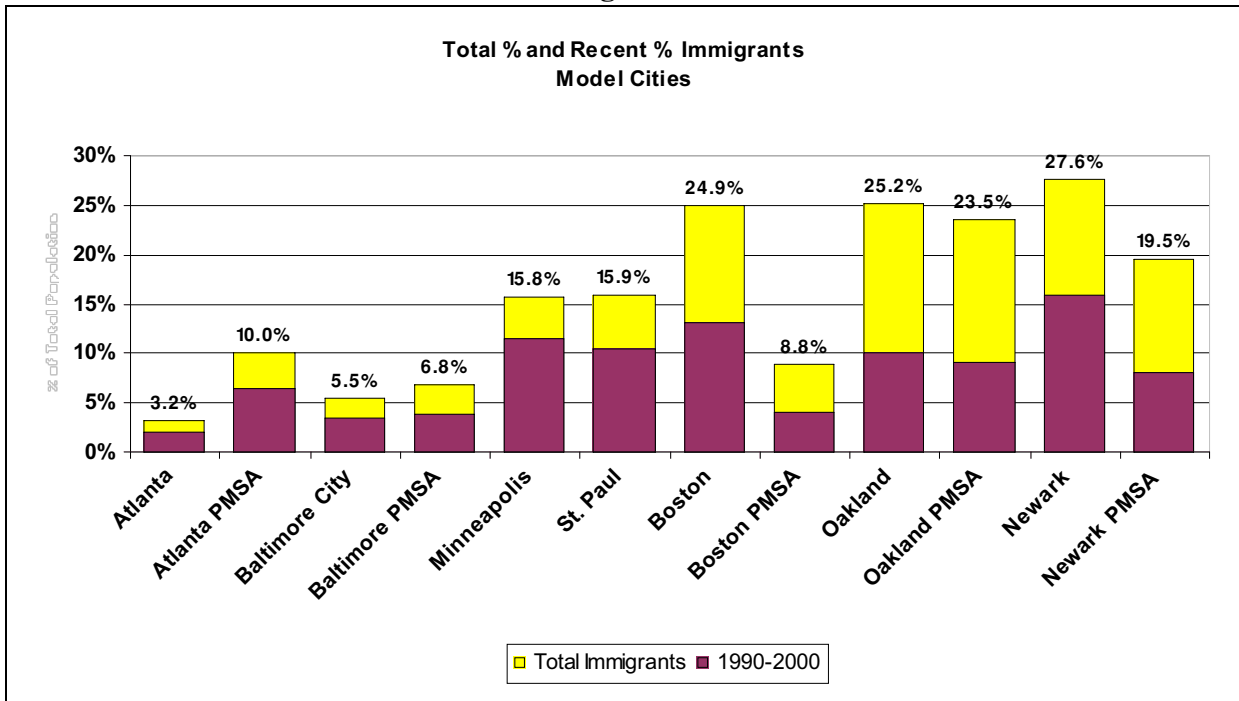
As Los Angeles shows, when foreign-born population has been growing for long enough, the proportion of new arrivals slows. However, Baltimore, which is just beginning its immigrant growth, is better off than Philadelphia and Buffalo, whose immigrant communities are from an earlier era and are not attracting newcomers. The demographic data confirm that immigrants come where immigrants already are.

**Figure 4**



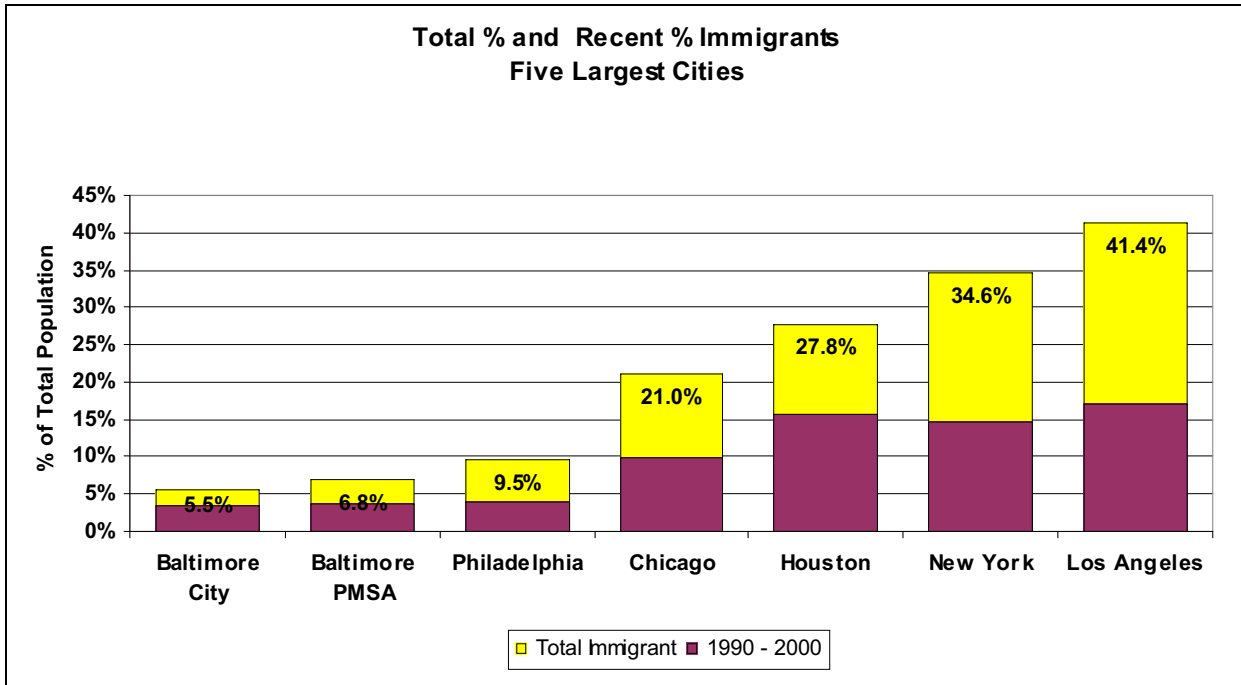
(Source: 1990, 2000 Census)

**Figure 5**



(Source: 1990, 2000 Census)

**Figure 6**



(Source: 1990, 2000 Census)

### **The Model Cities Have Worked on Retention, Not Recruitment**

We have searched the literature and made local inquiries in the cities where immigration is substantial. None has a history of planning to attract immigrants. Three prior reports, prepared for Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and Arizona, all confirm the lack of any significant recruitment program in cities of significant size.\* Municipal efforts have been directed at serving existing substantial immigrant populations.

- New York City has the most extensive immigrant services office, but it is not a recruitment program. Boston's more limited office is a similar reaction to the influx of immigrants.
- Minneapolis surveyed the efforts of others and found various service and referral models on which it based its program to respond to a significant growth of immigrant population.
- An Arizona report was developed with the goal of influencing national immigration policy for the benefit of a border state.

These local programs are the cart, not the horse. They assist in assimilating immigrants and keeping them coming, but they do not create the initial flows. Most cities like Baltimore have the same problem; they have no significant immigrant influx. Baltimore has not done something wrong. Rather, it has missed the lucky combinations that have worked for the model cities. In short, to solve its problem of declining population, Baltimore must act affirmatively to plan and execute the strategies that the relatively few model cities achieved by luck. In doing so, it will be avoiding the fate of the larger number of comparable cities that are still experiencing the same downward population trend as Baltimore has so far.

\* Copies of these reports are available on request. They are useful in planning to retain and integrate an existing foreign-born population, but not to enhance rapidly the flow in the first place.



We have identified three areas in which Baltimore can develop and execute plans that seem likely to produce increased migration of the foreign-born to Baltimore, both from elsewhere in the U.S. and on first arrival from abroad. These are:

- Consciously enhancing Baltimore's potential magnets by supporting existing immigrant communities, cultivating potential employers, developing housing opportunities, and expanding the foreign student population.
- Working to retain existing immigrant communities, including advocacy for laws and programs that will make it easier for them to stay and attract their countrymen.
- Identifying available populations to attract to Baltimore based on its current immigrant communities, neighboring populations, and national trends.

### **Immigration Is a Network Phenomenon**

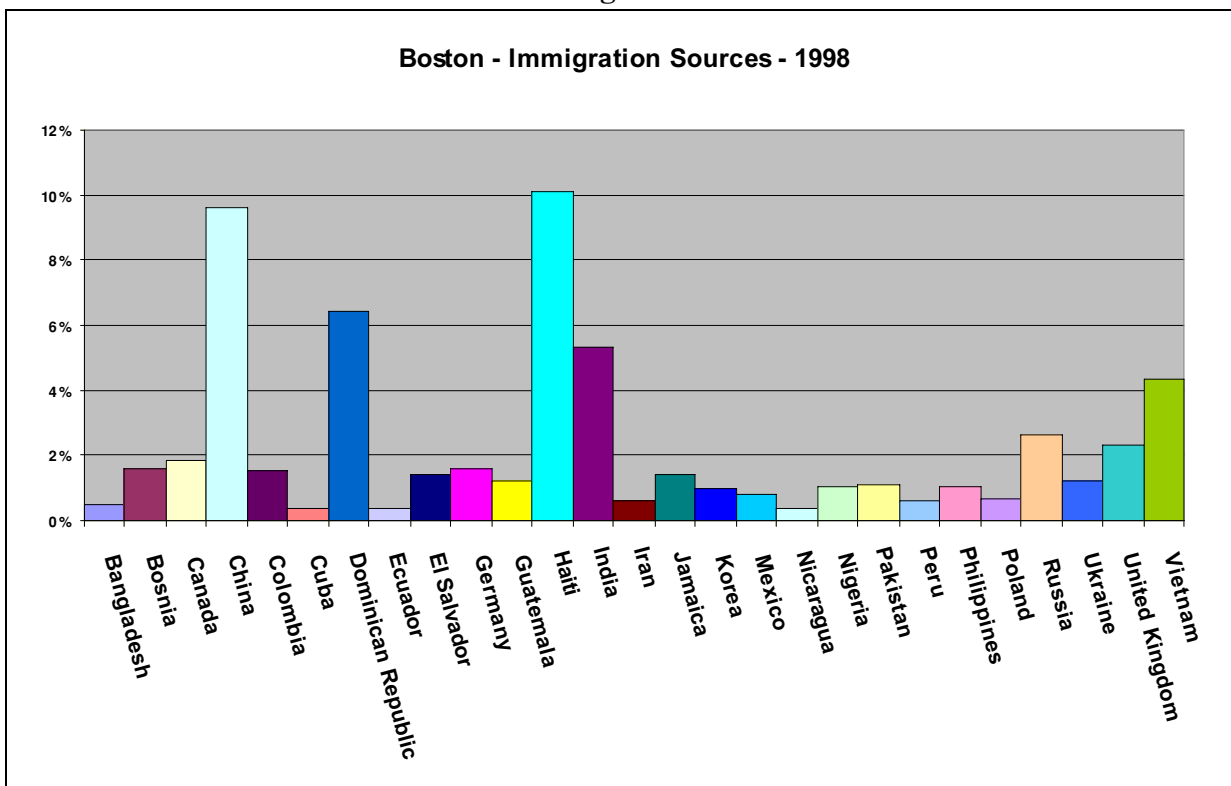
Immigrants attract others from their home countries by a networking process. This process requires concentrated communities of immigrants of the same nationality.

Therefore, it is arbitrary to separate what attracts immigrants to a locality from what it takes to keep them there. For certain, if retention does not occur, there will be no growing population. And since Baltimore already does have a growing population of foreign-born residents, efforts need to be made to support retention. And it is certain that what helps retain this population will help attract new migrants.

*Immigrant networks are essential.* The model cities have foreign-born populations that have grown rapidly even while the number of native-born residents has declined. Baltimore had this kind of immigrant growth in the 1990s, but the starting point was too low to counter the decline in native-born population. More critically, there have not been concentrated populations of core communities from particular source countries. Both census and INS data reveal small numbers of many ethnic groups. Some of the largest are declining older populations of European immigrants who arrived decades ago.

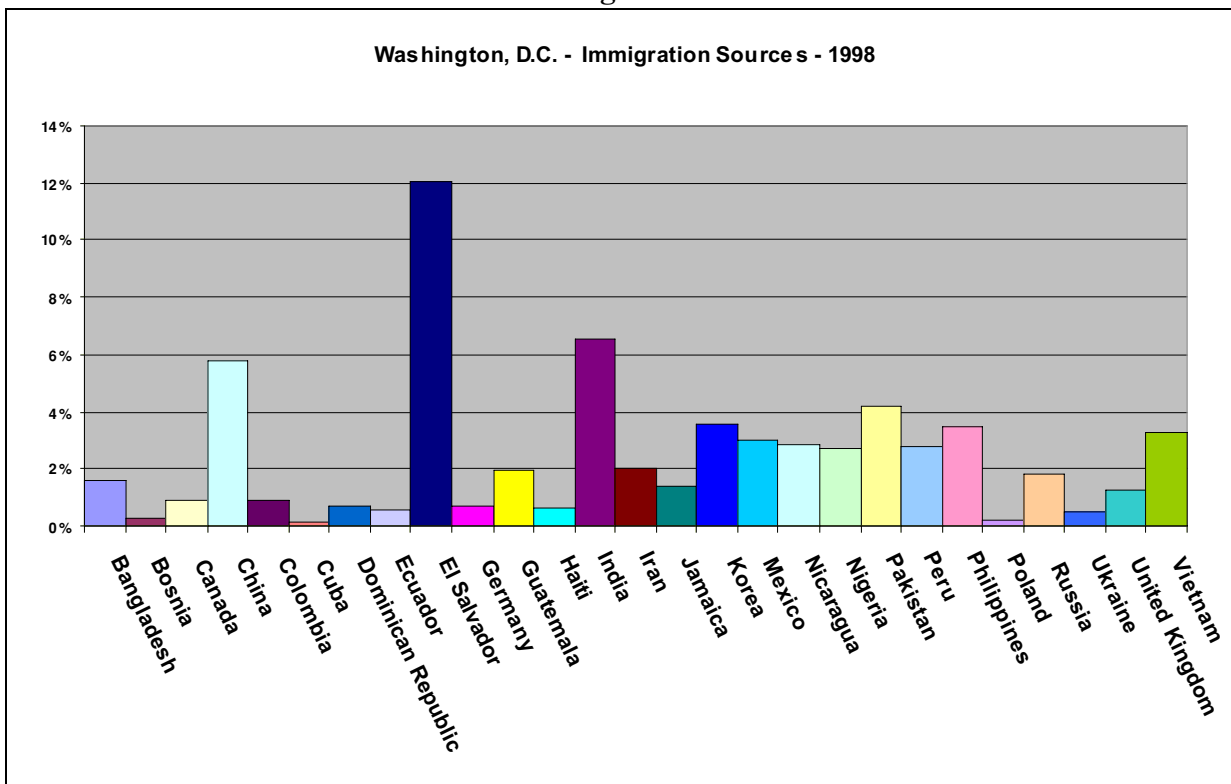
Figures 7 through 10 illustrate the distribution of source countries among immigrants settling for the first time in the metropolitan areas of Boston, Washington, Newark, and Oakland. The point is made by the contrast in each case between a few tall bars for a few countries amid the "noise" of the remainder. The particular source countries vary, but the pattern is the same. Networks of existing immigrants attract others from the same source. Thus, even a small country like El Salvador (D.C.) or Haiti (Newark and Boston) may predominate.

Figure 7



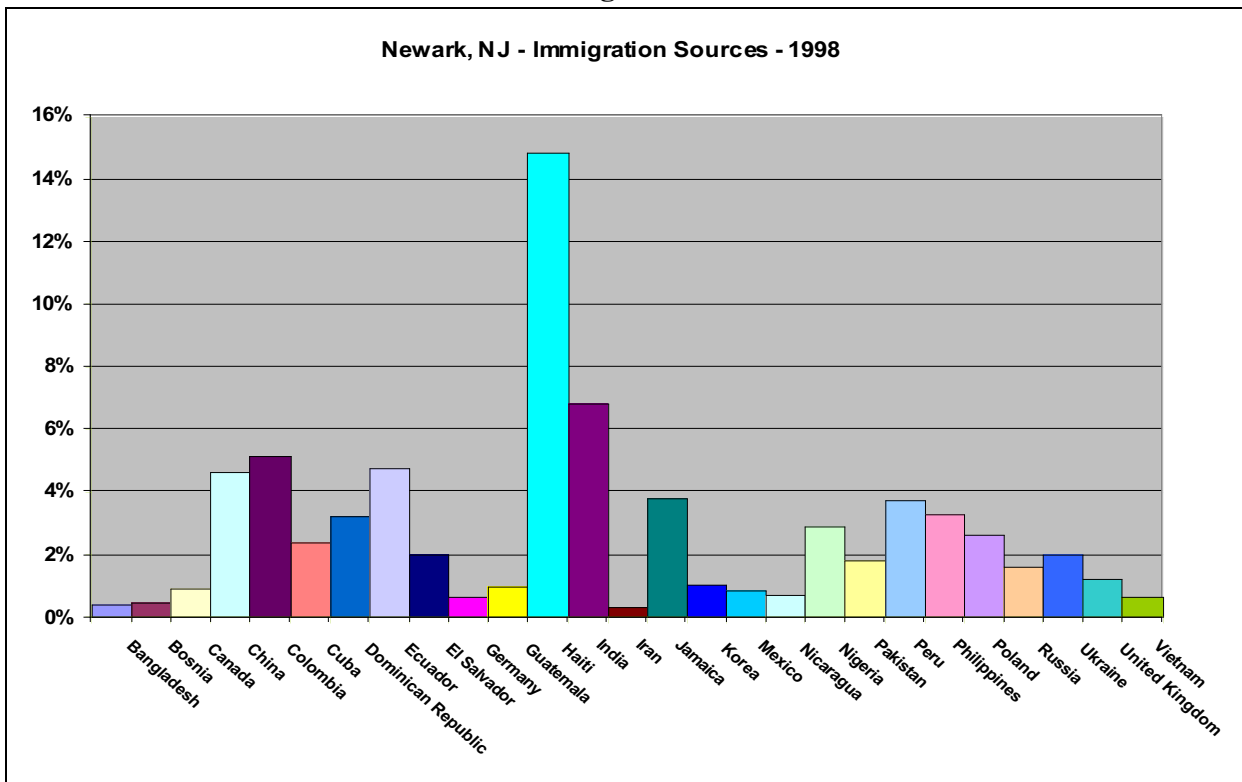
(Source: INS Data)

Figure 8



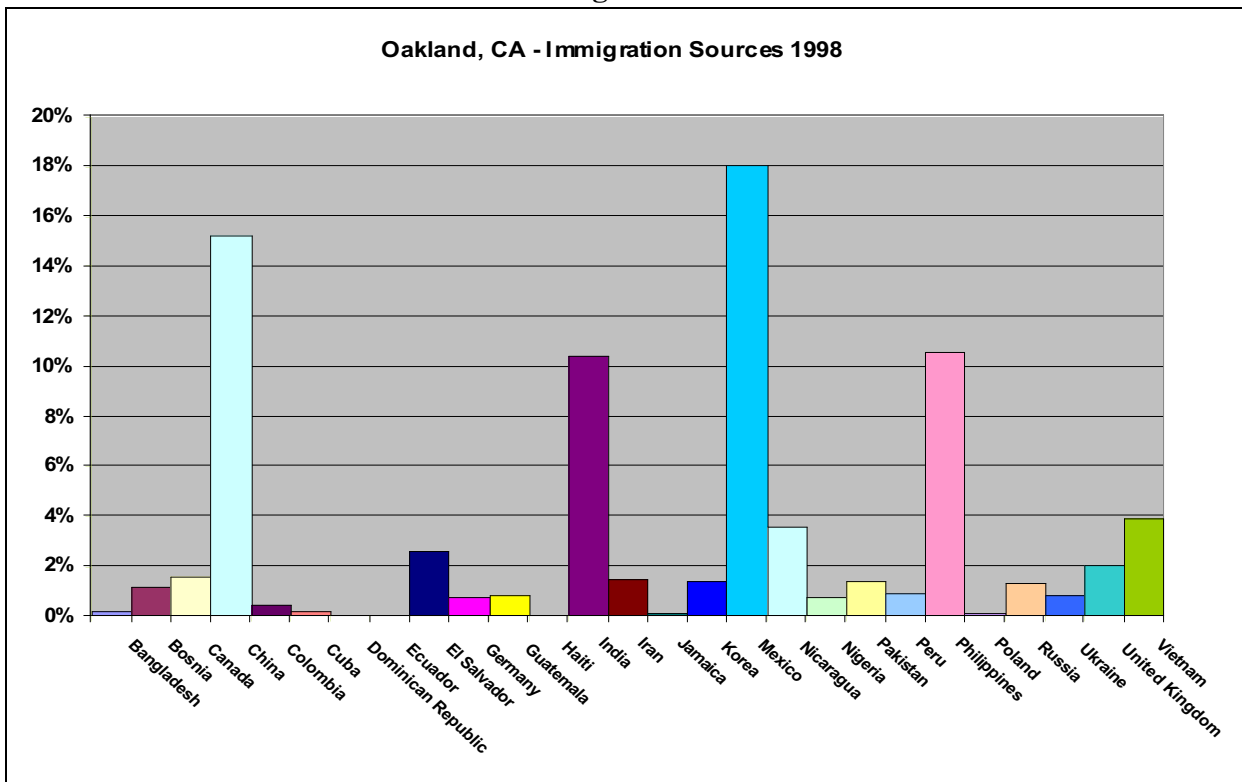
(Source: INS Data)

Figure 9



(Source: INS Data)

Figure 10

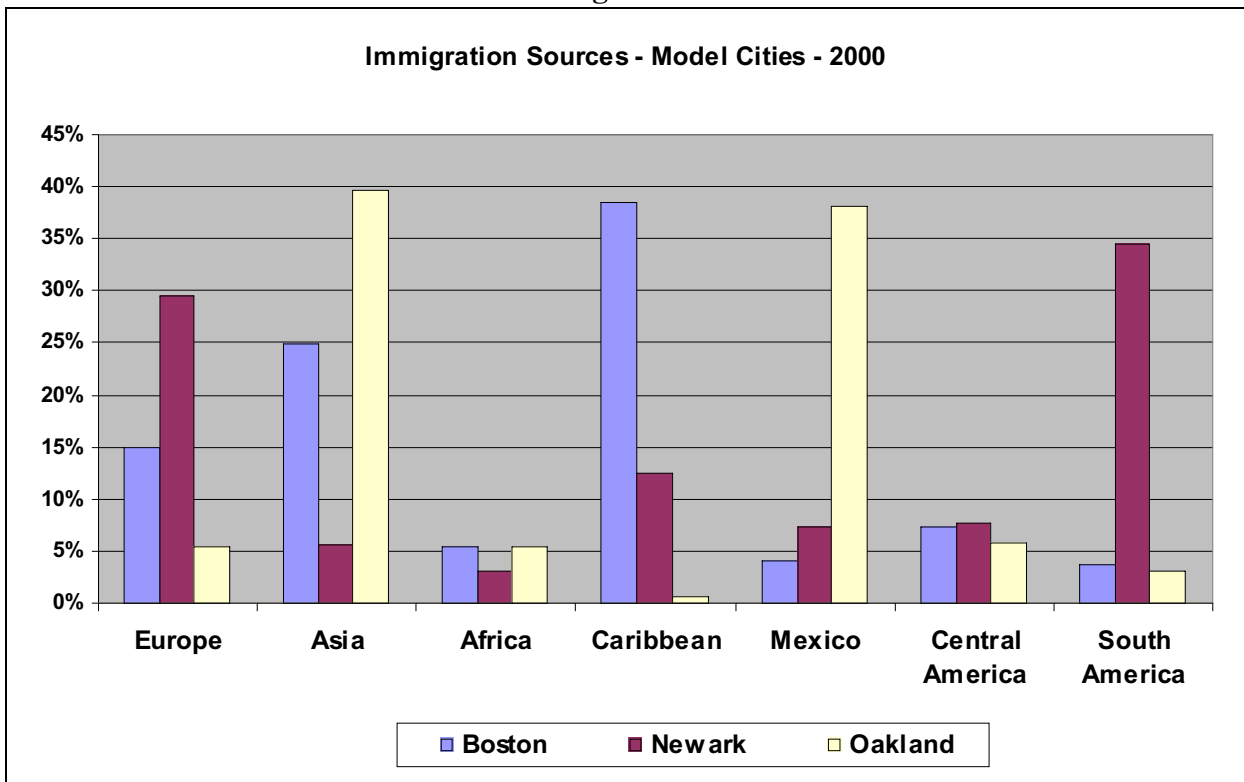


(Source: INS Data)

Regional source data available from the C2SS survey for 2000, while less specific as to countries of origin, reveals the same peaks and valleys for the cities of Boston, Newark and Oakland (Figure 11) and Minneapolis and St. Paul (Figure 12). What is striking, beyond the varying proportions of regional sources within single cities, are the differences in source regions among the different cities. Even between the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, there is a marked difference. These data are based on immigrants present in 2000, as opposed to the earlier charts using INS arrival data. The effect is to pick up secondary migration and undocumented aliens, particularly Mexicans.

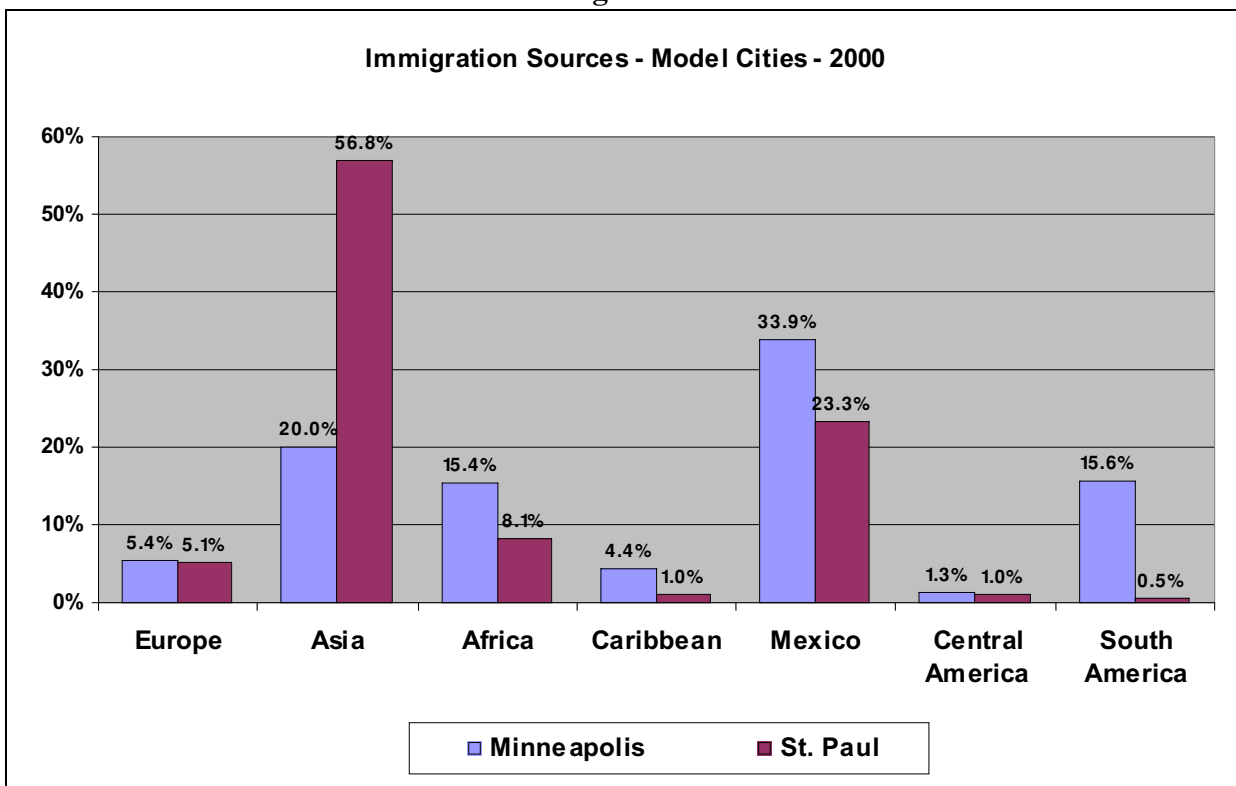
The attraction of existing populations of immigrants is the most important determinant of where newcomers will settle. Even refugees, who are resettled by government assignment rather than choice, tend to migrate after arrival to join groups of their countrymen where they have experienced success.

**Figure 11**



(Source: C2SS Survey)

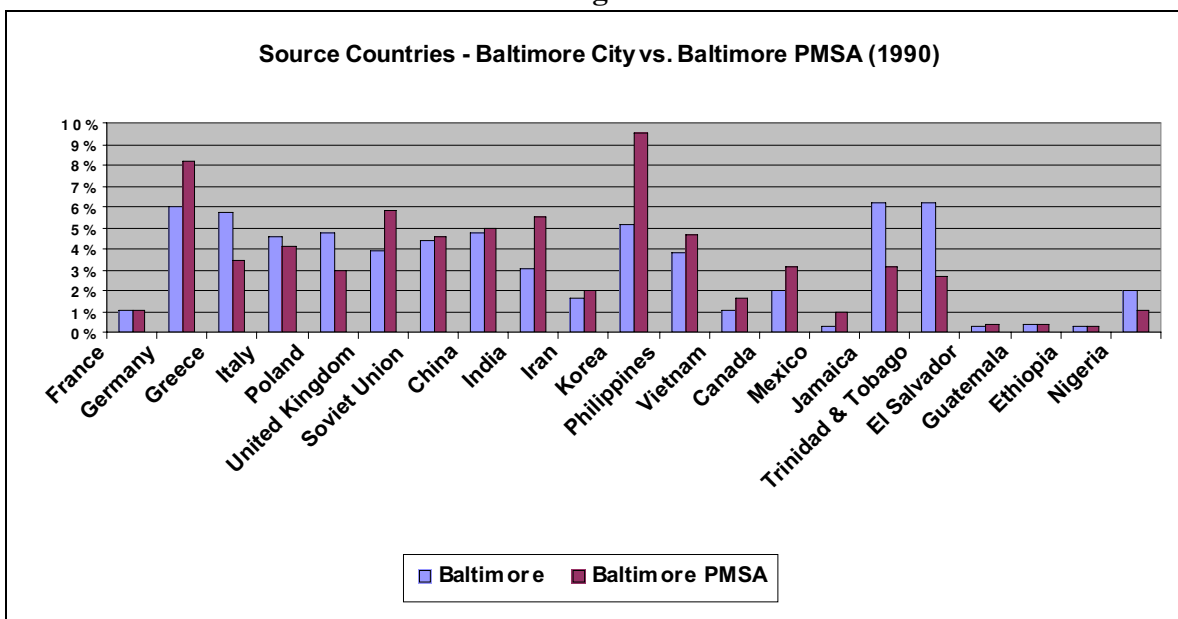
Figure 12



(Source: C2SS)

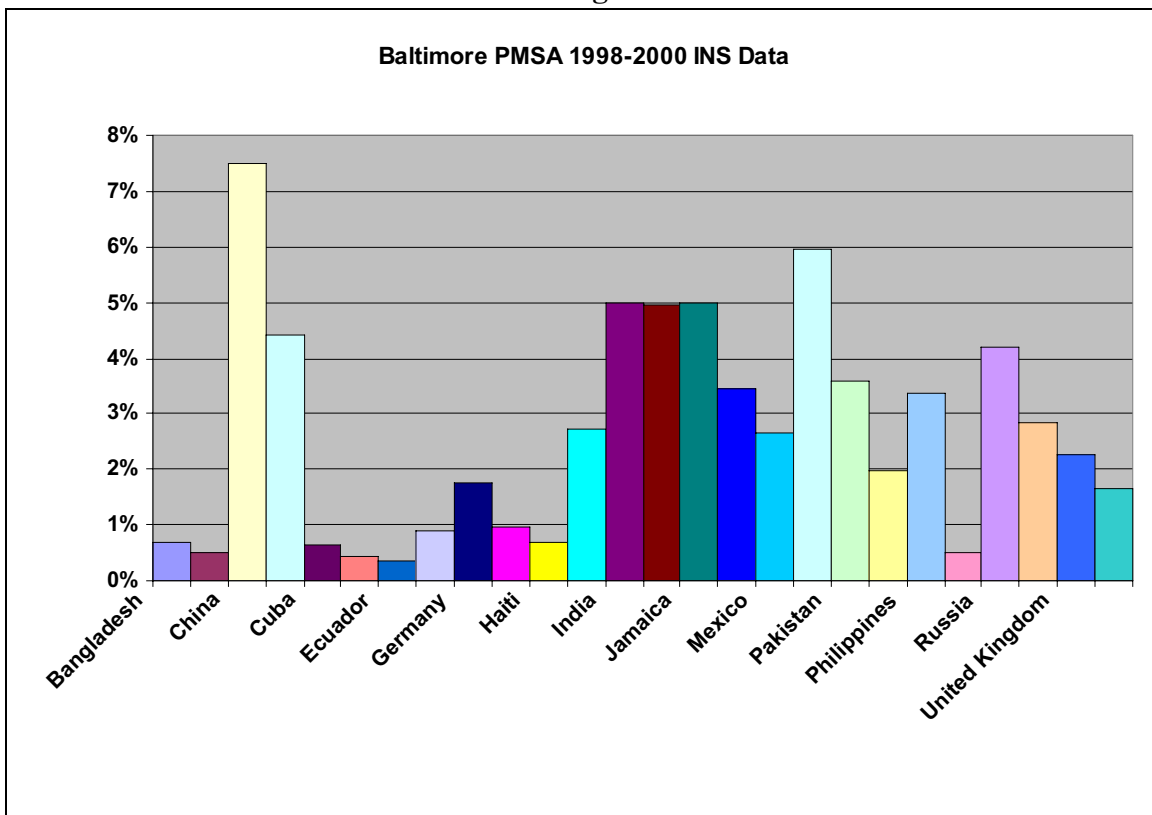
The situation for Baltimore differs from that of the model cities. Data from the 1990 Census (Figure 13) reveal that there is no dominant source country for the city. For the metropolitan area, Koreans are present at a significantly higher percentage. The 1998-2000 INS data for the Baltimore metropolitan area (Figure 14) contrast dramatically with that for the model cities. There are no really tall bars (representing predominant source countries) above the many sources of similar proportions.

Figure 13



(Source: 1990 Census)

**Figure 14**

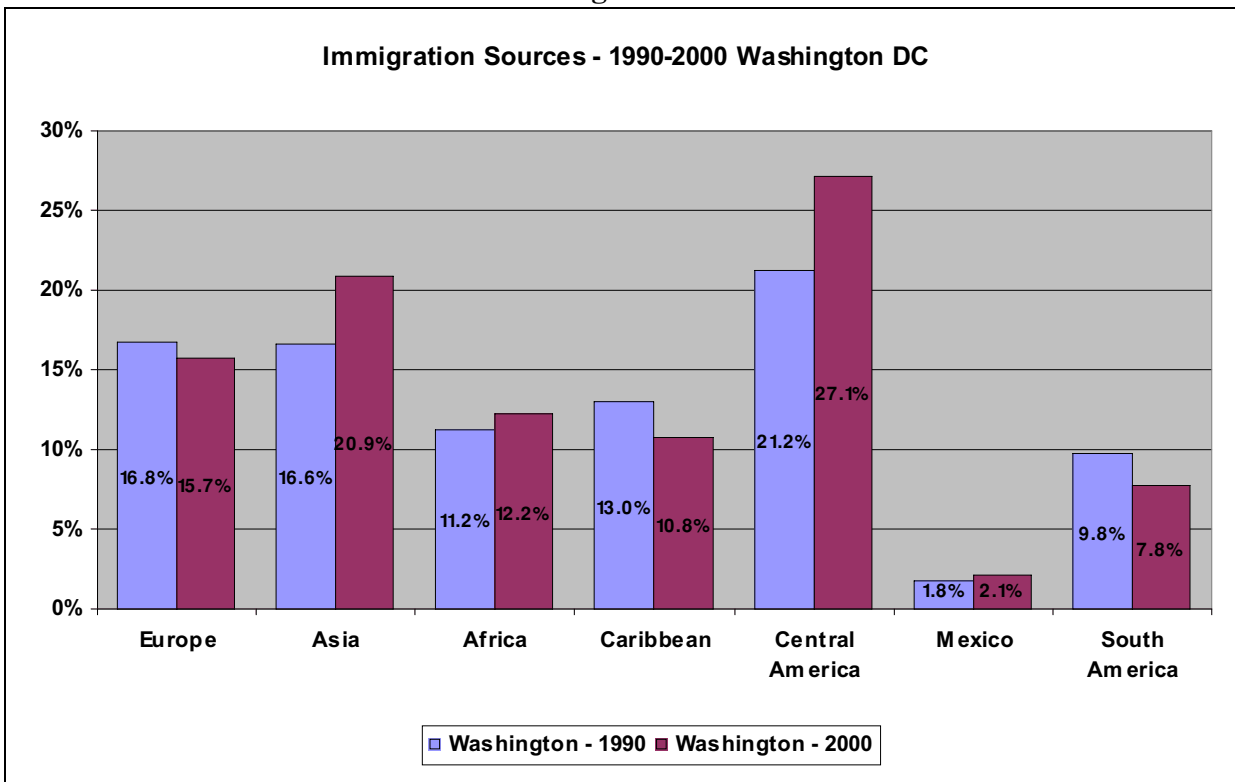


(Source: INS Data)

Thus, Baltimore has not had the concentration of particular immigrant groups that characterize the cities with substantial immigration, based on the 1990 census and INS arrival data from the late 1990s. However, the C2SS data for 2000 suggest a changing pattern. Figures 15 (D.C.) and 16 (Baltimore City) provide a useful comparison between 1990 and 2000 source areas. For D.C., the Central American (primarily Salvadoran) and Asian populations are increasing their proportions. In Baltimore, the European population, composed of older immigrant groups, is falling. Asians have become the largest proportion, but Africans have more than doubled and Mexicans have come from nowhere into second place. New networks are building in Baltimore that will determine future migration patterns. (The Mexican trend does not appear in the INS data, both because the Mexicans probably arrived from elsewhere in the U.S. where they first settled and because most new arrivals are probably undocumented.)

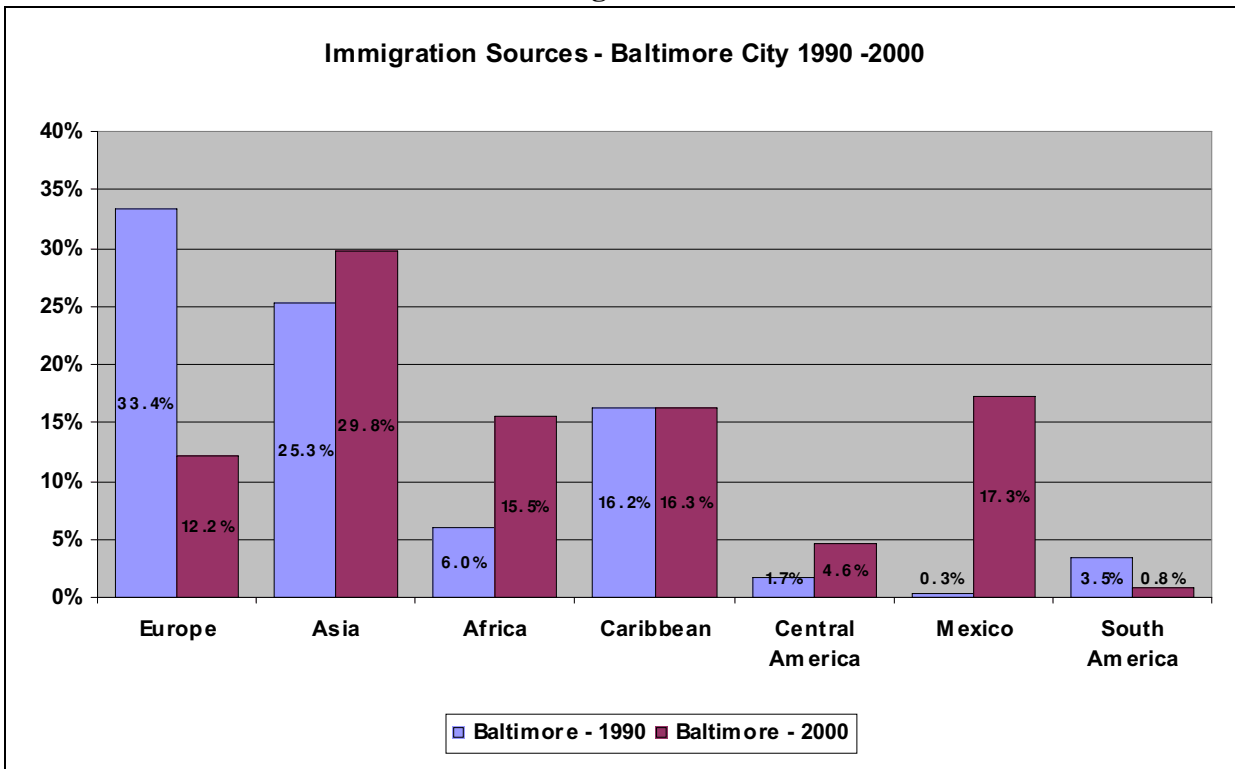
Figure 19, showing the source region distribution for the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area provides an interesting contrast. Asians clearly predominate, reaching 40% of the foreign-born in 2000. The city of Washington, with its significant Central American proportion, is included in the metropolitan data, meaning that Asians are even more heavily concentrated in the suburbs than that 40% would indicate. The stability of the proportions from 1990 to 2000 demonstrates the network phenomenon of immigrant settlement and also the fact that the growth spurt in immigration in the Washington suburbs is subsiding. This observation is supported by Figure 4, which shows recent immigrants below 50% of the total foreign-born.

**Figure 15**



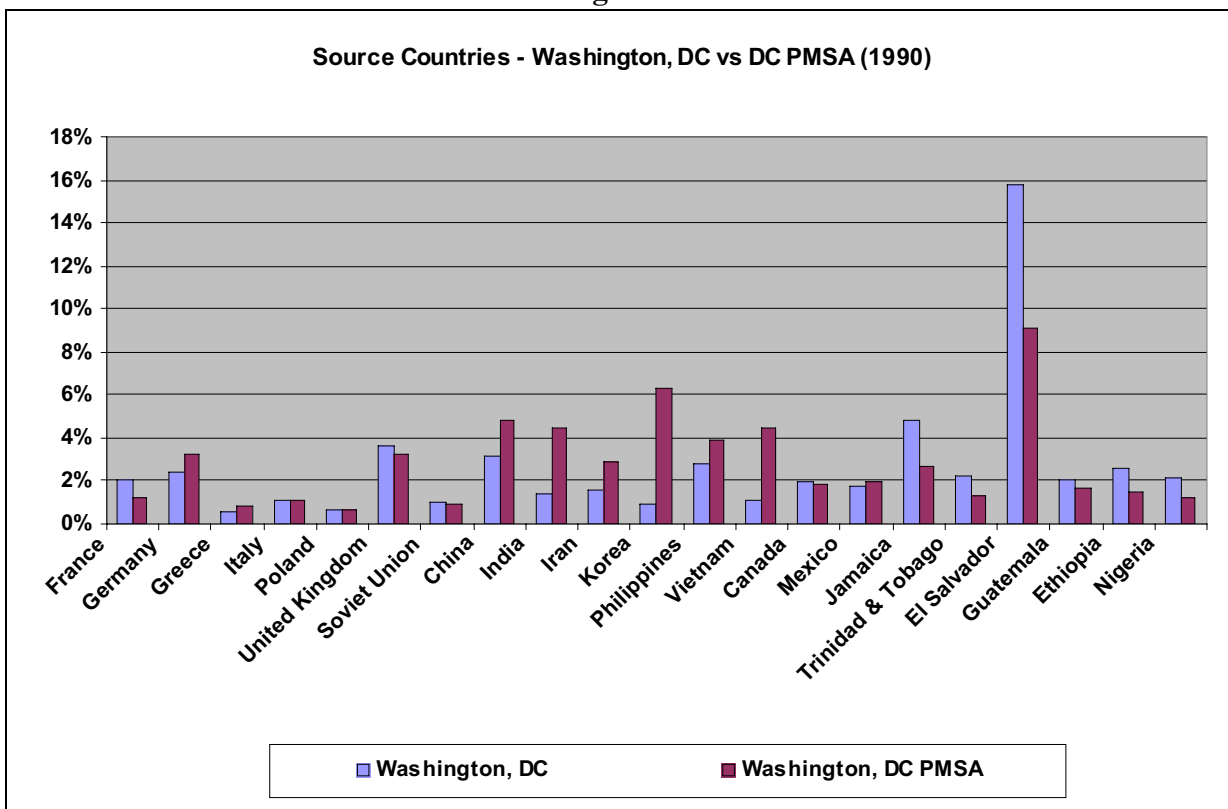
(Source: 1990 Census, C2SS Survey)

**Figure 16**



(Source: 1990 Census, C2SS Survey)

Figure 17



(Source: 1990 Census, C2SS Survey)

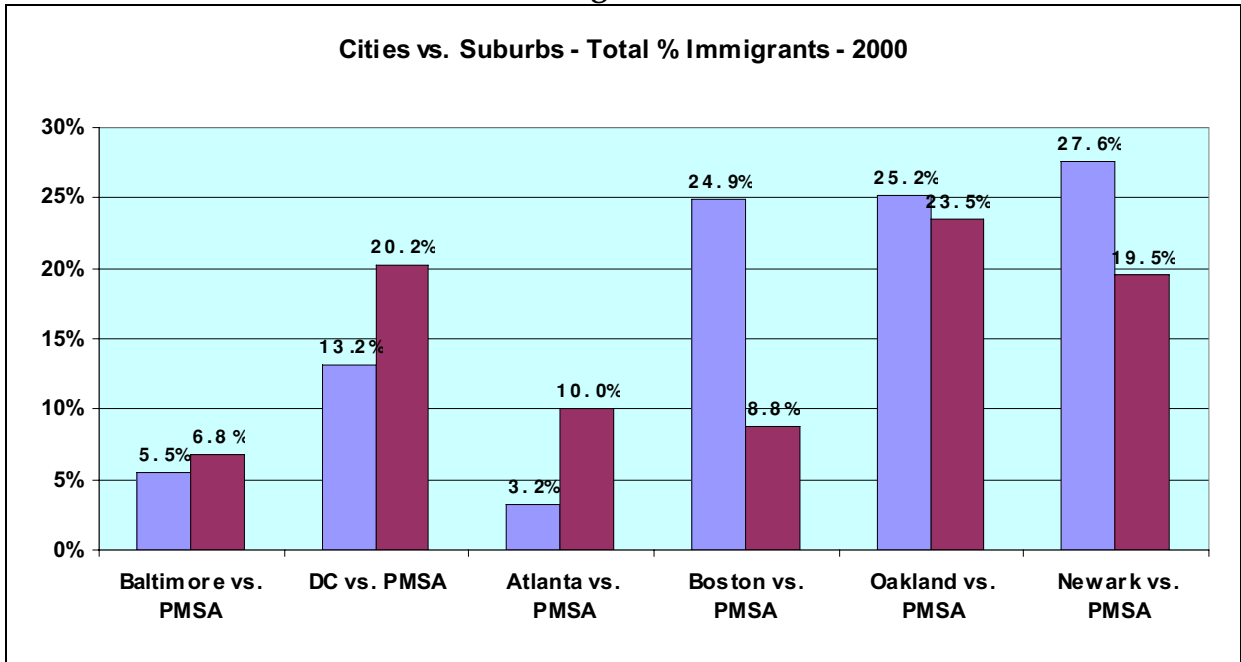
*Immigrant networks depend on accessible job opportunities.* This is more than the potential of jobs, but requires active employer identification of immigrants as a source of labor to sustain current operations or feed potential growth. Immigrant skill levels are clustered around both high-skilled and low-skilled cohorts. Industries consciously seeking employees from these pools are important. Our survey of the model cities revealed a high level of awareness of the economic potential of immigrant employees at both high and low skill levels.

In contrast, Baltimore's major employers and employment sectors revealed little knowledge of or focus on existing or potential immigrant communities as a source of workers. An exception is the few employers who have been involved in refugee resettlement work. These employers have shown the flexibility needed to benefit from newcomers as employees and have experienced success. The same process could operate for many more employers. However, they must be helped to identify the benefits from this source of employees and provided with access to the networks that attract them.

*Housing costs are one factor that may be causing model cities to compete successfully with their suburbs for immigrants.* Figure 18 provides a striking contrast between Boston, Oakland, and Newark on one hand, and Atlanta, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. on the other. Each of the model cities in the first group has a higher ratio of immigrants than its metropolitan area (which includes the city as well). This effect is especially pronounced in Boston. The other three cities have significantly lower percentages of foreign-born residents than their respective metropolitan areas. There are many possible reasons for these differences, many of which cannot be changed. However, by identifying and recruiting those groups that select the city over the suburbs, Baltimore can seek to emulate this favorable result. Figure 19 compares D.C. to its metropolitan area, while Figure 20 compares Baltimore City to its metropolitan area.

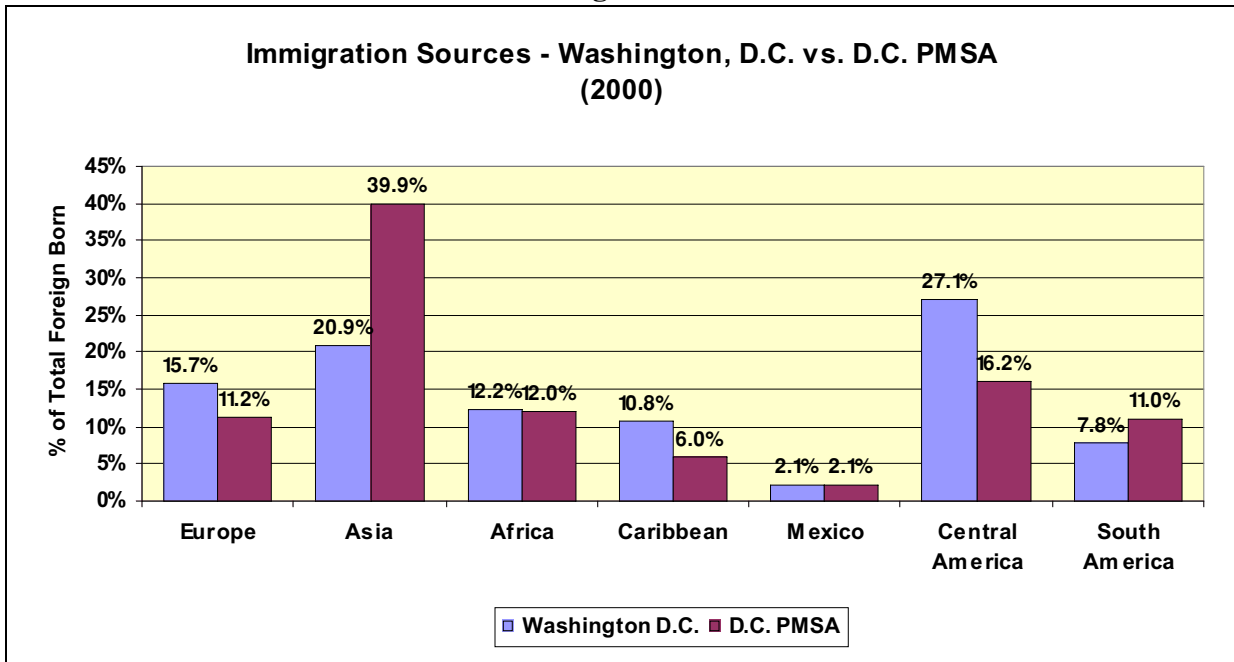


**Figure 18**



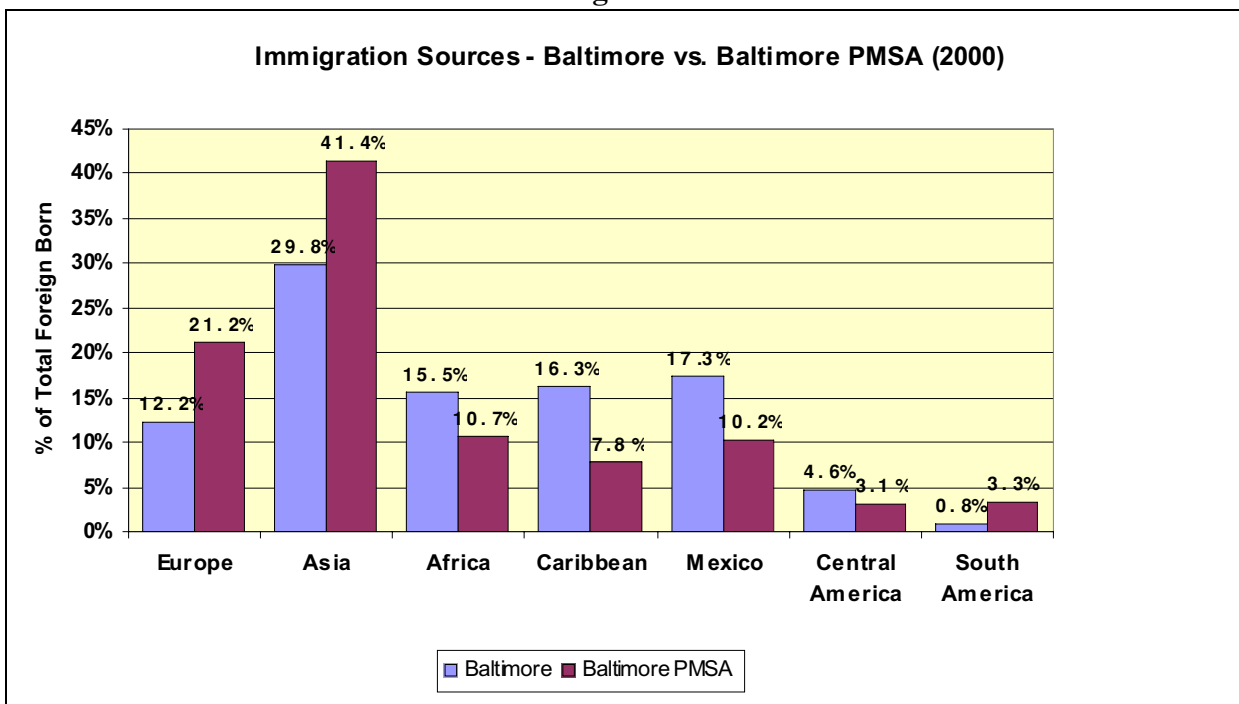
(Source: C2SS)

**Figure 19**



(Source: C2SS Survey)

**Figure 20**



(Source: C2SS Survey)

One possible explanation for the success of model cities over their suburbs is their comparative housing costs. The overall comparisons in Table 1 are only suggestive and cannot be fully relied upon. However, the contrast in housing costs between Baltimore and Washington, which the City is already stressing in a general appeal to D.C. residents, certainly provides a basis for a recruitment theme for immigrants, provided that the City is otherwise attractive and there are counseling and credit programs to assist immigrant renters and homebuyers.

**Table 1: Comparable Housing Costs**

Housing costs	Oakland	Oakland PMSA	Newark	Newark PMSA
Average rent	\$697	\$880	\$623	\$735
Average cost of home	\$231,037	\$303,691	\$131,240	\$204,927

Housing costs	Boston	Boston PMSA	Baltimore	Washington
Average rent	\$875	\$848	\$545	\$636
Average cost of home	\$216,653	\$239,298	\$69,992	\$164,787

(Source: C2SS)

Transportation infrastructure also affects the distribution between suburbs and cities. Atlanta has not had regional transportation systems, and immigrants have concentrated outside the city. The Metro in Washington has facilitated suburban settlement of immigrants, but has also allowed D.C. residents a way to work outside the city. While most transportation strategies have not shaped the residential choices of natives, the transportation choices of local immigrants in the D.C. area and Baltimore should be studied to discern ways in which they can be accommodated for living in Baltimore City.

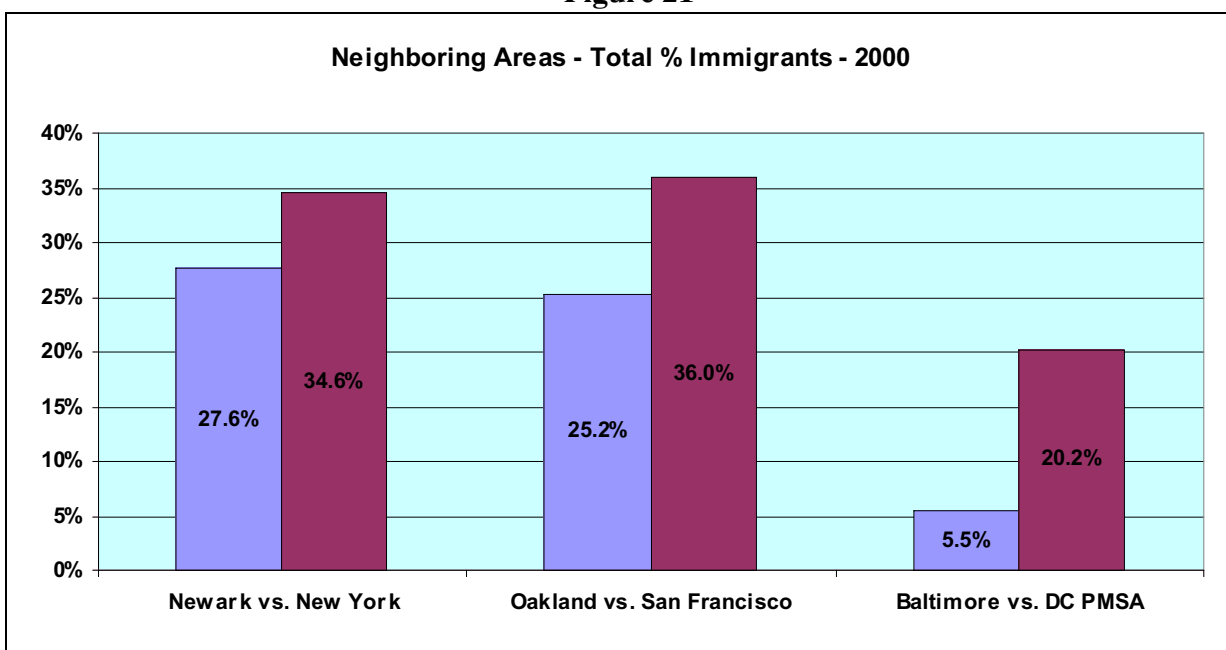
Figures 19 and 20 both demonstrate that Asians are more likely to choose the suburbs, while Africans, West Indians, Mexicans, and Central Americans are more likely to choose the city.

The targeting of groups for recruitment to Baltimore should focus primarily on immigrants from the latter four areas.

*Some model cities appear to draw immigrants from even more popular neighboring communities.* As illustrated in Figure 21, Newark and Oakland have taken advantage of their proximity to cities with even greater immigrant appeal, New York and San Francisco, respectively, benefiting from lower-cost housing compared to those cities and the surrounding suburbs. They also have easy transportation access allowing employment choices. A key to this phenomenon is available housing at affordable costs. Transportation structures also determine which residential options make sense for a given job location.

Baltimore has the potential to relate to the Washington, D.C. area in this way. It also has lower housing costs than its suburbs, which could be used to recruit immigrants into the city.

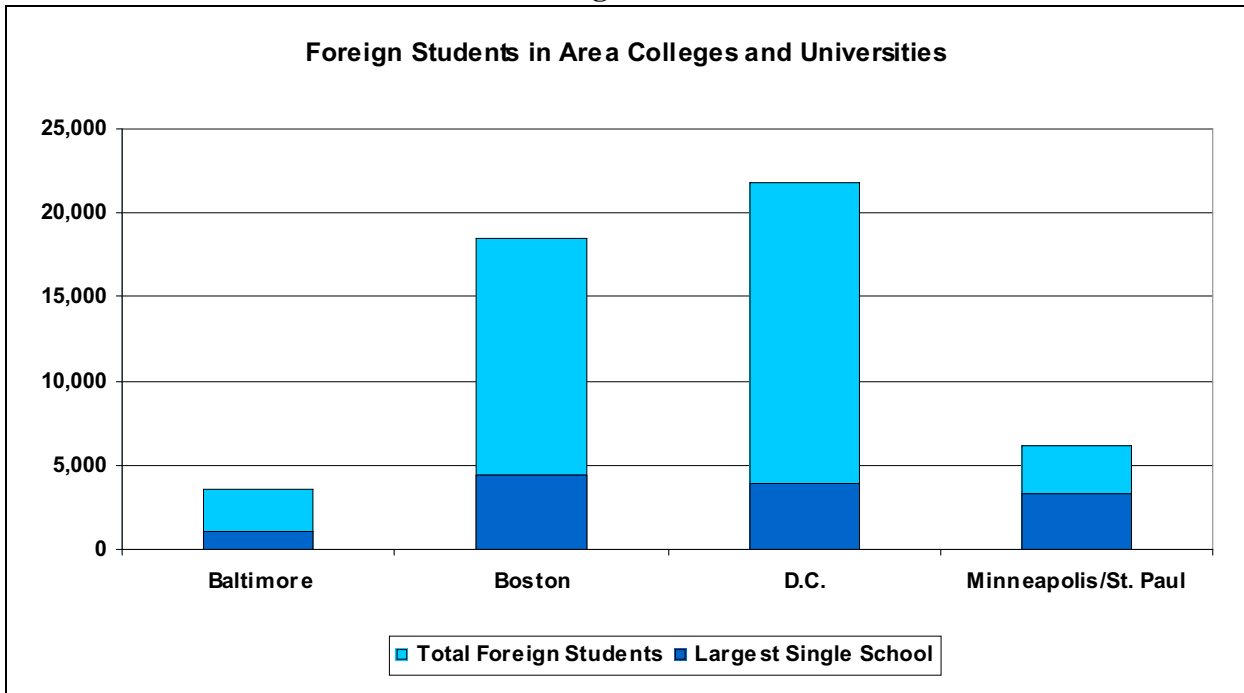
**Figure 21**



(Source: C2SS)

*The presence of foreign students in large numbers is characteristic of the model cities.* The relatively low numbers in Baltimore institutions of higher education deprives the city of a captive population from which to draw permanent residents. Such students put down roots where they go to school if ethnic communities and jobs exist to hold them here. But if they are not present in substantial numbers, this process never starts.

Figure 22



Compared to Boston, the D.C. area and Minneapolis-St. Paul, Baltimore lags badly in the number and concentration of foreign students. (See Figure 22.) Newark and Oakland are harder to assess because of their proximity to New York and San Francisco, respectively. In addition to the overall numbers, the model cities have one or more institutions with thousands of students, enough to create a critical mass that changes their impact on the community. Massachusetts has seen the potential of attracting foreign students as a source of future high-skilled workers. It created student loan programs, usually reserved for citizens and permanent residents, accessible to foreign students.

The colleges and universities in Baltimore, led by Johns Hopkins, will need to make the recruitment of foreign students a priority if this magnet is to be created. And the City and its employers will need to create the part-time and permanent employment and housing opportunities that will retain them after graduation.

### **Retention of Baltimore's Foreign-Born Residents Is the First Priority**

Baltimore already has small but important immigrant communities which it hopes to help grow and to be joined by others. While priming the magnets for new immigrants and targeting immigrant groups to recruit, a first priority is to support retention of the existing foreign-born population. Doing so will assist recruitment as well as retention.

*Nurturing upward mobility in employment is important.* Initial job opportunities attract immigrants, but the opportunity to change jobs for better pay is key to retaining them. Some employers will "churn and burn" low-skilled workers, expecting them to remain for no more than a year or two. But in communities that successfully attract and retain immigrants, there is a path from a first employer to a second and third, as English is acquired and skills increase.

No local government has worked this job ladder phenomenon to attract and retain immigrants, but many smaller communities eagerly cooperate with large employers (e.g., meatpacking in Garden City, Kansas; chicken processing in Georgetown, Delaware; carpet manufacture in

Dalton, Georgia). The three most ambitious city immigrant outreach offices, in New York City, Boston, and Minneapolis, all focus on government services and employment and have minimal interaction with private sector employers.

In contrast, refugee resettlement programs like those administered through the Maryland Office for New Americans (MONA) in Baltimore have developed relationships with specific employers. They provide a small but steady stream of candidates to companies who will hire refugees (and other immigrants) for entry-level jobs and assist them in learning English and becoming citizens. Even though that means they will likely go on to higher paying jobs, the companies are satisfied if new employees follow to take their places.

*Homeownership programs are important retention tools.* New immigrants are almost always renters, regardless of their skill level. Often they are single individuals who will be joined by or acquire families later. Just as for the native-born, a key question for immigrants is where they will decide to invest in their own homes. The other retention factors will play a large part in this decision, but access to counseling, financing, and affordable properties are all essential for there to be any chance of a decision to stay in the city.

*Primary and secondary educational opportunities must be accessible to immigrant children, especially those needing intensive English training.* Besides job opportunities and affordable housing, a decisive factor in determining whether an immigrant family will choose permanent residence is the adequacy and receptiveness of the public and parochial schools toward immigrant children. In fact, the Catholic school system in Baltimore could benefit itself and the city by gearing up to serve the largely Catholic immigrants from Mexico and El Salvador. The low number of limited English proficiency (LEP) students in Baltimore is a measure of limited immigration, especially of families. However, it is also an area of concern. To retain immigrants as they start families, they must be confident that the schools will serve their children effectively and hospitably. This is another area in which the presence of some immigrants helps attract more from the same background.

*Community services must be made responsive to the special needs and concerns of immigrants.* While the municipal efforts identified elsewhere were a reaction to immigrant flows, not the cause, they are still critical to successful retention of these populations. Jobs and housing require significant private sector involvement. Making municipal services responsive to immigrants falls to the departments of the city government.

Immigrants understand that English is the key to economic advancement and clamor for English as a second language (ESL) instruction. These programs, which are oversubscribed everywhere, are a key investment in retention. ESL programs are state-funded, with support from the federal government. If the State of Maryland were to fund guaranteed access to adult ESL classes, it would greatly enhance Baltimore's appeal as an immigrant destination. Meanwhile, overcoming language barriers to accessing services is important. The primary tools of access are language skills and recruitment of immigrants for municipal jobs. An example of coordinating both tools is a language bank, such as Minneapolis' roster of every bilingual city employee (whatever their job title).

Community policing techniques, like Arlington, Virginia's ride-along program in which bilingual volunteers accompany officers and serve as interpreters, are also vital. Anecdotal evidence suggests that a perception that the police are indifferent or hostile to an immigrant group (e.g., illegal Mexican workers in the Midwest) can be key in preventing a temporary immigrant community from becoming a permanent one. This is especially important when a new ethnic community, such as South Asians in St. Paul, is a target for gang activity. The St.

Paul police department responded by dedicating a unit so that gang victims would see the police as their allies.

Where there are concentrations of immigrant groups, e.g., Salvadorans in apartment complexes (Arlington) or Ethiopians in a neighborhood (Minneapolis), on-site centers have been used. Most such efforts are based on refugee resettlement models and focus on public assistance, health care, and general assimilation advice on matters such as driver's education, licensing (driving, food preparation, fishing, commercial permits), financial services (how to cash a check) and employment (how to fill out a job application). Simply translating basic materials fills a need. A good example is the Montgomery County Housing Opportunities Commission Translation Handbook, 35 pages in five languages about how to complain about leaky faucets, broken windows and roaches.

*Small business advice and financial assistance is needed to support immigrant business development.* It has been said that you cannot build a Korean community without a Korean food market . . . which only comes from having a Korean community. Obviously such a "Catch-22" is not absolute, or the immigrant growth already achieved would not have occurred. However, it does identify a key retention need – facilitating small business growth among immigrants. By its nature, immigration is an entrepreneurial act. People who leave home in search of a better life in a new land are risk-takers. Many gravitate to serving their countrymen with local businesses specializing in ethnic food, groceries, and other products. While sweat equity is essential to the founding of these enterprises, they often require help in meeting regulatory requirements. To grow and expand employment beyond the family, financing is important. Programs directed at these needs will enhance the development and growth of ethnic businesses that will attract and retain immigrants.

*Immigration and naturalization assistance and advocacy demonstrate a commitment to integrate immigrants into the community.* Refugee resettlement programs in Baltimore and elsewhere have long helped refugees (who get green cards automatically) to become citizens after five years. Many such organizations provided assistance to illegal aliens eligible for the 1986 amnesty and continue to help those eligible for temporary protected status or asylum. Support for these activities, and coordinating access throughout the city, plays a key part in both demonstrating commitment and assisting undocumented aliens to become legal permanent residents.

Advocacy of national policies that benefit immigrant communities is another way to assist local immigrants and demonstrate a desire to have them come to Baltimore. Cities have not been active in immigration debates in the past, but given the interest in attracting immigrants to places as diverse as Rust Belt cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh and Midwestern communities in Nebraska and Iowa, there is an opportunity for leadership. The fact that immigration decisions made nationally have their greatest fiscal and social impacts locally argues for a greater municipal role in shaping these policies.

### **Baltimore Should Target Recruitment at Particular Ethnicities**

The network phenomenon demonstrated above dictates an ethnic-specific approach to immigrant recruitment. Immigrants will be attracted by a combination of factors that result in the widely different ethnic distributions suggested by Figures 11, 12, 19, and 20. A successful recruitment strategy will identify the skill level of the jobs to be filled, the presence of a core community to build upon, the presence of a neighboring population to be attracted, and compatibility of the immigrant population with the native-born population.

*Refugees are only one part of the strategy.* Baltimore has an active refugee resettlement program; its success was one factor that led to this study. Is increased refugee recruitment the answer to Baltimore's declining population? The answer is that refugee resettlement can play a part, but only a part, in a complete immigration recruitment strategy. The numbers and sources of these refugees is summarized as follows:

**Table 2: Refugee Resettlement**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Baltimore 1990-2000</b>	<b>Baltimore 2001</b>	<b>Maryland 2001</b>
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>	<b>4728</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>144</b>
<b>Former Yugoslavia</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>Liberia</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>402</b>
<b>Other African</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>Others</b>	<b>469</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>356</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>5830</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>1372</b>

(Source: MONA)

These numbers are far below the 8,000 net annual influx needed to stabilize Baltimore's population. The annual approved national total of refugee admissions is between 70,000 and 80,000, with Baltimore receiving only about 500, most of whom have been placed outside the city. Since September 11, 2001, far fewer people than the quota allows have actually arrived in the U.S. Some increase in the annual total assigned to Baltimore is possible. But resettlement policy, the interests of resettlement agencies in other states, and local capacity to serve these victims of persecution make it unlikely that the number of refugees coming to Baltimore will more than double.

Significant numbers of immigrants from one ethnic group is also important to retaining newcomers. Since previously high levels of Soviet Jews being resettled here have decreased dramatically, this ethnic concentration has been lacking. The existing Jewish refugee community can serve as a magnet for secondary migration from elsewhere in the U.S., as well as for immigrants (rather than refugees) from Russia and Ukraine. But among refugees, a new core community is needed. Bosnians will no longer be coming in large numbers, so West Africa may provide the best opportunity.

Refugees differ from other immigrants in that their resettlement is arranged and financed by the federal government, which determines who is admitted and where they will be placed. It also allocates both the national and local quotas for each year. Baltimore should seek to receive more refugees and to concentrate their numbers in a few nationalities that are likely to continue to arrive for several years. This has not generally been done by other localities, but it is well within the ability of the national program to accommodate. The local agencies that manage this resettlement will continue to be key players both in their work with refugees and in sharing their expertise for providing services and employment placements for a broader population of immigrants.

*Secondary migration of immigrants already in the U.S. will provide the greatest potential for recruitment to Baltimore.* The specific identification of groups to target for both immigration and refugee resettlement will require a collaborative process among employers, educators, City Hall, and community leaders, but some likely considerations are as follows:

- Mexicans appear to be the fastest growing immigrant group in Baltimore. They are approaching 1 percent of the total city population. (See Figure 16.) As a largely undocumented population, these immigrants will need a legalization strategy to be of maximum benefit to Baltimore, a political objective the City can assist in attaining.
- Asians and Latin Americans predominate among immigrant populations nationally. These regions are part of the flow to every model city, although individual countries of origin vary. Based on the existing data, Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Koreans seem to be the best target groups. (See Figures 13 and 16.)
- Many Asian nationalities have tended to settle in the suburbs in both D.C. and Baltimore. (See Figures 19 and 20.) Looking at those groups and nationalities that opt for living in the center city – West Indians, Salvadorans, Mexicans, and Africans – can help to focus recruitment. Asians are disproportionately represented among the highly educated immigrants who will be crucial to a biotech park and other science and engineering employers.
- Salvadorans are a modest presence in Baltimore but a big part of the D.C. area, in both the city and the suburbs. (See Figures 17 and 19.) Some are employed in Baltimore and commute from suburban D.C. This is a significant opportunity group.
- West Indians are a significant presence in D.C. They are coming to Baltimore in modest numbers, primarily from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. (See Figure 13.) They are an important part of a strategy of immigration growth that includes adding to the City's residents of African heritage.
- African immigration is also an area of opportunity. Nigerians show up as a growing segment of Baltimore's newcomers. As the African country with the largest population and with the prevalence of English in its education system, Nigeria is worthy of attention. Existing refugee flows from elsewhere in English-speaking West Africa (Liberia, Sierra Leone) could provide some synergy with recruitment of Nigerians.
- Fewer than 600 refugees now arrive in Baltimore each year. Jews from the former Soviet Union (primarily Russia and Ukraine) comprised more than 80% of the refugees over the last decade, but nationwide, the annual total of arrivals from this source is much smaller than in the past. Growth of this community will require an immigration (rather than refugee) strategy, which might be assisted by legislative changes giving preferences and sponsoring authority to municipalities.
- The remaining refugee source countries are far too diverse and too small in numbers to be the foundation for magnet communities. An attempt to become more specialized in countries of origin, as was the case with the Soviet Jews in the past, is important to both retention and attraction of future flows.

### **We Recommend the Following Specific Actions and Programs to Increase Baltimore's Immigrant Population**

As the preceding sections demonstrate, Baltimore needs immigrants to stabilize its population. It has the seeds of an immigrant population to accomplish this, but affirmative steps are needed to speed this process along. What is needed is an “Initiative to Renew Baltimore's Neighborhoods” (IRBaN). As the successes of Newark and Oakland demonstrate, this goal is consistent with the continuing predominance of the African-American population in Baltimore, which has the most



to gain from renewal of the city's economy and neighborhoods. While other cities have not specifically plotted a course to accomplish Baltimore's objectives, there is plenty of evidence of what helps. This information forms the basis for the action steps recommended. This initiative can begin immediately.

*This initiative can begin with modest steps and be built into a larger effort over time, but it is essential that certain characteristics be incorporated from the start.*

- To succeed, a Baltimore initiative to retain and attract immigrants must be coherent and strategic, rather than episodic and tactical. It must appear to current immigrant residents, prospective newcomers, and the whole Baltimore community to be a concerted effort that engages all the assets of the city, based on the conclusion that the economic and social vitality new immigrants can offer will enhance the City for all its residents and institutions.
- The initiative should be a public-private partnership with support and participation from both sectors and the staff and resources to promote activities in critical sectors to give substance to a marketing and recruitment program.
- The initiative must have the explicit support of the Mayor and his deputies so that it will get maximum cooperation from city departments.
- Creation of a welcoming image for Baltimore is essential, which will require both immigrant-friendly actions and attentive public relations efforts. Especially after September 11, communicating an understanding of the distinction between immigration and terrorism will find a receptive audience among immigrants.
- The first priority is to retain the existing immigrant population. This requires outreach to communities that already are present in substantial numbers: Mexicans, Koreans, Jews from Russia and Ukraine, West Indians, and possibly Nigerians and Salvadorans. Other groups may develop or be identified later in the implementation process.
- Because retention is the first step to growth, work must be done to improve activities that help retain immigrants: recognition and respect from community leaders; job mobility; improved housing; accessible primary and secondary education; and responsive policing and other public services.
- The second priority is to start the recruitment process by supporting existing communities in reaching out to attract family and friends; identifying entry level job opportunities appropriate to immigrants at both high and low skill levels; working with colleges and universities to develop increased foreign student populations; and building political alliances for immigration programs and rules favorable to cities like Baltimore.
- The initiative has as its goal the fostering of a strategic approach to stemming Baltimore's population decline through the attraction and retention of foreign-born residents in a manner that does not disadvantage native-born residents. Make sure this is – and is seen as – a process of addition, not displacement.

*While the effort cannot be run by the City government alone, there must be a central coordination if the city's assets are to be deployed effectively to recruit immigrants.*

- Create a coordinator position functionally attached to the Mayor's office and hire or assign an employee to organize this initiative. The coordinator must be fluent in Spanish or have an

assistant who is. The appointments of staff liaisons to the Latino and Korean-American communities are a good first step.

- The Mayor should make clear to City department leaders his commitment to the work to be done by the coordinator and his expectation of broad cooperation.
- The coordinator should have sufficient resources to build an ongoing public-private partnership structure to oversee a permanent retention and recruitment effort.
- The initiative should start on a low-key basis to avoid creating either expectations that cannot be met or fears that native-born residents will suffer. However, there should be a public relations effort coordinated by the Mayor's office to showcase the contributions of immigrant residents and demonstrate progress with the initiative.

*The coordinator, while organizing public and private sector support, should pursue the following objectives:*

Reach out to existing immigrant communities.

- Identify all city and community offices and groups with a substantial immigrant clientele or constituency.
- Create a task force to identify issues faced by these immigrant communities and forge solutions.
- Make sure that outreach efforts to undocumented immigrants are divorced from any immigration law enforcement efforts, so these immigrants can respond to the city's initiatives without feeling threatened.

Support and expand existing recruitment efforts.

- Work with refugee resettlement agencies to enlist them as part of the broader effort both directly and through shared expertise.
- Assist the refugee resettlement agencies to negotiate increased and more source-specific allocations of refugees assigned to Baltimore.
- Identify and help expand immigrant assistance efforts in the individual target ethnic communities to include recruitment of friends and family from elsewhere in the U.S. and abroad. (This process will bring to the surface a plethora of challenges arising from the current rules and practices of immigration, which Baltimore could lobby to change.)

Open up the Baltimore employer community to the potential of immigrant employees.

- Using the community outreach efforts recommended above, identify the current concentrations of immigrant employment.
- Using business organizations appropriate to the various groups, create an immigrant employment task force that involves representatives of major employers, significant entry-level employers (hotels, restaurants, fast food, laundries, janitorial services, temporary staffing), together with job placement staff from the refugee agencies, other community groups, the City and the State.

- Use the task force or subcommittees of it to identify where the potential exists for two types of job growth important to immigration: career ladder options for immigrants who are already here, with the skills they will need to acquire; and entry-level needs at both low and high skill levels.
- Add the coordinator to the planning body for the biotech park project and introduce the issue of the overlap between high-tech employment and immigration.
- Encourage large employers and employer organizations to work with foreign student advisors at local colleges and universities (see below) to provide part-time and summer jobs to foreign students and to recruit from these groups for permanent employment.

*Recruit permanent residents from among existing foreign students and dramatically increase the number of foreign students in local colleges and universities.*

- Contact the leadership of all local colleges and universities and solicit their advice on ways to increase the numbers of foreign students who come here for school and the numbers who settle in Baltimore.
- Create a task force or other mechanism for leadership-designated representatives to interact with their peers and the coordinator to create a shared mission of increasing the numbers of foreign students, creating employment resources for foreign students while they are in school and improving the likelihood that they will settle in the City.
- Explore creation of financial assistance programs to assist foreign students who settle in the city, such as: access to resident tuition at State institutions when certain settlement criteria are met; and loan programs with forgiveness provisions tied to years of residence in the city.

*Initiate a broad lobbying initiative led by the Mayor to advocate changing the rules to help Baltimore compete for immigrants.*

- The Mayor should take the lead in creating a coalition for “bringing immigrants to cities that want more than they have.” Philadelphia and Pittsburgh may be candidates already. The Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities are potential vehicles for this effort.
- Lobbying objectives should include enhancing the ways that Baltimore can attract immigrants and redressing the imbalance of the fiscal impact of immigration between federal and local levels by obtaining federal support for specific local programs.
- Immigration rules should give benefits to immigrants who settle and remain in localities that qualify, either by such designations as empowerment/enterprise zones, through other demographic indicators, or by self-designation of cities seeking immigrants. Examples could include: easing the path to legal resident status under a new amnesty program; advantages in the diversity lottery program; exceptions to quota limits to reduce waiting times (which are often many years); and direct rights for municipalities to petition as sponsors of immigrants, with conditions to ensure residence in the city for a specified period.
- Funding initiatives could include “English for Immigrants” to expand access to English instruction for adults and support for English instruction in schools. A specific proposal would be for the State of Maryland to fund guaranteed access to adult ESL.

*Building on the initial work of the coordinator, a broader program should be created to pursue the following goals:*

Institutionalize the initiative.

- During the first year of the initiative, conduct a strategic planning process, involving the appropriate constituencies – City leaders and officials, employers, schools, colleges and universities, community groups – to design an ongoing framework for the retention and recruitment of immigrants, with an allocation of responsibility for resources and implementation.
- Based on the input of the planning process, create an office as a focal point of the City’s efforts, not limited to municipal functions but including employment, education, and housing.
- Create a mechanism, managed by the city office, to facilitate immigrants’ interactions with City departments through such approaches as translation of materials, identification of bilingual assistance, and referrals to appropriately equipped community groups to assist and advocate for the immigrant.

Recruit immigrants from likely sources.

- As noted above, use outreach to existing immigrant communities to identify ways to assist them in recruiting family, friends, and countrymen.
- Identify immigrants working in Baltimore but living elsewhere, and target housing programs to recruit them to the city.
- Develop ties with Korean-American groups in the Baltimore suburbs and in Prince George’s and Montgomery counties to identify the preconditions to bringing some of them to live in Baltimore, which may include housing programs, small business assistance, or other tools.
- Work with West Indian community groups in Baltimore to devise a strategy to recruit from the West Indian community in Washington, D.C.
- Assist the community of Jews from the former Soviet Union to identify other such communities in North America from which secondary migration to Baltimore could be promoted and provide assistance in doing so.
- Work with refugee resettlement groups, as described above, to increase the allocation of refugees to Baltimore and focus the program on expanding existing ethnic communities.
- Advertise in Nigeria in connection with the diversity lottery program and provide local job offers to successful applicants.

Prepare schools and municipal services for increased immigrant participation.

- Establish a municipal programs working group with an appropriate representative from the schools (including parochial schools) and municipal departments, especially the police, that do or will have significant interaction with immigrant communities.

- Use this working group to identify existing problems and opportunities related to the responsiveness of Baltimore's government services to immigrants and to establish concrete measures of the impact of immigration on the City.
- Use the working group as a point of contact for City government leaders, service providers, and schools to create a problem-solving and network-building forum.
- Encourage the public schools to create visible programs that assist immigrant children with English acquisition and academic adjustment, as well as adult programs in ESL and naturalization assistance.
- Encourage the Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore to launch a program to equip their schools in Baltimore to provide effective English and academic programs for the immigrant community, especially those from predominantly Catholic countries like El Salvador and Mexico.

Structure housing and economic development programs to include immigrants.

- The coordinator should identify the affordable housing resources in the city, including city offices, neighborhood development and other affordable housing developers, and funding resources such as CRA officers of local financial institutions, the Enterprise Foundation, Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, and the Federal Home Loan Bank of Atlanta. Immigrants have been identified as the fastest growing group of new homeowners, so institutions that finance homeownership have an interest in facilitating the process.
- Housing programs should address the special needs of immigrants including location issues, translation, counseling appropriate to their level of knowledge and experience with U.S. housing practices, and financial assistance responsive to the circumstances of low income, cash economy, and lack of credit history common in this group.
- Small business lending programs should also be identified and examined for their applicability to the small entrepreneurs that are common in many immigrant communities. Such programs can be important to increase employment opportunity.

Experience may alter the details of these recommendations. However, the central requirements will remain to address the employment, housing and services needs of current immigrants; and to use these positive interactions to jointly recruit family, friends, and countrymen to move to Baltimore.

## Part Two: Analysis of Demographic Data

### Census Data on Immigrant Destinations

**Summary:** The 2000 Census recorded a national foreign-born population of almost 11%. Immigration accounted for over one-third of U.S. population growth since 1990. The “big six” states of immigrant settlement remained important, but settlement patterns have broadened within states and to new locales. (An overview of the rules and practices of immigration to the U.S. is summarized in the Appendix.)

*Immigration was a major part of population growth in the U.S. in the 1990s.* The 2000 Census reports that 13.4 million immigrants entered the U.S. from 1990 to 2000, for a total foreign-born population of more than 30.5 million in a nation of 285 million. But immigrants are not evenly spread across the country. In 1999, 69% of the foreign-born lived in just six states (New York, California, Texas, Florida, Illinois and New Jersey), 30% in California alone. Even within those six states, immigration is concentrated in just a few regions and counties, e.g., New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles, the Bay Area, and Silicon Valley in California.

Short-form data from the 2000 Census show that immigration has had a large cumulative impact on the biggest destination cities: from 1990 to 2000, New York City grew 9.4% (7.3 million to 8 million), Los Angeles 6% (3.5 million to 3.7 million), and Chicago 4% (2.7 million to 2.9 million), largely due to immigration. Before the current wave of immigration started in the 1970s, Los Angeles's population had held steady, while Chicago and New York had actually lost population.

*Local growth patterns are changing, but cities like Baltimore have not benefited.* While the immigrant population in these six states grew 60% in the 1970s, further growth from immigration slowed to 28% in the 1990s. But outside these six states, areas of new settlement where immigration grew by 45% in the 1980s more than doubled that pace to 94% in the 1990s. The concentrated growth caused by immigration is beginning to spread.

The INS lists immigrant destinations by metropolitan area. But while the INS tracks the declared destinations of immigrants who are issued green cards, there is no guarantee they will remain there for any length of time. Secondary migration movements are not tracked by a comparable primary source, but can be estimated from Census data and local sources. In addition, the INS has no record of illegal immigrants, so their location can only be estimated from census counts of the foreign-born.

According to the INS data, top urban destinations for immigrants include New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, the greater Washington, D.C. area, San Francisco, Orange County (California), Oakland, Houston, and the greater Boston area. According to 1999 INS data, Baltimore ranks 40th, with just 3,841 immigrants identifying Baltimore as their destination. This number is comparable to that for the area including Bridgeport, Connecticut – a far smaller city – and contrasts poorly with 9,441 for Philadelphia and more than 30,000 for Miami. Los Angeles and New York City led with 55,000 and 81,000, respectively.

Even more significant, new settlement areas outside the top six states show that substantial, even explosive growth is possible in targeted areas because of immigration. The rapid growth in Sun Belt cities like Atlanta, Charlotte, Raleigh, Nashville, and Austin has been fueled partly by immigration. In these cities (and their surrounding suburbs), high-tech growth has also fueled blue-collar construction and services jobs.

But because these are single-year destination totals, they do not measure the cumulative effect over time, nor are secondary migration effects immediately visible. While 9,441 immigrants reported the greater Philadelphia area was their destination in 1999, the most recent Census data show just 144,410 foreign-born residents of Philadelphia city, of whom 62,000 arrived between 1990 and 2000. So, even if the 18,000-plus immigrants who arrived in 1998 and 1999 remained in the area, it is unlikely they stayed within the city limits. Likewise, Baltimore City's 20,000 foreign residents who came since 1990 represent only half of the 4,000 immigrants per year whom the INS counted as coming to the region.

One effective way to illustrate the impact of immigration on Baltimore City compared to the region is to note that the population of the Northern Virginia-to-Baltimore corridor grew by 13.1% from 1990 to 2000, while Baltimore City itself lost 11.5% of its residents, more than twice D.C.'s population loss.

### **Characteristics of Popular Immigrant Destinations**

***Summary:* The single consistent characteristic of those cities receiving many immigrants is an existing immigrant community. A concentration of immigrants from the same source country correlates with the attraction of newcomers of the same ethnicity. Employers in these "destination cities" tend to be sensitive to the dynamics of immigrant recruitment and hiring, but this may be more reaction than prescience. In addition, concentrations of foreign students on local campuses are common in these cities.**

*Four of the five largest cities in the country are immigrant meccas. Only Philadelphia among the five biggest cities has a foreign-born population below the national ratio (9.5% compared to 10.7%). And only Philadelphia lost population from 1990 to 2000. Its loss of 4.3% would have been twice as large but for the 4.1% of its 2000 residents who are immigrants who arrived during the decade. The contrast with the other four largest cities defines the dynamics of immigration.*

New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston all have percentages of foreign-born residents twice the national average. And the growth in immigrant population over the last decade exceeds overall population growth in all but Houston (see Part One, Figure 1). The respective figures are: New York, 14.7% recent immigration and 9.4% recent growth; Los Angeles, 17.0% and 6.0%; Chicago, 9.9% and 4.0%; but Houston, 15.7% recent immigration, 19.8% recent growth. (Sun Belt cities are subject to a different demographic analysis, but it is of little relevance to Baltimore.)

Thus, without immigration, New York and Chicago – the large cities most similar to Baltimore – would each have lost about 5% of their residents if there had been no new immigrants in the decade. This confirms the hypothesis that for Northeast-Midwest cities, growth comes from immigrants or not at all. While there are many ways in which these very large cities differ from Baltimore, their experience certainly supports the proposition that if they need immigrants to grow, so does Baltimore.

*There are smaller cities outside the Sun Belt that have grown by becoming popular immigrant destinations. A review of cities in Baltimore's population range (250,000 to 1 million) revealed just five outside the Sun Belt that were growing. Each had growth in its foreign-born population during the 1990s that exceeded its population growth (see Part One, Figure 3). These cities are Boston (13.0% recent immigration and 2.6% recent growth) Newark (16.0% and –0.6%), Oakland (10.0% and 7.3%), Minneapolis (11.4% and 3.9%), and St. Paul (10.4% and 5.5%).*

Atlanta, a Sun Belt city, cuts against this trend with recent immigration of 2.0% versus growth of 5.7%, although its suburbs have greater immigration.

Data on the source regions and countries for the immigrants in these various cities demonstrate that the process is driven by a concentration of foreign-born residents from particular countries. While this characteristic is common to all, the particular region and countries vary from city to city. Even the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul have dramatically different sources for their foreign-born populations. (See Part One, Figures 7 and 9-12.) For Oakland, it is Asians (Chinese, Indian, and Filipino) and Mexicans, while in Newark, it is Haitians and South Americans. Boston's core immigrant communities have been Asians (Chinese and Indians) and Caribbeans (Haitians and Dominicans). A majority of St. Paul's foreign-born population is Asian. But only one-fifth of the immigrants in Minneapolis are Asians. Mexicans, South Americans and Africans are significantly more numerous there than in St. Paul.

For Oakland and Newark, the large neighboring immigrant populations in San Francisco and New York, respectively, seem to have assisted the attraction of foreign-born residents (see Part One, Figure 21). One factor may be lower housing costs (see Part One, Table 1). This may also be a factor in why these popular destinations draw higher proportions of immigrants than their suburbs (see Part One, Figure 18).

In cities for which data could be cleanly isolated from surrounding areas, the presence of foreign students appeared to be an important factor (see Part One, Figure 22). In particular, one or a few schools in these locations had thousands of foreign students, enough to make their presence felt.

### **Comparisons with Cities Losing Population**

**Summary: Most Northeast and Midwest cities have not been immigrant destinations in recent times. Chicago and New York are exceptions, but are hard to emulate because of their size. Washington, D.C., is a mixed example, with the suburbs far outstripping the city as a destination. Newark and Boston have become popular destinations, the former helped by proximity to New York and the latter by having attracted concentrations of certain groups, like Dominicans and Haitians, along with foreign students recruited by high-tech industries. Oakland repeats the Newark example, drawing from neighboring San Francisco, while Minneapolis and St. Paul have gained population from foreign students and large numbers of resettled refugees, including secondary migrants.**

*It is the model cities that are the exception, since most cities like Baltimore are in the same boat. Philadelphia, an exception among the largest cities, looks like Baltimore and most of the other Northeast-Midwest cities of comparable size. Foreign-born population is well under the national average, and overall population fell during the 1990s. (See Part One, Figure 3.)*

Among comparable cities, Baltimore has had one of the largest population losses, and it ranks about in the middle for proportion of foreign-born residents. One encouraging fact is that well over half of its immigrants arrived in the last 10 years. This suggests a positive growth trend, shared with D.C., Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, in contrast particularly to New Orleans, Buffalo, and Philadelphia (see Part One, Figure 4).

*Washington, D.C. and Baltimore provide some interesting comparisons. There has been substantial focus on Washington as a "new" immigrant destination. But the details are more significant for Baltimore. The city of Washington itself is like Baltimore City in many ways – both lost population in the last decade – but D.C. has a proportion of foreign-born residents twice that of Baltimore. The Washington area has a ratio of immigrants three times that of the*



Baltimore area. Immigrant growth as a proportion of the population is still accelerating in D.C., but stabilizing in the suburbs, while both Baltimore and its suburbs have growing proportions of immigrants.

Source region and country data are difficult to interpret because locality census data for 2000 is currently unavailable and the C2SS survey data used is less accurate. These data are only for regions, not particular countries (other than Mexico). INS data report only the stated destinations of new immigrants and give no information about secondary migration or undocumented aliens. Nonetheless, in contrast to both D.C. and the D.C. area, Baltimore City has lacked a single ethnic community that could fuel immigrant growth. In 1990, no one country's immigrants comprised more than 6% of Baltimore City's total foreign-born population. Several of the largest groups were from European countries that no longer send significant numbers of immigrants. These European immigrants are probably older individuals who came many years ago, as indicated by a decline in European immigrants from one-third to one-eighth of all foreign-born residents of Baltimore by 2000. Baltimore's lack of a core immigrant community contrasts with the D.C. area, where Salvadorans and, to a lesser extent, Chinese and Indians stand out.

But the trends, apparent in the 2000 data and the INS numbers from recent years, suggest that China, Korea, Mexico, Jamaica, Nigeria, and Trinidad and Tobago represent growing source countries for Baltimore. They are likely to provide core communities for future growth, with immigrants from the first two concentrated in the suburbs and the rest in the City.

*Baltimore has similarities with Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but appears to be ahead of both in restoring immigrant growth.* Historically, Baltimore like many other Northeast cities, was a significant destination for immigrants during earlier waves: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore were all primary immigrant centers 100 years ago. But since World War II, Baltimore, like other Northeastern cities, steadily lost population, as have Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and (until more recently) Boston.

Some analysts (notably in a report prepared for Philadelphia) have concluded that the decline in immigration to traditional cities can be explained by the change in transportation modes. When immigrants came by ship across the Atlantic, Philadelphia and Baltimore got a larger share than now, when they come by plane from Europe and Asia or overland from Mexico. But the 21<sup>st</sup> century's greater mobility more likely enhances the actual dynamics of immigration – family and employment networks – rather than the importance of particular means of transportation. Atlanta, Raleigh-Durham, Nashville, and other new immigrant destinations do not have better transportation infrastructure than Baltimore or Philadelphia.

Pittsburgh's population declined from 370,000 in 1990 to 334,000 in 2000. Of this population, about 14% were born outside Pennsylvania and about 5% outside the U.S. Twenty-one percent of Pittsburgh's immigrant population was born in Europe, nearly half (48%) in Asia, and just 8% in Latin America. The relatively large Asian figure suggests refugee resettlement (Vietnamese, in particular) and follow-to-join immigration. The Census estimates of Mexican immigration to Pittsburgh are literally so small as to be invisible in the C2SS survey. Pittsburgh's total foreign-born population is approximately the same as Baltimore's. Of these immigrants, three-fourths have arrived in Pittsburgh since 1990. This suggests the beginning of a significant change for Pittsburgh, although the low starting point means that it will take a long time without an affirmative effort.

Philadelphia lost 100,000 residents during the decade to reach a population of 1.5 million in 2000. Of the 144,110 foreign-born residents of Philadelphia, about 27% are from Europe, 40% from Asia, and 24% from Latin America – even more balanced than Baltimore, where the

breakdown is 12%, 30%, and 13%, respectively. Mexican migration to Philadelphia appears, within the limits of the C2SS data, to be more robust than that to Pittsburgh at 7,210 immigrants, but it remains a small percentage, just 5% of the total foreign-born population. In contrast to Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Boston, only one-third of Philadelphia's foreign-born residents arrived in the last decade. The city lacks a growth dynamic even among its immigrant residents.

While Baltimore may face a challenge attracting or retaining immigrants who come to the region but not to the city, or who leave after a short time, it seems to be doing better than Philadelphia and at least as well as Pittsburgh. Both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia have expressed interest in reversing these disadvantages, which presents an opportunity for Baltimore to create a coalition based on common interests.

*Boston and Newark have important similarities to Baltimore that should allow it to copy their success as immigrant destinations.* Of the cities comparable to Baltimore in size that are traditional destinations for immigrants, Boston stands out in having reversed its population decline by 1980, with steady growth ever since. Comparing immigration to Boston with immigration to Baltimore, what is most striking is how immigrants lead to immigration.

In 1950, Boston had 802,000 people and Baltimore had 950,000. By 1980, Boston had declined to 562,000. The 1990 census showed Boston up to 574,000. It now stands at 589,000, posting a growth rate of 2.7% while Baltimore was declining 11.5%. The ethnic patterns in the Boston region and in the city itself show the impact of immigration. While the city of Boston itself grew less than half as fast as the region overall (6.5% from 1990 to 2000), the ethnic mix in Boston's population, 7.5% Asian-American and 14.5% Hispanic, leads the region (with its 6% and 3.9%, respectively). The bulk of the Boston area's large increase in Hispanic and Asian-American population is in the city itself, not the surrounding area.

Half of Boston's immigrants arrived in the last decade, compared with 60% for Baltimore. But, because Boston started with a larger base, a similar growth rate produced significantly larger totals. This explains why Boston, which has 13% fewer residents than Baltimore, has 113,000 more foreign-born residents.

Newark stabilized its population between 1990 and 2000. But its ethnic make-up was transformed. Over one-quarter of its population is now foreign-born. And almost 60% of those residents arrived in the last decade. This rate of change was matched by Baltimore, but the larger initial percentage of immigrants in Newark yielded enough foreign-born newcomers to fully replace departing native-born residents.

Both Newark and Boston contrast with Baltimore in the concentration of their immigrant residents among a few ethnic groups, while Baltimore's foreign-born are more diverse in origin. For Boston, it is Caribbean immigrants who make the biggest difference. Residents born primarily in Haiti and the Dominican Republic make up 38% of its total foreign-born population, and more than 70% of its residents born in Latin America and the Caribbean. In Newark, South Americans represent 35% of the foreign born and Europeans 30%. The latter group tends to comprise older individuals from earlier periods of immigration. In 1990, Europeans were the dominant foreign-born group, with Asians the only other source approaching 30% of the immigrants. In the last decade in Baltimore, the European proportion of foreign-born residents has been cut in half, with Asians becoming the largest group, followed by Mexicans. These trends suggest the development of core communities for future immigration that were previously absent.

## Part Three: What Baltimore Can Do by Itself

### Baltimore's Current Assets to Attract and Retain Immigrants

**Summary:** Baltimore's biggest asset in attracting immigration is its existing immigrant communities. Refugee resettlement agencies with experience in placement can lend expertise to the effort. There are a limited number of employers that have focused on hiring immigrants. Their practices can be expanded to other employers. The universities and colleges in and around the city are potential hosts to increased foreign student populations. Available housing stock and residential land can be rehabilitated and made affordable for immigrants. The Biotech Park plan offers an employment draw for high-skilled immigrants. And, crucially, a Mayor who supports bringing immigrants to revitalize Baltimore's neighborhoods is a key asset.

*Existing immigrant communities.* Baltimore has a small immigrant population for a city its size, with just 5.5% foreign-born according to the latest Census figures. This is roughly half the national average, and much less than the 20% proportion that is common in areas that have stopped population decline with immigration. However, more than 60% of Baltimore's immigrants have arrived in the last 10 years. A concentration of immigrants of particular nationalities has started to emerge. Numbers of Mexicans, Koreans, West Indians, Jews from the former Soviet Union, and Nigerians have grown more rapidly. While none of these groups exceeds 1 percent of the City's population, their recent growth makes them likely magnets for countrymen arriving from abroad or moving from other parts of the U.S.

*Agencies with experience in refugee resettlement.* The Maryland Office of New Americans (MONA) and the Baltimore Refugee Resettlement Center are excellent at connecting immigrants, mostly refugees, with employers. On a small scale, relationships have been developed with employers who will hire newcomers for entry level jobs, and will also help them learn English and even become citizens (which means they move on to better jobs), provided that MONA will supply replacements. The Patterson Park Community Development Corporation is also a good model; its services include not just employment but also housing and economic development.

The experience of these agencies in resettling refugees in Baltimore – identifying Baltimore to the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement as a destination, helping refugees find housing and jobs – is not an exact reflection of the broader issues affecting immigrants as a whole. But these groups' experience in placing refugees by identifying their housing and other needs, and in developing relationships with employers, include important keys to attracting and retaining immigrants.

*Employers who hire immigrants and who want to hire more.* Employers who hire refugees placed by MONA and the Baltimore Refugee Center include Surgical Service, Inc., and MEDO Industries. Although these are small-scale, and refugee resettlement programs differ from immigration, it is also useful to note that most such placements include living in Baltimore City neighborhoods such as at Patterson Park.

Baltimore's top private employment sectors are health care, travel and tourism, aerospace, transportation and shipping, manufacturing (steel products to baked goods), and services (white collar jobs in insurance and financial services, blue collar jobs in janitorial and maintenance). These main sectors in Baltimore do not attract immigrants to live in Baltimore on a large scale.

However, they have the potential for future development as part of an active recruitment program.

Baltimore's top private sector employers are Johns Hopkins University and Health Care System, Verizon Corp., the Bethlehem Steel Plant at Sparrows Point, BGE, the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Mercy Health Services and the Bank of America. Key sectors such as travel and tourism, janitorial services, IT work for financial services, and shipping have many small employers. There are seven temporary agencies that average 1,000 or more workers each day.

Other sectors employing immigrants in Baltimore include commercial laundries such as the Up To Date Laundry. Most of their 215 employees are Salvadoran immigrants, and 100 of them commute daily in a company bus from the suburbs of D.C.

So the potential exists to use Baltimore employers' demand for workers to attract immigrants to live, as well as work in Baltimore.

*Educational infrastructure.* Baltimore has numerous colleges and universities offering four-year undergraduate and graduate programs, including Johns Hopkins, University of Maryland-Baltimore, Morgan State, Baltimore City Community College, Loyola, Coppin State, the College of Notre Dame and the University of Baltimore. None of these schools makes a concerted effort to market itself to foreign students.

Baltimore's public school system is not a major asset in attracting immigrant families, particularly Hispanics, to live in Baltimore. Nor does the very low percentage of Hispanics in Baltimore's Catholic school system suggest that it is providing an attractive alternative. These resources will have to be prepared for the challenges of foreign-born students if family immigration is to grow.

*Affordable housing availability.* Baltimore's housing is cheaper than its suburbs and the D.C. area. There is also a supply of abandoned housing stock and residential land that can be developed as affordable housing. This could be an asset in attracting immigrants from higher-cost areas. Homeownership programs that provide financial assistance and counseling will be important to retaining families in the city.

*Biotech Park plan.* One example of cooperation between municipal government, the educational infrastructure, private sector employers and others to attract and retain immigrants to Baltimore is the Biotech Park project. The high-level involvement of Johns Hopkins and others on the Biotech Park board points to coordination between Baltimore's educational institutions and high-tech employers. Because the foreign-born are an increasing percentage of engineering and science graduates, employers will need immigrants for this project to succeed. Success will require dealing with the challenges of students seeking work visas and green cards (permanent residence status). Innovative approaches to this problem, including processing assistance as well as changes in federal law, could give Baltimore a competitive advantage over other commercial centers. Likewise, lower-wage employment at the Biotech Park (construction, maintenance, and security) will provide an opportunity for recruiting immigrants likely to both work and live in Baltimore.

*Location and transportation.* The proximity of other major immigrant destinations – New York City, New Jersey, and the Washington area – is a definite advantage for Baltimore. This nearby concentration of candidates for recruitment is aided by the transportation infrastructure. The highways and rail lines serving the Northeast corridor are assets in this connection. Other transportation hubs, the Port of Baltimore and BWI Airport, are also assets because of they

provide both access and employment potential. Simply put, cities that are easier to reach tend to attract more immigrants than cities that are not.

*Political leadership.* Baltimore's Mayor has expressed his commitment to immigration as a way to revitalize the City. This is an asset in a number of ways. He has already appointed liaisons to the Latino and Korean communities. This is a start in making the City government more responsive to immigrants. Further actions by the Mayor can energize the response of City departments to the challenges of recruiting and retaining immigrants. These actions can sell the city to prospective new residents. And he can provide national leadership to support policy changes to help cities like Baltimore to compete for immigrants. Baltimore's image as a friendly, neighborhood-oriented community has great potential appeal, especially if it is identified with an explicit invitation to immigrants and an aggressively pro-immigration stance, replicating what the Giuliani administration did in New York.

### **Lessons for Baltimore from Other Localities**

***Summary:* None of the model cities identified in this report followed a plan to recruit their recent immigrants. Several have active retention efforts in the form of municipal offices that reach out to immigrant communities and respond to their special needs. This kind of effort would help Baltimore retain its current newcomers, the best seeds for growth. An important insight from all the popular destinations is that steps taken to retain immigrants by outreach and assistance are the best magnets for getting more. Building concentrations of particular nationalities, sensitizing employers to the opportunities to employ immigrants, and attracting and nurturing foreign students to area colleges and universities are all relevant options for Baltimore, in light of success in the model cities.**

*Employer interest is important.* Employment opportunity is a significant magnet. The needs of a large employer or industry have frequently been the catalyst for focused, even explosive immigrant growth, in small communities or particular parts of larger ones. Examples can be seen in the meat processing plants in the Midwest, Southwest, and on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake, as well as for the IT industry in Silicon Valley and high-tech corridors in Texas and Massachusetts. But it is even more significant for individual employers in all these areas and for the local communities: IBP in Garden City, Kansas, Tyson in Rogers, Arkansas, and the network of IT companies throughout the U.S.

For low-skilled immigrants such as meatpackers, industry recruitment comes first. Many companies opened plants in rural areas without a large labor pool, and began recruiting, especially in Mexico. Once an initial workforce was established, network hiring provided a steady supply of workers. A flaw in this approach has been reliance on illegal immigrants, rather than on a system of legal immigration. The former breeds exploitive conditions that are damaging to labor standards and native-born workers. Legal immigration has legal and structural protections against exploitation and unfair competition.

Fear that low-skilled immigrants are displacing native workers can produce a potent backlash. This has occurred with Tyson in Rogers, Arkansas, and IBP in Mason City, Iowa. In Rogers, Arvest Bank proposed to cooperate with the municipality in facilitating homeownership for immigrants who had been recruited to work in Tyson's chicken plants. But an anti-immigrant campaign in the next municipal election ended public sector support for the initiative. In Iowa, the Rockefeller Foundation expressed interest in organizing "model communities" such as Mason City, Iowa, based on large numbers of immigrant meatpackers. But the public opposition ended

Governor Vilsack's proposal of "immigrant enterprise zones" where immigration quotas would not apply. Local residents want their communities improved, not overrun.

The networks that identify and hire skilled workers are largely based on education, including not only undergraduate programs and advanced study, but also research contracts with universities and the connections between educational institutions and the private sector employers.

For these higher-skilled immigrants, tapping a labor pool of university graduates is critical. The major universities in Silicon Valley, around Boston, in Texas and elsewhere all have far higher percentages of foreign students (on temporary visas that do not authorize the student to work) than any Baltimore school.

Network hiring for highly skilled immigrants involves three phases. First, most (but not all) highly skilled foreign workers have graduate degrees from a U.S. university but are not authorized to work without a new visa.

Second, while most (but not all) intend to remain in the U.S. as permanent immigrants, or decide to stay over time, the process of obtaining permanent residency (the green card) is long. Thus, about 500,000 people are now present in the U.S. on temporary H-1B visas, with another 195,000 a year available until 2003, then 65,000 a year thereafter. This creates a substantial pool of skilled would-be permanent immigrants on temporary visas, many of whom are part of extensive networks for hiring and job transfers.

Third, many who are here on temporary visas that depend on employment are stranded when they lose their jobs, or trapped as they try to get better jobs, before they obtain permanent residency.

Addressing the needs of individuals in these circumstances can be an important recruitment tool.

*Foreign students are numerous where immigration has grown.* As illustrated for a few of the model cities in Part One, Figure 21, large numbers of foreign students in an area, especially with thousands at one or more individual college or university, are common where immigration is significant. It appears to be a matter of critical mass.

Baltimore has an excellent infrastructure for higher education, but it has not laid a sufficient foundation for attracting and retaining skilled immigrants. Four Baltimore schools are in the top 40 for foreign students, but all in programs with small numbers nationwide. The largest Baltimore university, Johns Hopkins (which is also a top employer), does not even rank in the top 100, measured against its peers like Harvard and MIT.

Among the Baltimore schools that provide undergraduate or graduate programs are Johns Hopkins, University of Maryland-Baltimore, Morgan State, Baltimore City Community College, Loyola, Coppin State, the College of Notre Dame, and the University of Baltimore. Of these, the University of Baltimore ranks 19th in its category (professional and specialized institutions), with 335 foreign students out of 4,611 total enrollment, and the University of Maryland, Baltimore ranks 34<sup>th</sup> — with 206 foreign students out of 5,533. University of Maryland-Baltimore County ranks 38<sup>th</sup> among like institutions with 669 foreign students out of 10,265.

Comparing Northern Virginia Community College and Montgomery Community College with Baltimore City Community College may be helpful. NOVA and MCC rank first and second, respectively, among the nation's community colleges in foreign student enrollment, with 2,984 of NOVA's 37,411 students, and 2,748 of MCC's 20,847 enrollment. BCCC, on the other hand,

is not in the top 40. Some of this, of course, is a reflection and not a cause of the lack of immigration to Baltimore.

But comparing Johns Hopkins in Baltimore to similar institutions and their communities suggests that there is potential for a more aggressive approach toward recruiting foreign students to yield higher levels of skilled immigrants who will live and work in Baltimore after graduation. For example, the population of the Champaign-Urbana metro in Illinois grew 3.8% between 1990 and 2000, much of it apparently due to immigration: the Hispanic population increased 49% and the Asian population by 62%. Combined, the increase in the Asian and Hispanic ethnic communities amounted to more than 5,000, out of a total increase of roughly 12,000. So it may be significant, particularly for the Asian-American population, that University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana ranks 10th in total foreign student enrollment among research institutions, with 3,454.

*Municipal offices provide a mechanism to assist immigrants.* Many communities that want to project an "immigrant-friendly" image make a range of efforts, including establishing city offices explicitly to help immigrants, possibly with a website to augment information sharing. These offices assist in providing access to such other assistance as home ownership programs and English training, in addition to more traditional institutionalized efforts such as classes for low English proficiency students in schools, adult education, and citizenship classes.

Models to follow would certainly include New York City's Office of New Americans, which has the best website and Boston's Office of New Bostonians. But the Boston office, while exemplary in its mission to help newcomers with municipal government, is flawed in that its only purpose is to help immigrants navigate the city bureaucracy and possibly get a municipal job. There is little if any private sector assistance. Minneapolis has recently formed its own office based on these two examples.

The Maryland Office of New Americans (MONA) and the Baltimore Refugee Resettlement Center have demonstrated success in connecting refugees with employers. This activity can be broadened to serve a larger immigrant population if adequate resources are committed. (Chicago has a larger office that performs this function, but it too is focused on refugees.) In MONA's case, relationships have been developed with a number of small employers who not only will hire newcomers for entry level jobs, but will also help them learn English and even become citizens (which usually means they move on to better jobs). The key to this process is that MONA continues to provide a flow of replacements.

A Mayor's Office of New Americans, much like the one in New York City, could work across the spectrum in Baltimore to link newcomers with jobs (perhaps through an inventory of employers' needs for workers). The same system can also provide access to employment for Baltimore natives. Many businesses find the legal costs and confusion of sponsoring immigrants to be daunting. The office could organize a dependable and cost-efficient source of legal help in these matters to remove the mystery.

The nature of the challenge is demonstrated by the example of the Up To Date Laundry. Twice a day, Up To Date (which has 215 employees) runs buses from Hyattsville and Langley Park, for some 100 mostly Salvadoran workers making less than \$7 per hour. Up To Date has trouble keeping these workers, but not because they tire of the long daily commute. Many leave for \$9-per-hour seasonal work. Creating the next rung on the job ladder in Baltimore will be the key to motivating these workers to move into the City.

*Employer practices can also provide support for immigrant networks.* A good example of the way in which education and commerce create the conditions for immigration is Texas Instruments (TI). The company has long funded research and scholarships at technical schools that now totals \$75 million all over the U.S. Other companies have similarly generous records with university research in their areas, including a number at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. But it is the relationship between TI in the U.S. (and its support for technical schools) and TI in India that illustrates the synergy with immigration.

In 1985, TI's wholly owned Indian subsidiary opened a technology park, which now has a relationship with 22 Indian high-tech schools. In effect, 22 technical schools in India are linked to a number of universities in the U.S. through a major employer that is funding research and hiring consultants.

Company officials take pains to note that the immigration effect of these relationships is always indirect, but it is what the Chinese call *guanxi* – a system of networking and loyalties and communication that reinforces itself – and is further supported by the immigration rules that favor highly specific skill sets. An Indian student who gets an undergraduate degree that prepares him for a job with TI will have greater opportunities to develop those skills at an Indian school affiliated with TI in India. That student will also have a better chance to qualify for study at the U.S. schools that have scholarships and research grants relating to TI in the U.S.

Then, as a graduate student on a stipend doing sponsored research, he or she is far more likely to qualify for an H-1B temporary worker visa or even permanent residency, based on his skills, precisely because the research that TI funds is generally directly related to its anticipated needs. So while the actual benefits to individual immigrants from these connections are indirect, they are not coincidental.

## **How Baltimore Can Maximize Retention of Immigrants**

**Summary:** Retention is the starting point for Baltimore. It already has a small but distinct group of immigrant communities. More than 60% of the foreign-born residents of the City have come in the last decade. Retaining these populations, especially as singles become families, will build the most effective magnet for new arrivals. While it would be intellectually interesting to discover what might start the process of new immigration to a city, that is not the question Baltimore needs to answer. Rather, the question is how to increase the scope and enhance the results of a process already underway.

*Retention is a magnet.* Existing immigrant communities are the best predictors of new immigration. This appears to be a perverse "best practice," in that it is hard to emulate. The key is to focus on those nascent communities as building blocks for increased migration to the city. Identifying and reaching out to groups that have the capacity to grow can accelerate the growth rate.

*Building upon the most numerous core communities provides the scale of growth required to stabilize overall population.* As Baltimore's loss of population over the past half-century proves, family ties will not keep people (particularly young people) from leaving a community where employment opportunities are not attractive, housing is either too expensive or perceived as inadequate, and where a sense of community is lacking.

The universal best practice is to build on existing immigrant communities by recognizing their presence and giving them reasons to remain and to recruit family and friends to join them. Jobs are essential, especially to provide upward mobility from entry-level positions to those that



support families. Community services such as schools, municipal offices, and policing must be sensitive and responsive to immigrant communities. Housing must include homeownership potential.

This effort must include a focused community outreach and assistance program. The assistance should include promoting hiring opportunities, making the schools effective in educating children with limited English skills, creating immigrant access to affordable rental housing and homeownership programs, and making sure municipal services, especially the police, are responsive. Foreign students should be recognized as incipient immigrant residents and recruited and supported with this in mind. And city monitoring and measurement programs should detail immigrant experiences and growth.

*Employment, like immigration, operates through networks.* Immigration is a network phenomenon. It is played out in the workplace through network recruitment, which creates the magnet of job opportunity known to and accessed by new immigrants.

The kinds of jobs immigrants fill tend to include many at the top and bottom of the skills spectrum, but fewer in the middle. Most immigrants come to this country through family ties, and most immigrants tend to start at the lower end of the skills-wages spectrum. There are relatively few mid-level immigrants, and a concentrated number of highly skilled, well paid immigrants who, increasingly, first arrive in the U.S. with various non-immigrant visas. Assisting the transition from student to temporary worker, and from temporary worker to permanent resident, are opportunities to create and reinforce ties to Baltimore.

In lower-wage jobs, immigrant networks based on family ties will often sustain a flow of immigrants. Employers, such as fast-food franchises that face high recruitment and retention costs, have found immigrant networks a great benefit, reducing both attrition and the need to seek out workers when jobs open. When fast food restaurants in New York City hired Dominican workers, studies showed, their costs in recruitment and training declined sharply. Whenever a new position opened, a relative of a current employee applied, often before the job was advertised. Those who were hired were trained by (and responsible to) the recruiting family member.

Entrepreneurial immigrants, such as Korean grocers, immigrant franchise holders, and the like, often tend to hire within similar family networks, a practice which can be a source of tension in a community if other ethnic groups feel they are excluded.

In high-tech fields, it is common for graduates of a university in a particular technical field to tap into employment networks directly from academic work, e.g., consulting or research contracts. Over the past two decades, in booming fields like IT, such connections have led to very substantial businesses being formed, with additional network hiring. The highly regulated H-1B temporary visa and the even more regulated labor certification process for employment-based immigration have a multiplier effect on this system. As jobs are offered through the H-1B to people known to the employer through ethnic and academic networks, these positions are defined, for the purposes of the labor certification process, as open only to those who fit highly specific skill profiles.

By tapping into a current population of immigrants, recruitment and resulting population growth can be built through both the employment and immigration networks.

*Community services: schools, city departments, and police.* Creating a brand for Baltimore as an immigrant-friendly environment is not a soft initiative. It is important that the name "Baltimore"

means a welcoming city. This is particularly true after September 11, since there has been so much negative focus on immigration. Unlike the vital employment magnet, which is controlled primarily by the private sector, there are three specific areas that are the responsibility of the public sector.

*All families, whether immigrant or native, look to local schools to assure their children's success.* There are few shining examples of urban schools that have achieved what all parents seek. The challenges of urban education are far beyond the scope of this study. However, it is essential that immigrants see local schools as a plausible place to send their children. Baltimore's public schools, K-12, reflect the current state of Baltimore's immigration. The numbers of low English proficiency students (a measure of immigration) are extraordinarily low, even in the parochial schools. The low current population of low English proficiency students in Baltimore's public and parochial schools suggest that the schools have little experience in serving immigrant children.

While this is not directly under the control of City government, it does point to a factor that may encourage immigrant workers with families to commute to Baltimore rather than reside here. The schools tend to react rather than lead on immigration, of course, but the costs and other factors make their role critical. Persuading Salvadorans working in Baltimore to move their families to the city will require overcoming the impression that Spanish-speaking students will not be well served. A focus on improving the experience of those immigrant children in the schools is vital to attracting more families.

The Catholic schools have an opportunity to reach out to the primarily Catholic Mexican and Salvadoran communities for the mutual benefit of their urban schools and parishes and the broader Baltimore community. They are obvious candidates for renewal and growth of Baltimore's inner city schools and parishes. Permissible State funding for English instruction could help support an initiative by the Church to become active in recruiting families to move to Baltimore by offering attractive educational opportunities.

*Access to community services is essential.* City staff with language proficiency for key non-English-speaking immigrant groups is important. While resources are not likely to permit full-time interpreters in every conceivable language, establishing a City liaison office for immigrants is one way to bridge that gap. This office can find interpreters when necessary and create a place where immigrants will go to solve problems, generating valuable information about these communities' needs.

Police are a vital nexus in building a critical mass for any new immigrant community in Baltimore. There are significant rifts between the immigrant Hispanic community in Maryland and local police (at least in Prince George's County), suggesting that significant crime against Latinos, particularly Salvadorans, is unreported. Immigrants living in neighboring areas can be attracted to and retained in Baltimore if the police are seen as protective, rather than hostile.

*Housing opportunity.* There is a dynamic between housing, employment, and immigration. Low-wage workers cannot afford expensive housing (either to rent or own), nor will they, as a rule, commute as far as more highly paid workers. Yet immigrants, as a whole, tend to be more interested in homeownership than U.S.-born residents with comparable incomes, and immigrants are willing to save more to pay for it.

Housing fairs targeted at particular ethnic groups or employees of particular companies, cooperation with lenders, specific community outreach (including coordination with ethnic-based

lending institutions and traditions) can all create opportunities to make affordable housing a catalyst for immigration to Baltimore.

Rental housing is the usual first step for these residents, but retention depends on their putting down roots. There is no better commitment than purchasing a home. Consequently, both rental and homeownership programs must be responsive to immigrant situations, including the lack of long credit histories and the need to acquire legal immigrant status.

*Expanding foreign student populations at local colleges and universities will support other initiatives.* The prevalence of large foreign student populations in popular destination cities is discussed above. This is in contrast to the low levels in Baltimore. Each of the local institutions is different and should approach this challenge in a way that fits its mission. All would benefit from a State program of enhanced financial support and resident tuition available to these students, with incentives to remain in the City and State.

For example, Johns Hopkins should emulate the success of the leading research universities in attracting foreign students at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Community colleges can look to Montgomery College and NOVA for successful approaches. Professional schools should focus on courses of study such as nursing for which enrollment of native-born students is not high enough to meet future employment demand. Morgan State and Coppin State might recruit more African students to complement their mission of serving African-American students.

*Measurement.* A basic principle of management is that if something cannot be measured, it cannot be improved. Tracking the success of specific initiatives and their relative contribution to attracting and retaining immigrants to Baltimore is vital. The CityStat initiative should track and report on services and programs to retain immigrants. However, it will be difficult if not impossible to actually measure the numbers of immigrants getting jobs, moving into rental housing, and buying houses in Baltimore.

Alternative measures of progress include attendance at housing fairs; employer participation in City-directed efforts to identify jobs that might be filled with immigrants; immigrant enrollment in Baltimore schools; foreign student enrollment in Baltimore's colleges and universities; and the employment in Baltimore of those students after graduation. Additional factors might include participation of banks, mortgage lenders, and employers in outreach programs to help immigrants in transition. All of these can be measured to gauge what is working and what is not.

### **Targets to Recruit for Secondary Migration to Baltimore**

***Summary:* While some newcomers will arrive directly from abroad, there are many immigrants already in the U.S. who might be attracted. Among those groups that should be targeted are low-skilled immigrants who live close by; high-skilled immigrants who fit employment needs; illegal aliens seeking green cards; and high-skilled temporary workers seeking green cards.**

*Secondary migration.* Immigrants are mobile by definition. Most have come a long way to get to this country. Immigrants tend to settle in communities, even ethnic enclaves, in the first generation rather than spread out evenly in the population as a whole. The experience of refugee resettlement (which had attempted to spread refugee groups around the country) is that even with these groups, there is a tendency for family ties and other networks to gather them together.

But just as family ties will not keep individuals in a community without job opportunities, the distance individuals will travel and their commitment to a new home are only as great as the

opportunity. That is, immigrants will relocate farther for higher paying jobs, not as far for lower paying jobs. In particular, low-wage jobs in Baltimore are not likely to outbid similarly low-wage jobs in the rest of the country, unless there is some regional boom at a time when other parts of the country are not prospering.

Thus, additional incentives would be needed to get individuals to travel across the country to live in Baltimore for low-wage employment. Family ties to local residents are an obvious incentive. In the absence of such a relationship, there are three immigrant groups already present in the U.S. that are likely to be good targets for recruitment.

*Low-skilled immigrants who live close by.* While it is inappropriate to generalize too much, there is a correlation between source countries and skill levels, just as there is a relationship between family-based immigration, source countries and employment. Latin American immigrants and refugees tend to have lower skills than South Asian immigrants and students, and this also affects the geographic distribution of each group.

Hispanic immigrants, particularly Salvadorans and Mexicans, have moved into the Baltimore-Northern Virginia corridor in large numbers in the past decade. Thus, these groups are only now putting down roots and are not yet as settled as earlier arrivals; the most recent are the least settled of all.

Efforts to attract these immigrant groups to work and settle in Baltimore depend first on employment. A number of low-wage workers in Baltimore live outside the city and commute considerable distances, like the Salvadoran laundry employees. Thus, both affordable housing and schooling attuned to immigrant children will be needed to augment Baltimore's job opportunities.

*Targeted high-skilled immigrants.* High-skilled jobs pay more and thus will attract workers from farther away. The success of Silicon Valley and similar high-tech regions around the country demonstrates that immigration is vital to regional growth of high-tech industries. Such immigration can be specifically attracted, even targeted, by a particular region. Targeting foreign students while they are in school or at graduation will work best. Later recruitment will depend on a more specialized appeal.

To attract targeted high-skilled immigrants from within the United States, Baltimore employers will have to recognize the special challenges of the immigration law and offer these foreign-born individuals dependable help in gaining permanent residence. This may be aided by changes in the law for which Baltimore could advocate, but whatever the rules, immigrants will be attracted to companies that understand their interest in green cards.

*Illegals seeking green cards.* There are nearly 9 million illegal aliens currently living in the United States, according to the Census, with another 300,000 more coming each year. Many of these (as much as 40%) are eligible to become permanent residents of the United States, in that they have relatives who have filed immigration petitions for them. But the backlogs for family-based immigration are so long (7 to 10 years) that these individuals choose to be here illegally rather than be exiled from their families.

Current legislative proposals call for resolving this dilemma by some form of "earned legalization" in which workers would receive temporary visas for particular industries (like agriculture or services) and earn a green card after three to five years. This would be expected to apply to those already here illegally. Because this proposal is now very much in flux, it could be shaped by advocacy by cities like Baltimore to favor settlement here. Since many of these illegal

immigrants are Mexicans, who have already begun to settle in Baltimore, this is a key opportunity.

Most Baltimore residents probably agree with most Americans in opposing illegal immigration. Certainly, illegal status is bad for the alien and the community. Unfortunately, immigration policy at the federal level has allowed the creation of an illegal alien population far larger than is likely to be removed. Therefore, the strategy that Baltimore should follow is one that gains the City benefits, relieves the aliens of their illegal status, and puts in place serious disincentives to future illegal entries.

Such a strategy would be based on making residence and employment in Baltimore a factor that would aid in gaining legal permanent residency. Part of the impasse over "earned legalization" is the implication of indentured servitude involved when an individual must work in a particular industry or even for a particular employer for a period of years. Adding residency and employment in a geographical area, such as Baltimore, to the ways in which permanent residency could be earned, might be an important, even decisive factor in making the legalization process both productive and politically acceptable. Legalization is the mechanism that removes the damage to native-born residents from exploited, off-the-books illegal residents. Coupled with a set of rules and practices to deter future illegal entries, there can be an economically and politically attractive outcome.

*Temporary high-tech workers seeking green cards.* There are now approximately 600,000 high-tech workers on temporary visas in the U.S., a very large percentage of whom hope for permanent residency. Most hold the H-1B visa, which requires that they remain with their employer in order to remain in the U.S. legally. The economic slowdown, particularly in the IT sector, has placed many in a kind of limbo.

Most of these workers have been sponsored by the IT sector. Obviously, if there are Baltimore employers with needs for some of these workers, this is a good opportunity. It should not be assumed that the private marketplace would do this alone. Many employers are intimidated by immigration processes and avoid workers who do not yet have green cards. A program to assist these employers in identifying expert and affordable legal and consulting help to manage these processes could open up more local interest among employers.

## **Secondary Migration Experience in Refugee Resettlement**

***Summary:*** Part of the stimulus for this study was Baltimore's success over the past decade in resettling refugees, as City leaders learned of the contributions of people who had been resettled in Baltimore. The numbers and sources of these refugees are summarized in Part One. While the local agencies that manage resettlement provide important resources and expertise for the challenges ahead, refugee resettlement itself is only a small part of what will be required. The annual national total of refugee admissions is approximately 70,000 to 80,000, of which the Baltimore area receives only about 500. (Since September 11, 2001, these quotas are not being met.) Current refugee source countries for the area are far too diverse, with small numbers for each. The resulting populations are too small to build magnet communities. Both retention of current communities and attraction of future flows of immigrants require the Baltimore resettlement effort to become more specialized in countries of origin, as was the case with the Soviet Jews in the past. Achieving assignment of larger total numbers would also help.

The current sources of refugees are shifting away from Southeast Asia and the former Soviet Union to the Balkans, Haiti, and Cuba. More recently, numbers from Africa are growing. Initial

placements were greatest in the largest states. Secondary migration appears to follow economic opportunity and existing ethnic networks.

*Sources of refugees.* In 1999, the U.S. accepted 85,000 refugees from 64 countries. Included were 10,500 Kosovar Albanians and arrivals from Sierra Leone, Sudan and Somalia. A total of 21,916 Cubans and Haitian entered, of whom 83% initially resettled in Florida.

Based on a report produced by the Office of Refugee Resettlement, Southeast Asian refugees are the largest refugee group (about 1.2 million) who have resettled in the U.S. since 1975, representing about 54% of all refugees. About 135,000 Vietnamese fled to America after the fall of Saigon in 1975. For the period 1983-1990, approximately 71% of refugees were Vietnamese.

Beginning in 1988, the number of refugees arriving from the former Soviet Union exceeded Southeast Asian entries, and they became the largest group entering (approximately 500,000). In 1995, Cuban refugees were the largest group. In 1998-99, refugees from the former Yugoslavia exceeded all other groups.

For 1999, the last year for which data are currently available, refugees from five countries represented 86% of all arrivals. The countries, in order of magnitude, were (1) the former Yugoslavia (36%), (2) Cuba (21%), (3) the former Soviet Union (16%), (4) Vietnam (9%), and (5) Somalia (4%).

Two states, California and New York, have resettled the most refugees from 1983 to 1999. California and New York received the greatest number of refugees each year until 1995. In 1995-1999 (except 1997), Florida received the most refugees. In 1997, New York was the top state. For 1999, the majority of refugees settled in five states: Florida, California, New York, Texas and Washington.

From 1983 to 1997, initial resettlement appears to have been split by ethnicity: more Southeast Asians initially settled in California than any other state, while New York received the most immigrants from elsewhere. Of refugees initially resettled in New York, 72% were from the former Soviet Union. In Florida, 68% of refugees accepted were from Cuba, 10% from Haiti. Of refugees resettled in Texas, 56% were from Vietnam.

By 1999, 82% of arrivals in Florida were Cuban. In New York, 40% were from the former Yugoslavia, 36% from the former Soviet Union. California received 36% from the former Soviet Union and 24% Vietnamese. Texas received 47% from the former Yugoslavia and 23% Vietnamese.

*Economic adjustment of refugees.* The Office of Refugee Resettlement attempts to track the overall economic adjustment of refugees through a number of factors. Their data show that success of refugees is linked to educational achievement and English proficiency.

The fall 1999 annual survey of refugees who have been in the U.S. for less than five years indicates that 67% of refugees age 16 and over were employed as of September 1999, compared to 64% of the general population. The labor force participation rate was 61%, compared to 67% for the general population. The unemployment rate was 3%, compared to 4.2% for the general population. However, newly arrived refugees have significantly higher unemployment rates than refugees who have been here for a while.

The survey also indicated a great disparity in the educational background of refugees. The average number of years of education was highest for refugees from the former Soviet Union

(11.8 years) and lowest for Southeast Asian countries other than Vietnam (3 years). Only 5% of refugees spoke fluent English upon arrival, while 69% spoke no English at all.

*Secondary migration of refugees.* Available data suggest that secondary migration of refugees takes place during the first few years after arrival and then the groups appear to stabilize in geographic distribution. We were not able to find a study that analyzed the motivations for secondary migration. A number of explanations that have been suggested include employment opportunities, pull of established ethnic communities, more generous welfare benefits, better training opportunities, reunification with relatives, or a congenial climate. Overall macroeconomic factors, like a general downturn in a state's economy, influence refugee movements as well as that of the general population. Outside of family ties, relationships formed in refugee camps also provide a network among groups that have resettled in the U.S.

Since 1982, the Office of Refugee Resettlement has had a legislative directive to track the secondary migration of refugees. The most recent data, compiled in 1999, show a pattern of inward and outward migration in many states. In all, 22 states gained additional refugees through secondary migration.

The largest net immigration gain was recorded by the state of Washington, which drew refugees from California, New York, Oregon and Texas. The second and third largest net migration gains were recorded by Minnesota and Iowa. New York had the largest net migration loss, followed by New Jersey and Texas.

### **Specific Nationalities to Target for Recruitment**

***Summary:* Baltimore definitely has core immigrant communities upon which to build. These include Mexicans, Koreans (including recruitment from the suburbs), Jews from Russia and Ukraine, West Indians, and Nigerians. Salvadorans are very numerous in the D.C. area and could be attracted to Baltimore. Expanded placement of African refugees could be developed as an area of specialization. Science and engineering graduates, many of whom are Chinese and Indian, will be needed for the Biotech Park and other high-tech initiatives. All but the Nigerians and refugees are most likely to come here in a secondary migration, rather than directly from abroad.**

*Specific opportunities exist as priorities for recruitment efforts.* The specific identification of groups to target for both immigration and refugee resettlement will require a collaborative process among employers, educators, City Hall, and community leaders. However, there is definite evidence in current populations and trends to guide this process.

Mexicans appear to be the fastest growing immigrant group in Baltimore. They are approaching 1 percent of the total city population. As a largely undocumented group, these immigrants will need a legalization strategy to be of maximum benefit to Baltimore, a political objective the City can assist in attaining. Asians and Latin Americans predominate among immigrant populations nationally. Immigrants from these regions are part of the flow to every "model city," although individual countries of origin vary. Based on the existing data, Salvadorans and Koreans, in addition to Mexicans, seem to be the best target groups.

Asians have tended to settle in the suburbs in both D.C. and Baltimore. West Indians, Africans, and Latin Americans are more likely to settle in the city. Housing and transportation initiatives could help influence these dynamics, although they have had limited effect with native populations. The high incidence of Koreans in the area, and the smaller but significant number within the City, suggest focus on this group of Asians. Since Asians, particularly Indians and

Chinese, are disproportionately represented among the science and engineering graduates, they are likely to be crucial to a biotech park and other science and engineering employers.

Salvadorans are a modest presence in Baltimore but a big part of the D.C. area, in both the city and the suburbs. The fact that some are employed in Baltimore and commute from suburban D.C. is an important indicator that there are jobs here that could attract these immigrants. However, the willingness to commute, rather than move, reveals that affirmative outreach and assistance will be required to prime the pump. A housing program that seeks to move a significant number of families to the same neighborhood at the same time will be most likely to succeed.

West Indians are a significant presence in D.C. They are coming to Baltimore in modest numbers, primarily from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Active recruitment of these nationalities is an important part of a strategy that demonstrates that immigration growth will include addition to the city's residents of African heritage.

Immigrants from Africa are also an area of opportunity. Nigerians show up as a growing segment of Baltimore's newcomers. As the African country with the largest population and with the use of the English language in its education system, Nigeria is worthy of attention. Existing refugee flows from elsewhere in English-speaking West Africa (Liberia, Sierra Leone) could provide some synergy with recruitment of Nigerians.

Current refugee flows are less than 500 per year. Jews from the former Soviet Union (primarily Russia and Ukraine) comprise over 80% of the refugees over the last decade, but the total national number now arriving annually from this source is much smaller than in the past. The Jewish community should be enlisted to identify Jewish refugees resettled less successfully elsewhere in the country as candidates for secondary migration to Baltimore.

*High-tech employment strategies may focus on other groups that are common among science and engineering graduates.* While this can be easily overstated or misunderstood, particular fields of study tend to attract natives of particular source countries. There were 514,000 foreign students in the U.S. last year, nearly 5% more than the year before. While the largest contingent (20%) study business, the 11% who study math and computer science jumped 19% over the prior year, mostly because of rapidly increasing enrollment from India and China. About 18% of the students in math and computer science programs are from India, and 17% are from China.

The field of study claiming the largest share of students from both source countries is engineering: 35% for India and 23% of the Chinese student total. Of relevance to the Biotech Park project is the fact that 22% of Chinese students study physical and life sciences, and about 6% are in the health-related fields, while for India the percentages are 8% and 4%, respectively.

Recruiting from these communities will be important to employers seeking these skills. However, the goal is residence as well as employment in Baltimore. This will go against the existing trend in both Baltimore and D.C. Some very special inducements will be required, which will have to be determined empirically from current and future high-skilled Chinese and Indians who have chosen to live in Baltimore, if they can be identified.



## Part Four: What Baltimore Can Do with Allies

### Immigration Policy Is Decided Federally But Impacts Locally

**Summary:** Overall, immigration policy is made at the federal level with costs and consequences borne by localities. The federal scheme of regulating immigration pays no attention to where immigrants go and the resulting impact. The benefits of immigration come from immigrants' economic and social revitalization contribution, not fiscal advantage. State tuition and lending policies can assist with foreign student recruitment.

*National immigration policies take little or no account of their local effect.* As outlined in detail in the Appendix, immigrants are selected without regard to their intended residence. Family relationship, employment opportunity, country of origin, and, for refugees, threat of persecution determine the identity and priority of admissions. The overall fiscal impact of immigration is positive for the federal government, but negative for local government. This effect is partly the result of who is admitted, who is allowed to enter or remain in violation of the rules, and the general lack of financing for immigrant absorption. In short, the lower-skilled the immigrant, and the slower the acquisition of language and employment skills, the greater the net cost at the local level. Nationally, even the lowest-skilled immigrants make significant contributions to Social Security and Medicare in excess of their use of benefits.

*State policies can affect the attractiveness of localities and the skill level of immigrants attracted.* For example, the Massachusetts Education Financing Authority (MEFA), the state student loan agency, has helped attract foreign students to Boston, believing that they would help fuel the growth of high-tech industry. Unlike federal loan programs, MEFA has offered loans to foreign students who could provide a U.S. resident co-signer.

Studies demonstrate that such loans to foreign students generate economic activity in Massachusetts immediately benefiting MassPort, airlines (for parent and sibling travel), hotels, restaurants, local banks and insurance companies. The effect on local hiring of these students can be enhanced if loan forgiveness programs or interest rate concessions are tied to local residence and employment.

Extending this concept to lower-skilled immigrants would focus on acquisition of English skills. By guaranteeing access to such training to adults in Maryland, the State would both enhance the economic contribution of existing immigrants and attract newcomers who are interested in upward mobility. There may be particular job skills that also would justify State support to fuel the growth of particular local industries.

### Changes at the Federal Level Could Enhance Baltimore's Success in Immigrant Recruitment

**Summary:** Baltimore could benefit from four types of federal initiatives. First, it could receive more refugees for resettlement, and it could be helped to specialize in particular countries and regions. Second, a broad legalization program could be helpful to the growing Mexican population in the city and become a mechanism to attract more such immigrants. Third, immigrants committing to reside in cities that want them could be given preferences in such a legalization program and in other admission quotas, including the possibility of municipal sponsorship. Fourth, additional resources for ESL and other immigrant assistance programs, including State and federal funding, would benefit Baltimore now and in the future.

*Refugee resettlement has a limited but important role to play.* Because it is a governmentally organized and funded program, refugee resettlement in Baltimore has been the most visible engine of immigrant growth. The community of Jews from the former Soviet Union has been built by this effort, with important local support from the Jewish community. However, Jewish refugees from Russia and Ukraine are declining in number. Current sources are diverse and overall numbers are much lower than the population stabilization goal of 8,000 or more newcomers per year. Consequently, the focus should be on working with refugee resettlement agencies in Baltimore and for Maryland to increase the overall numbers for the city and to try to specialize on a few nationalities, probably from Africa.

*Legalization is very important to Mexicans, the fastest-growing group of immigrants in Baltimore.* The most dramatic change in Baltimore's foreign-born residents has been the growth of the Mexican community from almost nothing to nearly 1 percent of the population. Undoubtedly, most of these residents are undocumented. Many may be relatives of legal immigrants waiting to be processed. Expediting their cases and providing legalization benefits will help these individuals, their countrymen, and many from other countries, including Salvadorans. It will also help Baltimore by removing the negative consequences of illegal status for these residents, who live in the shadows and work off the books, depriving the government of tax revenue and themselves of legal protections as workers. Legal aliens are not exploitable in these ways and do not compete unfairly with native-born Americans for jobs.

*Preferences for those who live and work in cities that need immigrants should be incorporated in immigration law.* The immigration laws are full of preferences and special advantages for different groups of immigrants and American business, families, and other sponsors. It would be nothing new to seek to help depressed areas with newcomers. Current investor immigrant provisions were intended to do that, although with little success. But to date, cities have not inserted themselves into the legislative process to advocate for their interests. If cities that want immigrants were organized, they could tie legalization and processing advantages to immigrants' commitment to live and work in their cities. They might be able to create a form of municipal sponsorship analogous to current family and employment immigrant visas. But this will not occur unless the cities that are looking for immigrants join the debate in Washington.

*Funding initiatives could include "English for Immigrants" to greatly expand access to English instruction for adults and support for English instruction in schools.* The 1997 National Academy of Sciences (NAS) report, *The New Americans*, is the definitive study of the economic impact of immigration. It included an assessment of the impact on state and local governments (and taxpayers) that has never been seriously challenged, but more often ignored. The study concluded that nationally, immigration is a small economic benefit, perhaps \$10 billion a year in a \$10 trillion economy. But while the economic benefits of immigration are small and national, the costs of immigration are local and can be proportionately large. California taxpayers pay at least \$1,000 more a year, and New Jerseyans nearly \$300 more, in state and local taxes than they would without immigration.

Measured by services received and revenues paid, the NAS report concluded that when the U.S.-born children of immigrants are factored in (decisive for education and health care), "average" immigrants pay over \$300 more in federal taxes than they receive in benefits. This is a function of the disproportionate youth of the immigrant population, which does not yet receive much from the largest federal benefit programs, Social Security and Medicare. Because there are young children in so many immigrant families, immigrants, on average, consume at least \$900 more in state and local services – primarily for education and health care – than they pay in taxes.

Permanent residents (immigrants with green cards) are more desirable than illegal aliens and temporary workers. It is well documented that the acquisition of English and the creation of established immigrant communities tend to help newcomers move up the ladder to better jobs, higher pay, homeownership, and business creation. This will also increase the share of costs paid in taxes by these groups. These characteristics of upward mobility and putting down roots are characteristic of permanent residents. This is what Baltimore and other cities want from immigrants. The presence of illegal aliens, temporary workers, and others without access to appropriate skills, especially English fluency, does not support this goal, but rather imposes extra costs on localities.

So lobbying for "English for Immigrants" funding and other initiatives to speed their integration into the local economy is a key objective for Baltimore. If access to adult ESL instruction were guaranteed through state funding in Maryland – something that Montgomery and Prince George's counties would surely join Baltimore in promoting – this would be both a magnet for newcomers and an economic boon to the city.

### **Potential Cooperation with Other Cities**

**Summary:** Among cities comparable to Baltimore, there are two types: those who have attracted significant immigrant populations and those that have not. No "have-not" city has an analysis and blueprint like this report to guide its efforts in attracting immigrants. (While a report was done in Philadelphia, it lacks support from the mayor.) In Pittsburgh, some community leaders have discussed a response, but no firm plans have been laid. By providing leadership within this group, Baltimore can help to create more favorable federal immigration rules for cities that want to pursue greater immigration. Cities need to be organized to advance an agenda for attracting and funding successful immigration to urban centers.

*Baltimore must lead to develop alliances.* Most cities like Baltimore have no program to recruit immigrants. Cities that have immigrants are engaged in local retention efforts that serve to continue a growth in arrivals already underway for other reasons. Cities without substantial immigration – the majority – are in the same situation as Baltimore, but lack the planning process this study represents.

Discussions in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have attracted more publicity than what is occurring in Baltimore. However, there is not much real activity behind the publicity. A key difference is the level of interest from the Mayor. While Mayor O'Malley has embraced this effort, Philadelphia's mayor warred with the councilman who prepared the local report. In Pittsburgh, the public sector has not engaged the issue, although there has been some interest in the community from foundations and nonprofits.

There are potential allies, but the coalition is yet to be forged. The Mayor must create this coalition through his leadership.

*Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are likely allies, as are other cities recruited through the Conference of Mayors and National League of Cities.* The focal point for cooperation will be changes in federal law, as discussed above. There are realistic proposals to help with both recruitment and services that should interest existing and aspiring destination cities.

The interest publicized in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia can likely be tapped to spur a local process like that being undertaken in Baltimore, resulting in an alliance on legislative initiatives. Other

shrinking cities without immigrants, including Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, are potential partners in this effort, along with many smaller communities throughout the Northeast and Midwest. For these cities, the goal would be adoption of immigration rules that reward immigrants who settle in urban centers that are losing population.

*Increased federal funding for English instruction and other immigrant services is a second objective that would unite a broader group.* All six major destination states – New York, California, Illinois, Texas, Florida, and New Jersey – should be interested, as well as popular cities like Boston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Portland, Seattle, and the Washington, D.C. area. The "have-nots" should also see this objective as key to sustaining any recruitment effort.

In addition, there are many city and county governments across the country that, though rarely consulted regarding immigration policy, increasingly pay the bills. For example, classrooms in Arkansas, Nebraska, North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Oregon, Oklahoma, Nevada, Idaho, Kentucky and Kansas saw the nation's biggest jumps in Hispanic enrollment between 1990 and 1997. The fastest growing school district in the country is Clark County, Nevada (the Las Vegas area), which has grown from 100,000 students in 1987 to more than 230,000 today, mostly from immigration. Clark County has had three bond issues since the mid-1980s.

Even much smaller school districts in what are essentially company towns (like those near meatpacking plants in the Midwest and on the Eastern Shore) show the strain on their infrastructure. New immigrant destinations, such as Atlanta, show a pattern of regional impact in which large numbers of immigrants work in Atlanta but live outside the city limits, particularly in Gwinnett County, where school enrollment has jumped.

### **Federal, State and Local Allies for Needed Changes**

***Summary:* At the federal level, allies are other like-minded cities, possibly Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and others to be identified. For funding increases, most states have some localities with rapidly growing immigrant populations, all of which could join an "English for Immigrants" coalition. Immigration advocates at the national level are working toward a legalization program and would welcome cities as allies, although there might be conflicts over the details. Colleges and universities should be allies in seeking a state loan program for foreign students. Other local groups that should be allies for a recruitment effort, as well as state funding, include the Catholic Church and its school systems, other local religious communities working with immigrants and refugees, the Refugee Resettlement Center and MONA, ethnic advocacy groups, employers, and unions.**

*A coordinator attached to the Mayor's office is needed to organize a city-community effort based on the recommendations in this report.* The range of available allies is broad, but each has an interest in only some aspects of the challenge. Without focus and coordination, nothing will happen. Eventually, Baltimore will need an office like the ones in Boston, New York, and Minneapolis to handle the retention and integration of immigrant communities. With planning, that office can be more of a public-private partnership than the offices elsewhere. But, initially, the key step is an identifiable coordinator, with a budget to initiate communications and actions and the political support embodied in the Mayor's office to get things done.

Representatives of the community, both native and immigrant, must be involved as local allies. Municipal departments must incorporate a mechanism to recognize special needs of immigrants. Colleges and universities can help by recruiting foreign students and can be helped in lobbying for financial assistance from the State for these students, tied to their settling locally. The public

schools need to be involved both as a municipal service that must be responsive to immigrant children, but also as an advocate for the specialized resources to do so. The Catholic Church has schools and parishes that can help serve the immigrant community, especially those, like the Mexicans and Salvadorans, who are likely to be Catholics. The model of the Jewish community's contribution in resettling Soviet Jews should be emulated by other religious groups, while the Jewish community might reach out to recruit secondary migration from other U.S. cities.

Employers with jobs going unfilled or expansion potential unrealized for lack of appropriate workers, of high or low skill, should be part of the planning and implementation. Unions in hospitality, health care and construction, in particular, should have an interest in assuring that their immigrant members are getting the services and English training they need to advance.

Refugee resettlement programs can continue to do their traditional work, but they should also be drawn into the broader activities of serving immigrants as well as refugees. They will need increased funding to undertake this expanded mission.

*Allies are available on a national level to support the city's agenda.* Allies among cities and their organizations have been identified. Beyond cities are a host of immigration advocacy groups. These groups can be coalition partners for the cities. The challenge will be for the cities to define their particular needs and demonstrate the political potential they bring. The two major pro-immigration groups on the national level are the employers and the immigrants' rights groups. The former include the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Essential Workers Immigration Coalition (EWIC). The latter include the National Immigration Forum, the American Immigration Lawyers Association, the National Council of La Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Organization of Chinese Americans, and the National Asian-Pacific American Bar Association. The AFL-CIO has recently increased its involvement in support of improved immigration opportunities for workers in addition to its traditional support for family immigration and refugee assistance.

Cities can join with these efforts, but must insist on the same attention to their unique needs – ways to give incentives for resettlement in cities with shrinking populations and funding for the cost of services – as the other coalition partners have.

## Appendix: Relevant Details About How Immigration Works

Immigrants to the U.S. arrive via one of three basic paths: legal immigration (divided into family, employment, and diversity visas), refugee resettlement and asylum, and illegal immigration. There are also a substantial number of people in the U.S. on temporary visas, e.g., students, highly skilled workers (the H-1B program) and less skilled workers (agricultural laborers). Newspaper accounts often conflate these categories as “immigration,” and the Census refers to “foreign-born,” which applies to all three. The distinctions are vital for understanding how to attract and retain immigrants.

### *Overview: Making Sense by Making Distinctions*

Many discussions of “immigration” policy lump together very different groups of people, including:

- Those admitted for legal permanent residency (a “green card,” the only path to U.S. citizenship).
- Those admitted on various temporary visas, which may or may not provide a transition to permanent residency.
- Refugees and those seeking asylum.
- Those who, by entering the United States illegally, working in violation of their status or remaining after their status expires, are considered illegal aliens.

This section will sum up the broad distinctions in U.S. immigration law and policy, with many details and nuances left out.

The total for the first three categories, which together comprise the broadest definition of legal immigration, is approximately 1 million persons a year. Of those, more than half (about 500,000) were invited by family members, about a quarter by employers (250,000, of whom 60,000 got green cards, the rest “temporary” visas), and roughly a tenth (100,000) are refugees and those granted political asylum.

While estimates of illegal immigration vary widely, a reasonable guess would place the total in the range of 300,000 a year who remain indefinitely. Many in this category of “illegal alien” also belong to the other categories, e.g., those admitted on temporary visas who do not leave, and family members who do not wait for their legal visa to unite with loved ones or network for jobs. Other categories for temporary admission, such as foreign students, are not counted as “immigration” unless the student obtains some other visa, which is usually also temporary.

In practice, immigration lawyers often note that the distinctions between legal and illegal, permanent and temporary can all be resolved, given a good set of facts and a would-be immigrant willing to fight for permanent residency. But these distinctions will be critical for Baltimore to craft an approach to immigrants that will attract and retain those best suited to enhance Baltimore’s economy and quality of life.

## *Legal Immigration*

There are three basic categories for admission to the United States as a legal permanent immigrant: family, employment, and the diversity lottery.

*Family-based immigration* is best understood in terms of two unlimited categories and four other categories with very long delays and millions of family members waiting in them, not because of processing delays but because Congress has not made their legal immigration a priority. The cap of 480,000 family-based immigration visas a year can be exceeded because of the unlimited categories.

*Unlimited* family-based immigration includes:

- 1) the spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens; and
- 2) the parents of U.S. citizens.

Although these categories are unlimited, in practice, admissions work out to about 90,000 spouses and children, and 60,000 parents a year. While these immigrants are not subject to numerical limits, they are counted, and in a certain range, they may reduce the other family-based categories.

*Limited* family-based immigration includes categories for:

- 1) the adult children of U.S. citizens;
- 2) the spouses and minor children of legal permanent residents;
- 3) adult children of legal permanent residents; and
- 4) the siblings of U.S. citizens.

Visas are allocated among these four categories in a complex system. In addition, each country is limited to about 26,000 from these four categories and the employment categories described below.

The overall ceiling for family-based immigration is 480,000 visas a year. However, there is a floor below which immigration levels cannot go: when the visas available for the nuclear families of green card holders declines to 224,000 visas in a year, additional demand in the unlimited categories “pierces” the overall cap of 480,000, which is why family-based immigration generally exceeds 500,000 a year.

The most salient features of the family-based immigration system are its backlogs. While no authoritative figures have been published since 1997, roughly 1 million spouses and minor children of legal permanent residents are waiting in a line with a minimum delay of 5 years, and perhaps 1.5 million siblings of U.S. citizens are in a line with a minimum delay of more than 10 years. Given normal human behavior regarding marriage and families, including the help family members provide in getting a job, there is a relationship between these backlogs and the illegally resident population.

## *Employment*

There are 140,000 employment-based visas a year, but the annual total has never been used; green cards issued in this category run 80,000 to 100,000 a year. There are many categories of temporary nonimmigrant visas, which are authorized for work, and some of them (notably the H-1B visa) allow for transition to permanent residency.

The primary categories of employment-based immigration are:

- Those of extraordinary ability, whose economic value to the United States is plain.
- Those of exceptional ability, whose economic value to the U.S. must be established by an employer through “labor certification.”
- Those who are necessary, but unskilled.
- Religious workers.
- Investors.

Each of these categories has a fraction of the total assigned to it, and visas are allocated according to a prioritized “spill-down” system, with unused visas in the higher categories going to the next as needed. The overall per-country ceiling has sometimes delayed employment-based immigrants, notably H-1B visa holders from China and India, from getting green cards even after their labor certifications were approved. Labor certification is a lengthy process by which an employer proves that a particular worker with a particular skill is needed, and the employer is certified to hire that worker by sponsoring him for permanent residency because no U.S. worker with such skills is available. A Department of Labor list known as Schedule A is available to allow certain categories of skills to be declared in such short supply that no such certification is required, but it is rarely used. Thus, there are very long delays between the temporary visa and permanent residency for many employment-based immigrants.

It is important to recognize that although this is the largest immigration category that does not use all its available visas (50,000 a year are unused), hundreds of thousands of would-be permanent immigrants are on temporary visas because of processing delays.

### *Diversity Visas*

In addition to family and employer sponsored immigration, the law provides for a “diversity” immigration lottery. The diversity sought is among source countries and regions, since a handful of countries supply most of the immigrants under the other admission categories.

There are 55,000 diversity visas per year, distributed by an annual lottery. The available visas are assigned to countries of origin by a formula reflecting the gap between actual admissions from that country and what its share of the world population would predict. As a result of this formula, areas of historically low immigration, such as Africa, have been allocated significant numbers of visas over the past decade.

This program has produced the first large-scale voluntary, non-refugee migration from Africa in the nation’s history. Once selected by lottery, eligible immigrants must demonstrate a high school education or alternative work experience. By providing job offers at this point in the process, employers can recruit these immigrants before they come to the U.S.



### *Refugee Resettlement*

In consultation with the Congress, each year the President sets a total of refugee admissions, which are allocated among the regions of the world according to foreign policy and humanitarian goals. Refugee admissions are generally in the range of 70,000 to 100,000 a year.

There is a large and well-organized infrastructure for refugee resettlement, beginning with the State Department abroad, which selects refugees, and the Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement at the federal level, which coordinates with state and local governments and non-government organizations. It is non-governmental organizations, along with offices like MONA, who help refugees resettle in their original new homes (although many then relocate) and get health care, employment, and other services they need.

### *Asylum*

Like refugees, asylees are selected based on their well-founded, individual fear of persecution because of their political beliefs or membership in ethnic, racial, political or other group. Unlike refugees (who are selected abroad), those seeking asylum are already in the United States and do not have legal permanent residence available through other means.

### *Temporary Visas*

There are more than 40 categories of temporary visa. While each has special characteristics, in general temporary visas fall into four broad categories:

- 1) those which are genuinely temporary, such as tourist and student visas;
- 2) those which are indefinite and authorize employment, but do not allow for legal permanent residency, such as diplomatic and certain business visas;
- 3) those which are genuinely temporary and allow for employment, such as the J visa for the purpose of international educational exchanges, which is used for everything from lifeguards and waiters to heart surgeons and nuclear physicists, or seasonal migrant visas such as the H-2A program, aimed at agricultural workers; and
- 4) those which are essentially transitional, such as the V visa, which allows the spouses and children of legal permanent residents who have been waiting at least 3 years for immigration visas to live here legally while waiting for their permanent status to be processed, and the H-1B non-immigrant visa, which is held by hundreds of thousands of would-be permanent, employment-based immigrants who have not yet completed the process or may need a new employer willing to sponsor them.

### *Illegal Immigration*

The consensus has generally held that the “jobs magnet” attracts workers to the United States illegally. Thus, employers who hire illegal workers create illegal immigration. Since 1986, it has been illegal for an employer to knowingly hire a foreigner not authorized to work in the U.S., but the lack of reliable verification, the widespread use of false documents and a shift in organized labor’s opinion, which now favors repeal, has effectively ended this policy without actually repealing the law. But it is also true that illegal workers are people who bring their families here. The last amnesty in 1986-1991 provided green cards to 3 million illegal workers, but did not do enough to provide legal permanent residency to their spouses and children. This was the origin

of the huge backlog for the nuclear families of legal permanent residents, as more than a million nuclear family visas were to be slowly issued by a system that was not set up for it, with hundreds of thousands lining up at the back of the queue.

Most illegal employment of immigrants is network hiring, as is much legal employment of immigrants (and, indeed, most employment of all kinds). The Bi-National Study, conducted by a group of Mexican and U.S. scholars, concluded in 1997 that most illegal immigration from Mexico is based on jobs, and in turn much of the network hiring is based on family ties.

This problem, promising more than is delivered and management by backlog, is compounded by a 1996 change in the law providing for a 3- or 10-year ban on lawful reentry for those who have been illegally in the U.S. for, respectively, more than 6 months or more than 1 year. Thus, many who will be eligible for legal immigration visas one day but who have been illegally present in the U.S. will not leave the country, for fear of being barred, thus choosing to be outlawed rather than exiled.

There are very significant local costs associated with low-skill immigration of all sorts, and particularly illegal immigration. Low-wage workers with large families, a typical immigrant profile, impose costs on education and health care systems, especially, which local governments do not recoup immediately in tax revenue. This imbalance is compounded when illegal workers work in a cash economy, thus evading taxes. This fact is often cited as an argument for regularizing illegal workers with temporary visas, but there is little evidence that a legal job market based on temporary status can compete with a readily available illegal one.

### *Amnesty and Legalization*

Discussions of amnesty and its variants (legalization, regularization) fall into three categories. First, there have been a number of groups that have argued that they were unfairly denied asylum, e.g., Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Haitians, noting that their circumstances are often similar to Cubans or other groups who are granted permanent residence. Some of these court cases have lingered for many years and are finally resolved only by an Act of Congress.

Second, in the past 18 months, a major debate has begun over a “Grand Bargain” concept, in which the United States and Mexico would cooperate on a plan to regularize the status of many of the Mexicans living illegally in the U.S., in conjunction with a comprehensive guest worker plan to legalize the flow of workers from Mexico to the U.S.

Many difficult questions remain about this Grand Bargain, including: How many of the illegals living in the U.S. will get legal permanent residency, and how many will simply become temporarily legal? One concept is that those who receive temporary visas will be able to “earn their way” to legal permanent residency. Will such a plan work, or will the rules for earning a green card, particularly with no incentive to remain in a legal, temporary job rather than an illegal one (that may pay more) simply promote illegal immigration?

As in many immigration debates, much has been made of the “left-right coalition” that has come together to push the Grand Bargain. Leading players in this debate include the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and a counterpart employer group, the Essential Workers Immigration Coalition (EWIC), as well as a wide range of advocacy groups. EWIC especially has been pushing to expand the H-2A program for agricultural workers to cover employees of the hotel and restaurant business. The immigration advocacy groups continue to insist on (1)

access to legal permanent residency as the price for their support for a guest worker program and (2) a larger amnesty, relative to more targeted guest worker programs.

Employer groups have tended to reverse those priorities, and frequently re-state the ambiguous language of “regularization” and “making legality the prevailing norm,” which implies that getting green cards for their workers is not a priority.

A core issue regarding amnesty is that it is always an exception, thus begging the question: Since the underlying failure in the rules has not been fixed, what happens after an exception is made?

### *Immigrants within the U.S.*

The illegal population numbers as many as 9 million, including those waiting for legal visas, such as the spouses and minor children of legal permanent residents and siblings of U.S. citizens. Many of these are in mixed families, in which for example, one parent (often the husband) has a green card, but the spouse and some of the children are here illegally. These families may be acclimated to the U.S. economy and, if their illegal status were resolved, quite ready to move up to higher-paying jobs, e.g., from meatpacking to shipping. The younger, single men who make up a large part of the illegal worker population are often linked through employment networks of family or home town ties (such as in Mexican towns) that play a large role in recruiting illegal workers for particular industries and companies.

Second, there are those with temporary visas, particularly the 500,000 or so H-1B visa holders whose “temporary” status may expire before they achieve permanent residency, either because they lost employment or because their status expires before they complete the long bureaucratic process. The H-1B population is highly educated, skilled, and well paid relative to the economy as a whole.

There are other differences between these two large groups. Many of the family backlogs originate with a worker who was legalized after the 1986 amnesty and brought his family to live in the U.S. These workers were generally in low-paying jobs in agriculture and similar fields (meatpacking, construction), and show a level of mobility consistent with seeking higher pay as soon as possible. But just as consistently, higher wages are less of a factor in choosing a particular location than an existing community of immigrants that provides a recruitment network and support for new arrivals. Besides legal status, the key to upward mobility in the job market for this group is acclimation, especially English language skills.

The second group has fewer mixed families, in which some family members are legal and others not. Rather, most temporary visa holders have been recruited for a high-paying job, may be single or have a spouse who may also have a temporary visa (but, if it derives from his, it does not allow employment). As the IT bubble has burst, thousands of such workers and families have seen their situation in the U.S. become much less viable, with many laid off and facing uncertain prospects not only for future employment, but also for remaining in the U.S. at all.

Prospects for a legalization program that will be based on employment may pose an opportunity to recruit workers seeking green cards to Baltimore. Likewise, if Baltimore employers were able to offer jobs and sponsor green cards for H-1B visa holders, particularly in the slack industries, there is a pool of labor. But obviously this is a chicken-or-egg question; when employers are ready to hire in Baltimore, they may be ready to hire elsewhere.

A third, smaller group would be refugees who for various reasons may be inclined to resettle in Baltimore through secondary migration from a primary U.S. location. There are two obstacles.

First, Baltimore has never been a large primary refugee resettlement community. Second, secondary migration for refugees has generally been from one place where a particular group of refugees were settled to another, e.g., movement of Hmong people from Wisconsin to California, that is, more of a consolidation. It is also true that there are many more refugees around the world, particularly in Africa, than are likely to be allowed into the U.S., although an effort to resettle any particular group in Baltimore might be welcomed.