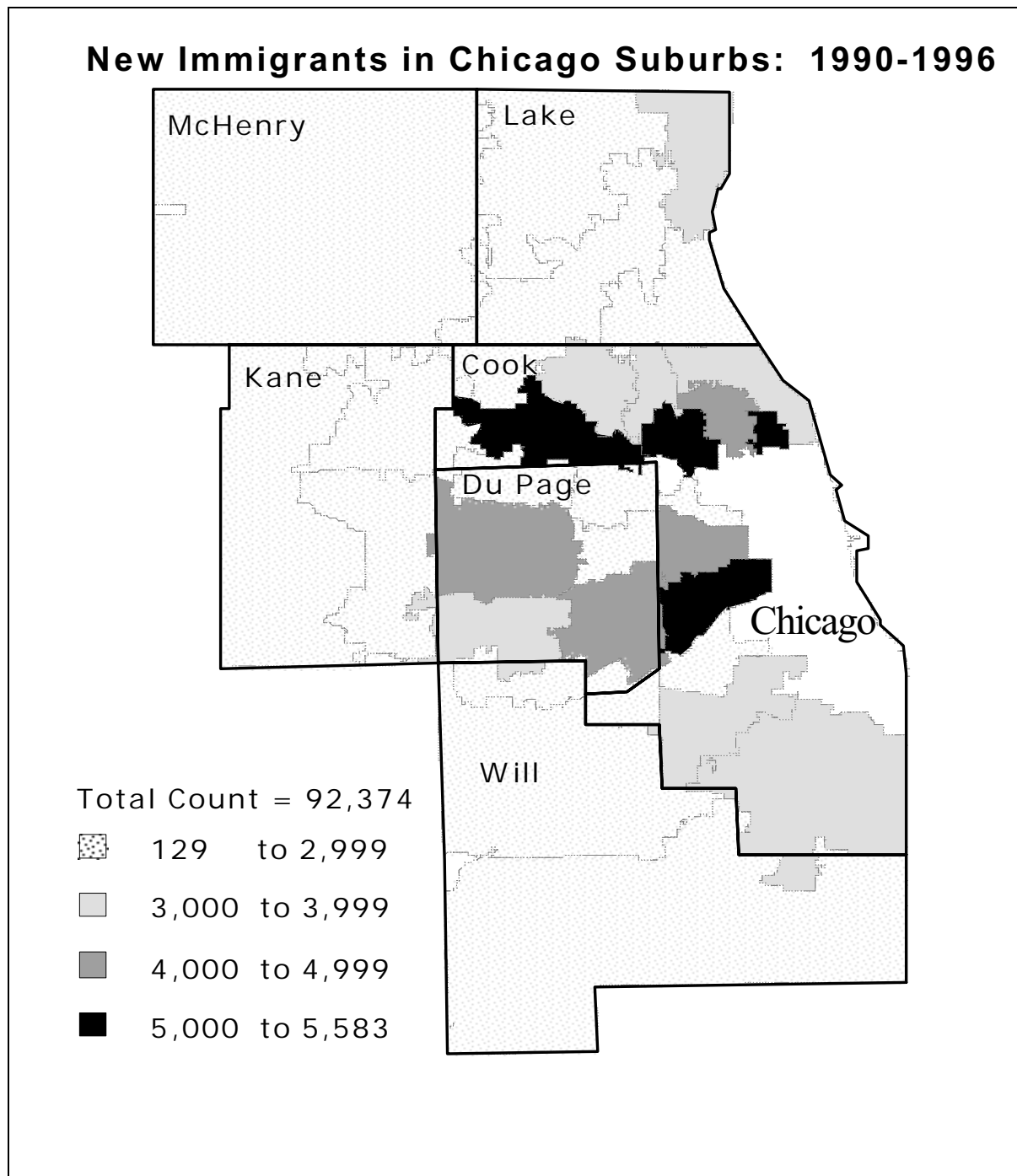


Suburban Immigrant Communities Assessments of Key Characteristics and Needs



Prepared for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

by Rob Paral
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Rob Paral is affiliated with the National Center on Poverty Law and is currently a Fellow with the Institute for Metropolitan Affairs at Roosevelt University in Chicago.

Copies of this report may be obtained free of charge by contacting The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees, 208 S. LaSalle St., #740, Chicago, IL 60604-1006; Tel: 312-578-0090; E-mail: thefund@donorsforum.org

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report addresses the needs and characteristics of the growing communities of immigrants in the metro Chicago suburbs. Its findings include:

Size of the Immigrant Population

- ◆ As of July 2000, some 628,000 foreign-born persons live in the Chicago suburbs, including
 - ◆ 459,000 legal permanent residents and naturalized U.S. citizens
 - ◆ 150,000 undocumented immigrants
 - ◆ 19,000 refugees and asylees

Countries of Origin

- ◆ As of 1996, the latest year for which country-of-origin estimates can be made, the principal immigrant countries represented in the suburbs were:
 - ◆ Mexico 95,370 persons
 - ◆ India 34,943
 - ◆ Poland 32,977
 - ◆ Philippines 26,647
 - ◆ Korea 16,738
- ◆ Immigrants from Mexico are the largest group arriving in Kane, McHenry, Lake and Will Counties. Immigrants from India are the predominant group arriving in DuPage County

Movement into New Areas

- ◆ Suburban immigrants are arriving in areas not traditionally associated with immigration. The Schaumburg-Elk Grove Village regions and the DesPlaines-Park Ridge regions in northwest Cook County received more than 5,000 new immigrants in the first part of the 1990s. Similarly, thousands of immigrants have arrived in the central and southwestern portions of DuPage County.

Immigrant Assets

Suburban immigrant communities possess often-overlooked “assets,” including:

- ◆ Major institutions are currently advocating for immigrant rights and for smoother flows of immigrant workers into the job-tight U.S. labor market. Nationally, these groups include the "Essential Worker Coalition" (comprised of employers from the hotel and other service sectors) and the AFL-CIO labor union.
- ◆ Many suburban and Chicago-based immigrant organizations are interested in expanding their services to immigrants and helping them adapt to American society.
- ◆ New philanthropic foundations are being established in the suburbs (more than 300 in the last five years), and this development coincides with the growth of suburban immigrant communities. These foundations arrive at a timely moment in which to facilitate immigrant incorporation.

Socioeconomic Gaps

- ◆ Socioeconomic gaps between immigrants and natives are wider in the suburbs than in Chicago. The suburban noncitizen poverty rate of 8.1 percent is well above the native-born poverty rate of 4.8 percent. Poverty rates of noncitizens and natives in Chicago are nearly the same.

Health Care Issues

- ◆ Suburban immigrants have poor access to health care. An astonishing 26.8 percent of suburban noncitizens lack health insurance, compared to only 8.7 percent of native-born suburban residents. Rates of Medicaid use are much lower for noncitizens than for the native born. In KidCare, the state-funded medical program for children, the number of enrolled noncitizen children should be twice as high as it is currently.
- ◆ Factors limiting immigrant access to health care include the failure of many employers of immigrants to provide health insurance benefits. In regard to Medicaid and KidCare, many immigrants are unwilling to enroll in these programs because of fears about being penalized by the INS for using public benefits. At hospitals and clinics, immigrants frequently fail to receive appropriate interpretation and translation services, in apparent violation of federal civil rights law.

Negative Atmosphere Towards Immigrants in Some Communities

- ◆ Immigrants interviewed for this report describe hostile behaviors by some local police departments, and lawsuits charging racial profiling directed at Latinos have involved several communities recently. A group of Muslims attempting to open a mosque in Palos Heights have met with hostility. In 1997 the Village of Addison, Illinois was forced to pay \$1.8 million to Latino families for fair housing violations.

Steps to Addressing the Needs of Suburban Immigrants

- ◆ Some suburban institutions such as hospitals and schools are failing to equitably serve immigrants. Several police departments have been charged with racial profiling targeted at Latinos. Philanthropic institutions can address these shortcomings by supporting efforts to organize immigrant communities, to identify leadership, and to facilitate networking and communication among immigrant community leaders.
- ◆ Relatively little infrastructure exists to provide appropriate human services to immigrants in the suburbs. Foundations should support efforts to create immigrant-led community organizations and support efforts by mainstream agencies to improve their services to immigrants.

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INTRODUCTION

Immigration to the Suburban Chicago Area

Metropolitan Chicago is a diverse, dynamic home to more than 7.8 million persons. A key factor in the vitality of this area is the size and diversity of its immigrant population, which is distinguished by having large numbers of persons from Europe, Asia and Latin America. The Chicago metropolitan area is the fourth-ranking destination for the 10.2 million immigrants that have come to the U.S. in the last decade.¹

Metropolitan Chicago has a long history of being a home to new immigrants. In 1870, for example, the area's population was 40 percent foreign born. Currently about 1.1 million immigrants live in the six-county area, and 13.5 percent of the region -- or one in seven persons -- is foreign born.

Our classic conception of immigrants coming to the U.S. pictures them arriving and living in urban neighborhoods like Pilsen on Chicago's Lower West Side or Ukrainian Village in the city's West Town area. According to this image, the first generation of immigrants establishes residence in neighborhoods of closely huddled apartment buildings and three-flat walk-ups. The children of these new arrivals grow to adulthood with greater command of the English language and better education than their parents. Eventually, the second generation leaves for more far-flung city neighborhoods if not to the suburbs themselves.

As with so much else in this hyper-mobile modern society built on easy transportation, new labor markets and evolving social relationships, the classic patterns of immigrant settlement and assimilation have in many instances been dramatically altered. Indeed, the massive arrival of immigrants to the Chicago suburbs embodies a new kind of immigration bypassing altogether the central cities of America.

Thus we find that 41.5 percent of metro-area immigrants currently live in the suburbs, compared to 33.6 percent in 1970. In the first six years of the 1990s alone, more

¹ Metro Chicago includes Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will Counties. In this report, "suburban Chicago" equals the entire metropolitan area minus the central city.

than 92,000 legal immigrants coming to Illinois reported that their intended destination was a suburb.

The new suburban migrants are geographically dispersed throughout Cook, DuPage, and Lake counties as well as other parts of the metro area. Further embodying the latest trends in immigration, they often come from Asia and Latin America, as opposed to Europe, and include legal immigrants, refugees, and the undocumented. They include both well-educated and low-income arrivals, and often they have never lived a day in the city of Chicago.

The Case for Philanthropic Support for Suburban Immigrant Needs

Philanthropic foundations have limited resources and understandably attempt to direct their grantmaking to areas of significant, demonstrable need. So the question arises: are there compelling reasons to fund projects related to suburban immigrants?

The answer is yes. The suburbs of Chicago have a fast-growing immigrant population which is adding tens of thousands of new persons a year to the area. While the suburban immigrants are generally better off economically than immigrants in Chicago, 12.7 percent of suburban noncitizens who arrived in the 1990s are nevertheless in poverty. By one key measure of social and economic stability -- access to health care -- suburban immigrants have serious needs, with almost 27 percent lacking health insurance. Suburban immigrants have trouble visiting a doctor due to a shortage of clinics serving the uninsured, lack of linguistically and culturally appropriate medical treatment, and restrictive federal policies that chill the willingness of immigrants to use Medicaid and KidCare.

In some respects, suburban immigrants face more acute problems than Chicago immigrants. Local school districts, government agencies and police departments are often failing to adequately serve taxpaying immigrant residents in a way not commonly seen in Chicago. Some school districts, for example, fail to provide comprehensive special-education services to immigrant children. Police departments in Highland Park, Mt. Prospect and Hillside have been charged with racial profiling. Court rooms in Kane County reportedly lack interpreters even in common languages like Spanish.

Notwithstanding these needs, there are formidable challenges to effective grantmaking in the suburbs. The shortage of immigrant-led, community-based organizations complicates the identification of institutions likely to serve immigrants appropriately. The well-known absence of public transportation, and the long distances between communities, can make it hard to envision smooth service delivery and coordination of activities. Indeed, a veneer of suburban prosperity can mask human needs inside the apartment complex reached through a private drive.

This report attempts to facilitate the task of philanthropic investment in suburban immigrant communities by compiling the latest data available on suburban immigrants, discussing their needs, and by recommending directions for investment by philanthropic entities. The information in this report is drawn from various sources. The author participated in eight suburban focus groups, including four groups of health providers and health advocates, a group of Asian immigrants, two groups of Latino immigrants, and a group of suburban service providers. Statistical information in the report include data from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service on all immigrants and refugees acquiring legal status in the suburbs since the last census of 1990. Another source of data is the Current Population Survey, a “mini-census” conducted annually by the U.S. Census Bureau in Illinois.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SUBURBAN IMMIGRANTS

More than 600,000 Immigrants Live in the Suburbs

As of July 1, 2000, an estimated 628,000 foreign-born persons lived in the metro Chicago suburbs.² About 459,000 of these persons are legal immigrants with permanent residence status or are naturalized U.S. citizens. These legal immigrants and naturalized persons are 73.0 percent of the entire foreign-born population. Approximately 151,000 undocumented immigrants live in the suburbs, as well as 19,000 refugees and asylees.

Estimated Types of Immigrants as of July 1, 2000							
	Total Suburbs	Suburban Cook	DuPage	Kane	Lake	McHenry	Will
Legal Permanent Resident or Naturalized*	458,628	261,303	101,532	25,410	48,289	6,906	15,188
Entered as Refugee/Asylee	18,965	13,959	2,933	570	1,308	147	48
Undocumented	150,602	68,778	17,439	27,005	23,828	3,834	9,718
Total	628,195	344,040	121,904	52,986	73,425	10,887	24,953

Source: Author's calculations: see Appendix One
*Excludes Refugees and Asylees

Leading Countries of Origin

The latest data on legal immigration from the INS is for the year 1996, which permits us to estimate the size of particular countries of origin for that year. Using 1) the INS data on legal immigrant arrivals between 1990 and 1996, and 2) 1990 census data on foreign-born populations, it is possible to construct an estimate of the leading immigrant groups in the suburban counties.^{3,4}

As seen in the table below, the largest group in the suburbs is from Mexico, whose 95,370 members represent 22.8 percent of the foreign-born population. Immigrants from Mexico are the leading group in each of the six counties with the exception of DuPage County, where immigrants from India are slightly more numerous.

² See Appendix One for a description of the methodology used to derive these estimates.

³ In estimating these populations, I combine INS data on post-census, 1990s immigration with 1990 census data. I account for immigrant-specific mortality and emigration rates in surviving forward the 1990 census population, using rates cited in Parol 2000 *Citizenship 2000: Naturalization Needs of Illinois Immigrants* Chicago: National Center on Poverty Law. My estimates do not account for net interstate migration as a factor of demographic change. Net interstate migration should be negligible.

⁴ Note that these data are for 1996. Country-specific legal immigration data are only available up to that year. Note that the table at the top of this page, which doesn't provide estimates for particular countries, is for the year 2000.

Estimated Foreign Born Populations in Suburban Counties: 1996							
	Total	Suburban					
	Suburbs	Cook	DuPage	Kane	Lake	McHenry	Will
Total	435,122	253,901	81,336	28,230	46,100	8,260	17,294
Mexico	95,370	48,592	9,880	16,144	13,040	1,940	5,774
India	34,943	18,661	12,889	545	1,592	263	992
Poland	32,977	24,273	4,732	500	2,183	557	732
Philippines	26,647	14,311	7,473	525	3,137	198	1,003
Korea	16,738	11,508	2,885	257	1,370	298	422
United Kingdom	12,898	6,257	2,599	650	2,105	646	642
Canada	11,237	5,347	2,622	617	1,626	353	672
U.S.S.R. (former)	11,095	8,541	1,045	112	1,066	204	127
Yugoslavia (former)	10,496	7,338	1,441	287	932	254	244
China*	7,812	3,663	2,750	225	1,072	37	65
Ireland	6,664	5,034	1,027	112	240	45	206
Pakistan	5,759	2,800	2,196	228	230	82	222
Taiwan	5,060	2,533	1,978	45	376	52	75
Romania	3,348	2,073	555	275	303	72	69
Vietnam	2,942	1,305	952	458	162	18	48
Jordan	2,756	2,335	277	9	59	11	65
Iraq	2,678	2,302	218	71	70	8	9
Guatemala	2,331	1,365	513	244	153	19	35
Other	107,518	66,380	18,980	5,848	10,361	2,024	3,924

*Includes Hong Kong
 Source: Author's calculations based on 1990 census data and post-1990 legal immigration

The Undocumented

The topic of undocumented immigration is sensitive and often highly emotional, yet it must be addressed in a discussion of suburban immigrants: there are large numbers of undocumented immigrants in the suburbs -- more than 150,000, their numbers are growing, and the presence of this population has important ramifications for the economic and civic health of the region.

About 50 percent of the Illinois undocumented population is from Mexico or Central America, according to estimates made by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service INS.⁵ Mexican nationals alone comprise about 44 percent of the undocumented. The labor market needs of the U.S., the surplus of labor in Mexico and Central America, and the extreme differences in wages between the U.S. and these Latin American nations are factors maintaining a stream of Latino workers moving north where they quickly find employment, particularly in today's robust economy. In fact it may be

⁵ See Warren, Robert 1994 *Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States, by Country of Origin and State of Residence: October 1992* Paper presented at "California Immigration 1994," a seminar sponsored by the California Research Bureau in Sacramento. Washington, DC: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

estimated that for every three legal Mexican immigrants arriving in Illinois, there is one undocumented immigrant arriving from Mexico.⁶

The effects of undocumented immigration are that, particularly where large numbers of low-income Mexican nationals reside in the suburbs, a substantial portion of the population lives in fear of deportation. This fear can take the form of being reluctant to file U.S. Department of Labor complaints about abusive workplace situations. It can take the form of being afraid of local police officers, who in many suburbs have formal relationships to deliver undocumented aliens to the INS. It also dampens more generally the population’s willingness to interact with government agencies, health clinics, social service agencies, and other entities that are perceived to represent the government.

Undocumented immigrants are ineligible for virtually all public assistance programs such as food stamps, and many public benefits such the right to receive a driver’s license. Unfortunately, often overlooked is the fact that undocumented immigrants typically have U.S. born children, who may have a diminished quality of life as a result of the limited opportunities available to an illegally residing parent or spouse.

One of Four Suburban Residents is 1st or 2nd Generation Immigrant

Illinois has received large numbers of immigrants for over a century, and the effects of immigration are seen in the substantial proportion of the population that is either first or second generation. One of ten suburban residents is foreign born, but almost 15 percent of residents are second generation (that is, having either a father or a mother who was an immigrant). Altogether, 24.8 percent of the suburban population is either first or second generation.⁷

Immigrant Generations in the Suburbs: All Ages	
3rd or Later Generation	75.1%
2nd Generation	14.9%
1st Generation	9.9%

Data Sources on Suburban Immigrants in Local Areas

Census data are the best source of information on the number of immigrants living in townships, towns and neighborhoods. Unfortunately, data on immigrants from the year 2000 census are not expected to be available for as much as another two years. In the interim, alternative estimates must be made of the residential patterns of immigrants, and two sources of information are school enrollment data and records of legal immigrants compiled by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

⁶ Estimate derived from Passel and Clark 1996 *Taxes Paid by Illinois Immigrants* Chicago: Illinois Immigrant Policy Project

⁷ These data on immigrant generations are derived from the Current Population Survey conducted by the U.S. Commerce Department, and represent the period 1996-1999.

Suburban Immigrants Are Concentrated in Some Areas, Yet Found Throughout the Region

School Data

The Illinois State Board of Education annually compiles a “bilingual census” on the number of public school students who are either enrolled in bilingual education classes or who take English-as-a-Second-Language classes. The great majority of these students are either immigrants or the children of immigrants (some are non-immigrants from Puerto Rico), and their presence in a school is a marker for a larger immigrant community.

The table below ranks the ten largest populations of students with limited English skills in the suburban school districts. The table is valuable in showing the heavy impact of immigration on the school districts of Cicero, Elgin, Waukegan, Aurora and Palatine. These five districts have nearly 30 percent of the limited-English student population in the suburbs.

While five districts account for almost 30 percent of the students, it is also true that many suburban districts have significant numbers of students learning English. Some 65.2 percent of all the suburban districts had at least 28 students learning English, a number representing a typical classroom size.

Suburban School Districts with Large Limited-English Student Populations

	Number of Limited- English Students	Pct. of Total
Cicero District 99	4,851	9.5%
Elgin District 46	4,136	8.1%
Waukegan District 60	1,812	3.5%
Aurora District 131	2,524	4.9%
Palatine District 15	1,820	3.6%
Elk Grove District 59	1,380	2.7%
Dundee District 300	1,332	2.6%
Wheeling District 21	1,147	2.2%
West Chicago District 31	941	1.8%
Round Lake District 116	879	1.7%
Remaining Suburban Districts	30,294	59.3%

Note: Numbers represent avg. in 1995-1999 period

Source: Illinois State Board of Education

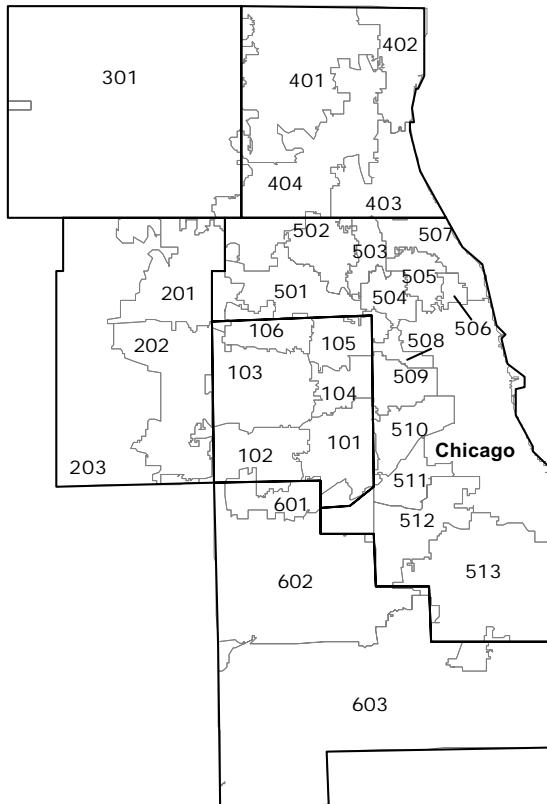
INS Data

Data from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service on legal immigrants entering the Chicago area provide us with another source of information on the settlement patterns of immigrants. The INS data permit us to map out the suburban destinations of legal immigrants arriving in the 1990-1996 period, according to the zip code of their intended place of residence.

Zip codes areas rarely conform to the boundaries of towns or cities. To make the INS data more understandable, then, we have aggregated all suburban zip codes into 30 regions, as described in the table below. The regions are constructed to capture as best as possible the principal areas where immigrants live.

It is important to note that **the region labels in the following maps do not precisely equal the boundaries of the towns in the label, and generally include many towns.** For example, region 501 “Schaumburg-DesPlaines” includes most of those two suburbs but also includes portions of adjoining suburbs as well. **The labels serve to generally identify an area.**

Immigration Regions in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996
Reference Map



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

**Key to the 30 Suburban Immigration
Regions Created for this Report**

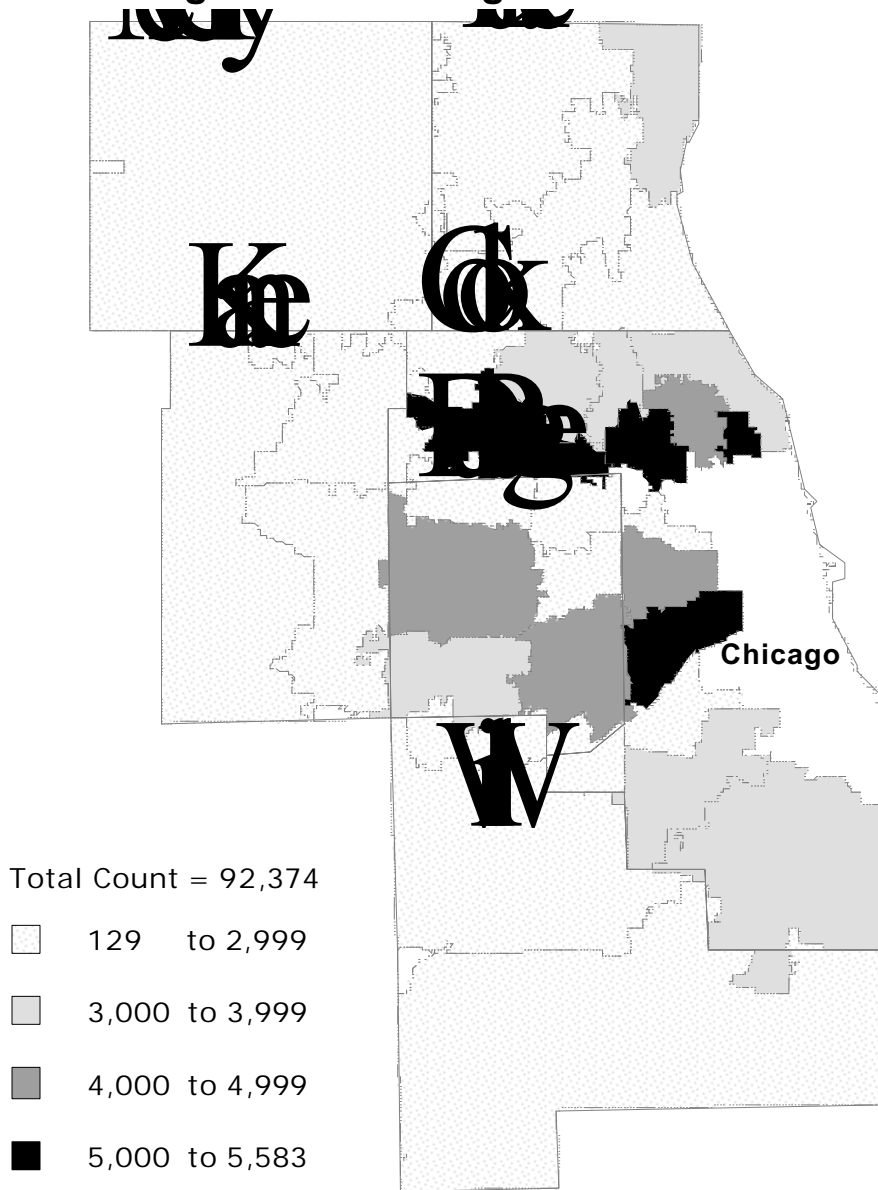
- 101 Hinsdale-Westmont
- 102 Naperville-Lisle
- 103 Glendale Heights-Wheaton
- 104 Lombard-Elmhurst
- 105 Addison-Bensenville
- 106 Bartlett-Roselle
- 201 Elgin-Carpentersville
- 202 Aurora-Saint Charles
- 203 Western Kane County
- 301 McHenry County
- 401 Round Lake-Grayslake
- 402 Waukegan-North Chicago
- 403 Buffalo Grove-Highland Park
- 404 Barrington-Mundelein
- 501 Schaumburg-Elk Grove Village
- 502 Arlington Heights-Palatine
- 503 Mount Prospect-Wheeling
- 504 Des Plaines-Park Ridge
- 505 Glenview-Morton Grove
- 506 Skokie
- 507 Evanston-Northbrook
- 508 Elmwood Park-Schiller Park
- 509 Oak Park-Melrose Park
- 510 Cicero-Berwyn
- 511 Burbank-Summit
- 512 Oak Lawn-Orland Park
- 513 Blue Island-Tinley Park
- 601 Bolingbrook-Lemont
- 602 Joliet-Lockport
- 603 Southern Will County

Suburban Cook and DuPage Counties Receive Largest Numbers of Immigrants

Most immigration to the suburbs is occurring in suburban Cook County, as seen in the map on the following page. Nearly all of the 15 suburban Cook regions identified for this report received at least 3,000 new immigrants in the 1990-1996 period, as seen in the map below. Some areas that have long been associated with immigration were among the areas receiving the largest number of immigrants. These include suburbs fanning westward from the Cicero-Berwyn area and suburbs centered around Skokie.

But new areas not traditionally associated with immigration show up in the data on new arrivals. The Schaumburg-Elk Grove Village regions and the DesPlaines-Park Ridge regions in northwest Cook County received more than 5,000 new immigrants in the first part of the 1990s. Similarly, thousands of immigrants have arrived in the central and southwestern portions of DuPage County.

New Immigrants in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



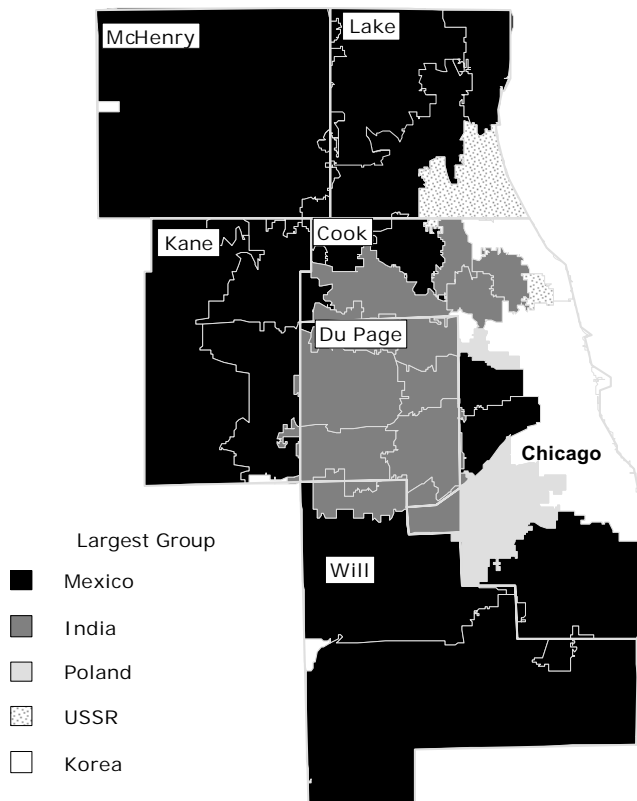
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

Predominant Immigrant Groups in Suburban Regions

The largest immigrant groups arriving in the suburbs during the 1990-1996 period were from Mexico (16,970), India (15,051), and Poland (11,294). According to the INS data on legal immigration in the 1990s, Mexican immigrants are the largest immigrant group arriving in McHenry and Kane counties, and in most of Lake and Will counties. Immigrants from India are the predominant group arriving in DuPage County.

Immigrants from the former U.S.S.R. are the leading group in two suburban regions: the Skokie area and Buffalo Grove-Highland Park. Korean immigrants are the largest group of foreign-born arrivals in the Evanston-Northbrook region.

Largest Immigrant Groups in Suburban Areas



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

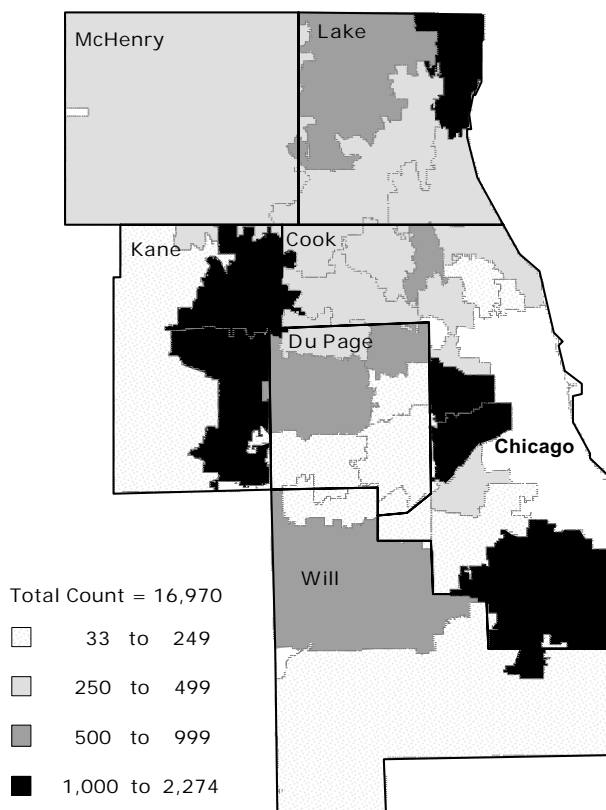
The Largest Immigrant Groups Have Distinct Settlement Patterns

The three largest immigrant groups -- Mexicans, Indians and Poles -- have remarkably distinct residential settlement patterns: the primary destinations of these groups hardly overlap. The largest numbers of Mexican immigrants are found at the extremes of an arc stretching from northern Lake County out to eastern Kane County down to southern Cook County. At the center of this arc is a large settlement area for Mexican immigrants in the western Cook suburban regions of Cicero-Berwyn and Oak Park-Melrose Park. (Note that these data are based on legal immigration; including undocumented Mexican immigrants could increase these numbers by a third.)

The primary settlement areas for immigrants from India, on the other hand, are Cook County and DuPage County regions at the center of the metropolitan area. The largest numbers of new immigrants from India went to the Schaumburg-Elk Grove Village and DesPlaines-Park Ridge regions of Cook County, and to the Glendale Heights-Wheaton and Hinsdale-Westmont regions of DuPage County.

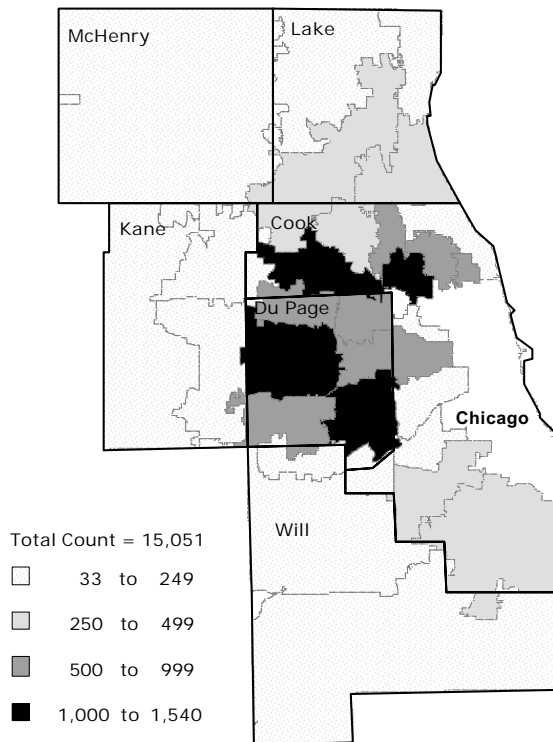
Finally, the principal destinations for immigrants from Poland were two contiguous regions bordering the northwest side of Chicago: DesPlaines-Park Ridge and Elmwood Park-Schiller Park. These areas are situated near Chicago neighborhoods with large Polish immigrant populations such as Dunning, Montclare and Belmont Cragin.

New Immigrants from Mexico in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



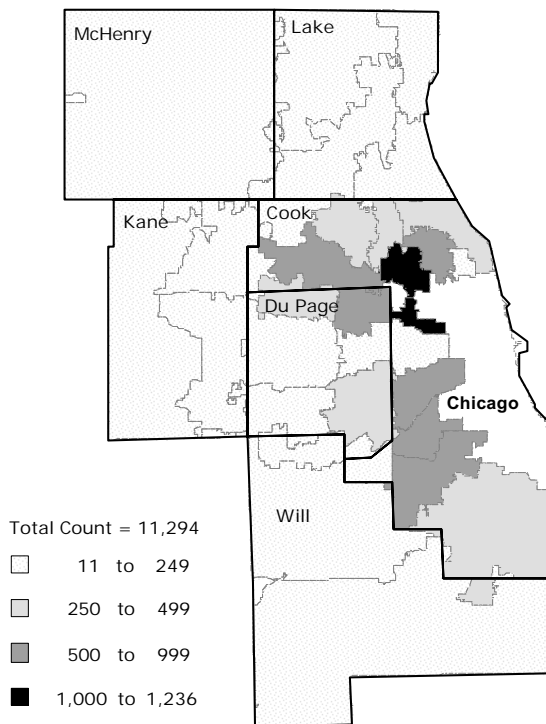
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants from India in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

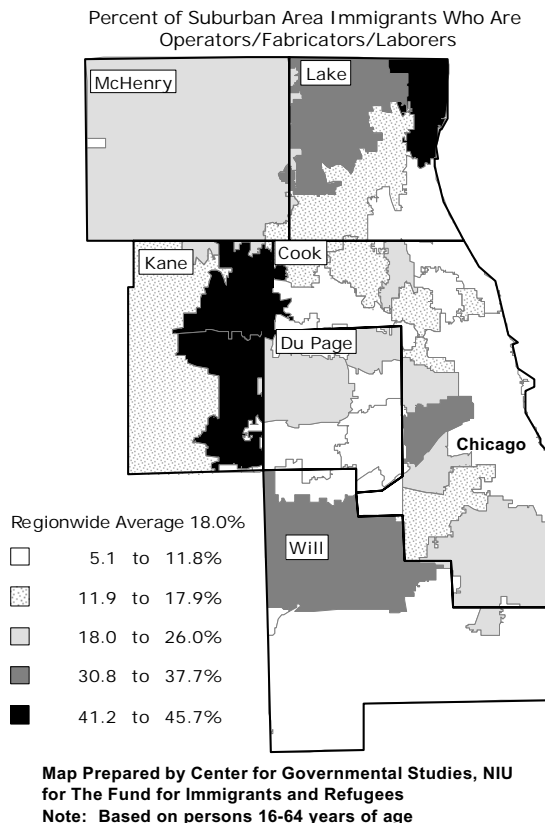
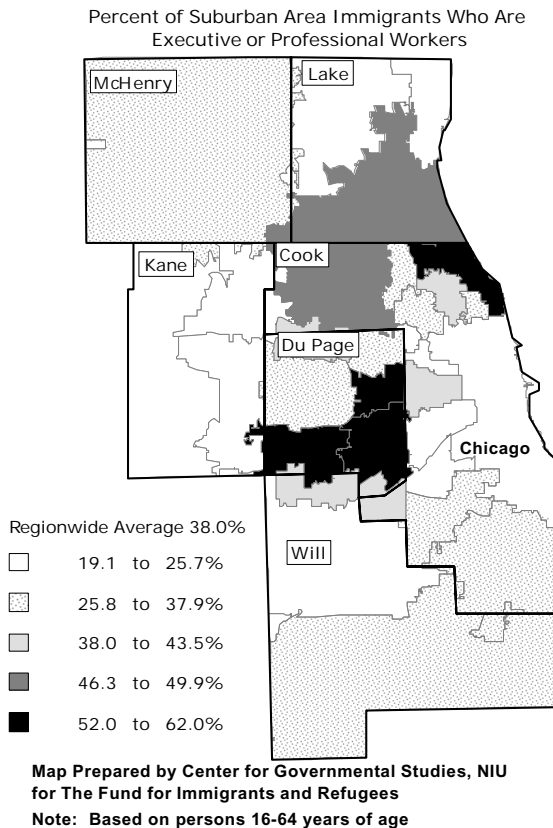
New Immigrants from Poland in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

High-Skilled, Low-Skilled Immigrants Settle in Different Suburban Regions

The INS data on legal immigration in the 1990s identifies the occupations of the new immigrants as reported by the immigrants themselves. These data identify the suburban regions of Hinsdale-Westmont, Naperville-Lisle, Lombard-Elmhurst (all located close to the high-tech Interstate 88 corridor) and Evanston-Northbrook as receiving high numbers of high-skilled executive and professional workers. In these regions, high-skilled immigrants are more than half of all arrivals. Low-skilled immigrants with occupations as machine operators, industrial fabricators and laborers are over 40 percent of all immigrant arrivals in the regions of Elgin-Carpentersville, Aurora-St. Charles and Waukegan-North Chicago.



Numerous Suburban Regions Have Tens of Thousands of Immigrant Residents

The table on this page shows the estimated foreign-born population for each of the thirty regions created for this report.⁸ As seen in the accompanying table, the top three regions are Cicero-Berwyn (29,698), Oak Park-Melrose Park (22,660), and Blue Island-Tinley Park (22,366). These immigrant communities in and of themselves are larger than many Illinois towns.

Estimated 1996 Population of Foreign Born Persons by Region	
Hinsdale-Westmont	19,619
Naperville-Lisle	10,193
Glendale Heights-Wheaton	20,232
Lombard-Elmhurst	9,762
Addison-Bensenville	13,781
Bartlett-Roselle	10,668
Elgin-Carpentersville	14,167
Aurora-Saint Charles	14,519
Western Kane County	484
McHenry County	8,065
Round Lake-Grayslake	5,469
Waukegan-North Chicago	15,430
Buffalo Grove-Highland Park	15,118
Barrington-Mundelein	11,202
Schaumburg-Elk Grove Village	20,608
Arlington Heights-Palatine	17,920
Mount Prospect-Wheeling	17,239
Des Plaines-Park Ridge	21,927
Glenview-Morton Grove	19,023
Skokie	18,574
Evanston-Northbrook	20,323
Elmwood Park-Schiller Park	13,855
Oak Park-Melrose Park	22,660
Cicero-Berwyn	29,698
Burbank-Summit	11,797
Oak Lawn-Orland Park	13,880
Blue Island-Tinley Park	22,366
Bolingbrook-Lemont	4,861
Joliet-Lockport	9,918
Southern Will County	1,761
Total	435,121

Source: Author's calculations based on 1990 census data and INS data

⁸ The methodology for this estimation is the same as described earlier in this report (footnote 3), involving 1990 census data, INS data, and mortality rates.

Suburban Immigrants Have Higher Socioeconomic Status Than Chicago Immigrants

Turning to the question of the socioeconomic status of suburban immigrants, federal survey data show that overall, suburban immigrants are more likely to have higher incomes, a lower poverty rate, and higher educational levels than their Chicago counterparts.⁹ This is due in part to the countries of origin that comprise suburban immigration. Indian and Filipino immigrants, for example, are much more likely to live in the suburbs than the city, and they have higher levels of education and English ability than the average immigrant. But even suburban immigrants from Mexico, who have relatively low levels of education on average, have higher incomes than Mexican immigrants in Chicago.

	Suburban Noncitizens	Chicago Noncitizens
Median Age	34	30
Pct. in Poverty	8.1%	24.4%
Median Wage (\$)	9.62	8.08
Pct. Arriving in 1990s	43.1%	49.5%
Pct. with HS Degree	62.8%	51.3%
Pct. with College Degree	25.1%	16.0%

Source: Current Population Survey

Yet Suburban Immigrants Have Higher Poverty, Lower Wages, Less Education Than Their Suburban Neighbors

Suburban noncitizens may be economically better off than Chicago noncitizens, but they still have substantially higher poverty rates, lower wages and lower educational levels than native-born suburban residents. In fact, by some measurements, there is a wider socioeconomic gap between immigrants and native born persons in the suburbs than in the city of Chicago. For example, the poverty rate of Chicago noncitizens is only marginally higher than the poverty rate of native-born city residents -- 24.4 percent vs. 21.3 percent. In the suburbs, however, the noncitizen poverty rate of 8.1 percent is much higher than the 4.8 percent native-born poverty rate.

⁹ These socioeconomic data are derived from the Current Population Survey (CPS), an annual survey of roughly 4,500 Illinois residents conducted by the U.S. Commerce Department. To increase sample size and improve statistical reliability, I follow the common practice of combining CPS survey data from several years, in this case 1996-1999.

Comparing Suburban Immigrants and the Native Born			
	Noncitizens	Naturalized	Native Born
Median Age	34	48	32
Pct. in Poverty	8.1%	4.7%	4.8%
Median Wage	\$ 9.62	\$ 14.42	\$ 14.10
Pct. Arriving in 1990s	43.1%	3.8%	n/a
Pct. with HS Degree	62.8%	80.8%	92.4%
Pct. with College Degree	25.1%	33.7%	33.9%

Source: Current Population Survey

Suburban Immigrants Fill Certain Key Occupational Niches

Immigrants play key roles in numerous occupational niches employing suburban residents, filling at least one-fifth of jobs in ten major occupational categories. These job categories include low-paying sectors such as cleaning and building service occupations, but they also include better-remunerated categories such as health diagnosing occupations, which includes medical physicians. More than 44 percent of fabricators, assemblers, inspectors and samplers are foreign-born in the suburbs, highlighting the important role that immigrants play in relatively low-wage manufacturing jobs. Similarly, nearly 40 percent of janitors and building service employees are immigrants.

Key Immigrant Occupations in the Suburbs, 1996-1999	
	Immigrants as Percent of Workers
Fabricators, Assemblers, Inspectors and Samplers	44.2%
Cleaning and Building Service Occupations	39.7%
Machine Operators and Tenders	32.3%
Health Service Occupations	27.5%
Food Service Occupations	23.9%
Health Diagnosing Occupations	23.3%
Other Technicians	23.3%
Precision Production Occupations	21.1%
Health Technologists and Technicians	20.6%
Engineering and Science Technicians	20.0%

Source: Current Population Survey

ASSETS OF SUBURBAN IMMIGRANTS

Key Roles Played by Immigrants and Immigration

Suburban immigrants are a fast-growing population, and the growth of immigrant communities has important implications for public policy and political process. Many immigrants are highly skilled professionals, and have influential positions as high-tech engineers and medical doctors. These persons have prestigious social status and the ability to effect change in the operations of large institutions such as corporations and health-care institutions.

Immigrants in low-skill occupations are also effecting profound change in public policies. As described earlier in this report, immigrants are a large percentage of workers in certain low-wage occupations in manufacturing and service industries, and the companies that employ these immigrants have come to depend on them. Immigrants are also a significant percentage of labor union members. The critical role of immigrant labor has caused the "Essential Worker Coalition" (comprised of employers from the hotel and other service sectors) and the AFL-CIO labor union to call for changes in immigration law to legalize undocumented workers and to facilitate the flow of labor from countries such as Mexico.

Immigrant population growth increases the likelihood that suburban elected officials will back policies supportive of immigrant needs. In 1998, for example, the Illinois General Assembly earmarked an unprecedented \$10 million in funds to serve immigrants negatively affected by welfare reform. Key support for this legislation came from suburban Cook and Kane County legislators aware of their sizable immigrant constituencies. More recently, U.S. Congressman Henry Hyde has agreed to hold meetings with advocacy groups calling for immigrant legalization programs.

Ultimately, the coalescence of suburban immigrant communities can be expected to lead to the election of foreign-born elected officials. (Some 26.4 percent of the suburban voting-age population consists of naturalized immigrants or the U.S.-born adult children of immigrants.) Chicago voters have elected foreign-born politicians such as Jesus Garcia (a former member of the Illinois Senate, born in Durango, Mexico) and the growth of suburban immigrant populations will likely lead to the election of officials born abroad. For immigrants, this will achieve certain control over government programs and spending. For the general populace, this will inject new perspectives into public policy debates. Immigrant elected officials may be politically liberal or conservative, yet regardless of their philosophical persuasion they are likely to be sensitive to discriminatory practices of institutions like police departments or schools.

Resources from the Immigrant Community

A different type of immigrant asset consists of immigrant-led organizations. These provide a wide range of services and fill different roles. Social service organizations may assist immigrants with learning English, completing the naturalization process, and obtaining services from institutions (such as the Illinois Department of Human Services or from a local hospital). Cultural organizations help immigrants maintain a sense of identity and cultural pride through, for example, classes that teach U.S.-born children the language of the ancestral country, and through celebration of the home country's food and arts. Community organizing projects develop immigrant leadership and facilitate its entry into positions of influence.

Immigrants who take part in these organizations often become part of social networks from which they benefit economically and psychologically. In short, these groups help immigrants adapt to American society.

Various immigrant-led organizations exist in the suburbs. A complete list is beyond the scope of this report, but examples of social service organizations include Centro Cristo Rey in Aurora and the Centro de Informacion y Progreso in Elgin. An example of an immigrant community organizing project is the Interfaith Leadership Project of Cicero, Berwyn and Stickney.

Suburban immigrants also benefit from Chicago-based organizations that are expanding their services to the suburbs. Some examples of this include welfare-related services provided to suburban Chinese immigrants through a Westmont office of Chicago-based Chinese Mutual Aid Association, community organizing projects conducted in the suburbs by the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, and citizenship services for suburban immigrants provided by the Polish American Association from its Chicago offices. In general, the Chicago-based organizations are keenly interested in expanding services and activities in the suburbs. They are often hampered in this effort by a lack of funding (many Chicago foundations do not support suburban projects, and many suburban and Chicago organizations are not familiar with suburban-based foundations).

Resources from the Mainstream Community

In recent years the extent of funding available for suburban projects serving immigrants has increased dramatically with the establishment of new suburban-based foundations. An extraordinary 300+ foundations have been established in the Chicago suburbs in the last five years, although many don't publish guidelines, give only to pre-selected groups, etc.¹⁰ Examples of foundations with more accessible and formalized giving programs include the Grand Victoria Foundation in Elgin, the Community

¹⁰ These foundations are listed in the 6th edition of the *Illinois Directory of Foundations* published by the Donors Forum in Chicago.

Memorial Foundation in Hinsdale, the Albert J. Speh, Jr. and Claire R. Speh Foundation in Oak Park, and the Dominick's Foundation in Northlake. Other sources of funding not located in the suburbs have made substantial grants to suburban projects. These include the Fund for Immigrants and Refugees, which has supported citizenship, legal services, community organizing and other activities, and the Refugee and Immigrant Citizenship Initiative of the Illinois Department of Human Services, which has supported projects related to citizenship and the effects of welfare reform. Another set of grants, made available by IDHS but managed by the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, has been devoted to suburban projects assisting immigrants in understanding their eligibility for public assistance programs and in applying for assistance when eligible.

WHAT ARE THE HEALTH NEEDS OF SUBURBAN IMMIGRANTS?

Access to health care is clearly a critical factor in the well-being of an individual. Mental and physical health means that working-age adults can earn income to their fullest potential, children can be engaged in their scholastic activities, the elderly can live with dignity, and babies can thrive.

Inadequate health care for suburban immigrants can affect the community at large by potentially permitting the spread of illness. Medical crises that drain a household's income and limit the ability of adults to work can hinder the ability of immigrant households to successfully integrate into American society.

Health Insurance Coverage in Chicago Suburbs: 1996-1999	
	<u>Pct. Without Health Insurance</u>
Total	9.6%
Native Born	8.7%
Naturalized	8.7%
Noncitizens	26.8%

Source: Current Population Survey

The United States has a well-known crisis in health-care access, with large numbers of Americans lacking health insurance and/or facing large medical bills. This problem, however, is especially acute with immigrants. In the Chicago suburbs, fewer than 10 percent of all suburban residents lack health insurance, but nearly 27 percent of immigrants are without insurance.

Lack of Employer-Sponsored Insurance

The most common source of health insurance in the United States is through employer-sponsored insurance plans. Many suburban immigrant workers, however, don't get health insurance from their job, since they often work in the service sector or in smaller manufacturing industries where employer-sponsored insurance isn't offered or requires expensive co-payments. Many other immigrants are self-employed and unable to pay the high costs of individual insurance policies. Of native-born workers in the suburbs, 90.1 percent have employer-sponsored health insurance plans, compared to 72.3 percent of noncitizens.

Immigrant Use of Medicaid is Different than the Native Born

Medicaid is a state and federal health insurance program, administered by the Illinois Department of Public Aid, for low-income persons. The rules for Medicaid eligibility are complex, and vary according to whether or not a person receives welfare through programs such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and by the age of an individual. Even though a person lives in poverty, he or she may still be ineligible for regular Medicaid.

Immigrants use Medicaid in fundamentally different ways than the native born. First, immigrants are less likely to use Medicaid: 6.4 percent of immigrants receive

Medicaid statewide compared to 10.6 percent of the native born. Secondly, immigrants are much more likely to get Medicaid only, without a cash grant attached. Finally, when immigrants use Medicaid, about a third of them are only eligible for emergency services or pregnancy care.¹¹

Immigrants are Low Users of Medicaid

Immigrant use of Medicaid is low for a variety of reasons. Some immigrants may not use Medicaid because they simply do not know that they are eligible. Others may be reluctant to use a welfare program on principle, e.g., their cultural mores predispose them to avoid getting help from the government. Many immigrants do not enroll because of highly complex government policies -- in particular, the “public charge” doctrine -- that govern the use of public assistance programs by immigrants (see side bar).

Perhaps most importantly, many immigrants are simply ineligible for Medicaid and/or Kid Care. Undocumented immigrants cannot receive Medicaid except in emergency situations and in the case of pregnant women who can receive pre- and post-partum medical attention through Medicaid.¹² All legal immigrants arriving since the passage of welfare reform -- August 22, 1996 -- are ineligible for Medicaid.

Immigrants and the “Public Charge” Doctrine

Noncitizens that use certain public assistance programs can be determined by the INS to be a “public charge,” or someone who depends too much on government help. An immigrant found to be a public charge may not be able to adjust their status and attain legal residence. The ability of family members to get permanent residence can also be affected. A public charge determination can also prevent an immigrant from sponsoring the immigration of a relative.

Confusion about public charge has dampened immigrants' willingness to use Medicaid. In fact, immigrants eligible for Medicaid can use that program (except for long-term care) without being declared a public charge.

Immigrant Medicaid Recipients are More Likely to Be Working Poor

Immigrants receiving Medicaid in Illinois are overwhelmingly found in families where householders are employed. Nearly 93 percent of immigrants using Medicaid are in “working-poor” families ineligible for TANF, compared to only 72.0 percent of all

¹¹ See Paral, Rob 1999 *Immigrants and Illinois Welfare: In Most Programs, Immigrant Caseload Declines Outpace Those of Natives* (page 7) Chicago, National Center on Poverty Law

¹² The rationale for this exception for undocumented women is that their child will be a U.S. citizen by birth, and that proactive medical care for pregnant women saves vastly more expensive neonatal care for infants born with avoidable illnesses or complications.

families getting Medicaid.¹³ It could be said that it is especially true for immigrants that Medicaid is needed to make up for lack of employment-based health insurance.

Many Immigrants Qualify Only for Childbirth-Related and Emergency Medical Care

While the Medicaid program was created to offer the low-income population a wide range of medical care services, the eligibility restrictions placed on immigrants mean that they often don't qualify for comprehensive, routine medical care. As a result, approximately 31 percent of immigrant Medicaid recipients in Illinois use it only for emergency or pregnancy-related care.¹⁴ In fact, in the last two years there has been an astounding 234 percent increase in the number of Illinois immigrants receiving Medicaid who are eligible only for childbirth-related and emergency medical care.¹⁵

The fact that all low-income immigrants (and U.S. citizens) are eligible for emergency treatment reimbursable by Medicaid may create a sense of relief for the reader. It is reassuring to know that a minimum level of care is available to all persons. But medical providers interviewed for this report stated that many illnesses are not considered "emergencies" and cannot be treated at the emergency room. Also, emergency room treatment may stabilize a serious illness such as pneumonia, but patients will be sent home shortly after the illness is no longer life-threatening, and they must pay for follow-up care, including prescription drugs, if they cannot find a free clinic.

KidCare

KidCare is a Medicaid-like health insurance program providing insurance to children whose families have incomes in the range of 133-200 percent of poverty.¹⁶ KidCare is funded through a combination of state and federal dollars, and is administered by the Illinois Department of Public Aid.

Thousands of Illinois children, native and foreign born, have failed to sign up for KidCare. But the problem is more acute with noncitizen children, who are 3.7 percent of all Illinois children meeting Kid Care income guidelines, but who are only about 1.8 percent

Noncitizen Children and KidCare in Illinois	
Noncitizen Pct. of Eligible Children	3.7%
Noncitizen Pct. of KidCare Caseload	1.8%
Source: Estimates derived from 1990 census and IDPA	

¹³ These statistics were provided to me by the Illinois Department of Human Services.

¹⁴ See Paral, Rob 1999 *Immigrants and Illinois Welfare: In Most Programs, Immigrant Caseload Declines Outpace Those of Natives* (page 7) Chicago, National Center on Poverty Law

¹⁵ This statistic is based on my analysis of caseload data provided to me by the Illinois Department of Human Services.

¹⁶ The federal poverty level for a family of four is about \$17,000. Someone with income at 133% of this level would have \$22,610 (\$17,000 X 1.33 = \$22,610).

of the Kid Care caseload.¹⁷ In other words, the number of noncitizen children in KidCare should be double what it is now.

Numerous social service providers and immigrants interviewed for this report blamed low immigrant KidCare enrollment on the “public charge” fear described earlier. Other persons interviewed complained that the KidCare application was complicated, saying that it took an hour and a half for a person to fill it out, and that this discouraged applicants.

The IDHS has taken an important step to address confusion about public charge by making \$1.6 million in grants to community agencies -- including some with operations in the suburbs -- who will conduct public education and outreach campaigns to immigrants about KidCare (and other public assistance programs). The Illinois Department of Public Aid also is funding organizations to promote KidCare, and pays certain groups \$50 for each KidCare application they complete. It remains to be seen whether this outreach will significantly increase enrollment in KidCare or whether more intensified efforts are needed.

Linguistic and Cultural Barriers in Accessing Health Care

Many suburban immigrants have difficulty accessing the health care system because they cannot communicate with the health care provider. Many suburban immigrants do not speak English well, and cannot locate medical professionals who speak their language.

Medical institutions, in turn, often fail to provide adequate interpretation and translation services. Numerous individuals interviewed for this report described situations where interpretation in a hospital was done by a child of a patient, by a family member, or by an untrained hospital employee. In the case of children, the child may not fully understand the topic, or the child’s participation may cause the parent shame and embarrassment. Family members have been asked to inappropriately interpret in situations where a medical professional was attempting to assist a person suffering from a sensitive mental illness such as depression.

The medical institutions have often found it difficult to provide adequate translation and interpretation services. Hospital staff interviewed for this project described enormous difficulties in finding bilingual personnel with professional credentials in social work, counseling, and other areas. There are reportedly no training programs at suburban community colleges, for example, that certify bilingual specialists in areas such as substance-abuse counseling.

Institutions also find it difficult to provide an interpreter at all times when the actual need for interpretation may be episodic and irregular. Also, immigrant patients

¹⁷ I calculate these estimates using income and poverty data from the 1990 census, and caseload data provided to me by the Illinois Department of Public Aid.

speak many different languages, and clinics and hospitals may have difficulty locating interpreters to coverage the wide range of languages spoken by community members.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires that institutions such as hospitals that receive federal assistance, must make appropriate efforts to provide interpretation and translation services. Failure to do this may constitute national-origin discrimination. Complaints about lack of adequate language services may be filed with the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, which has authority to investigate and fine institutions that fail to provide language assistance. Yet it appears that violations of Title VI are widespread, and most often go unreported.

Notwithstanding all this, some hospitals are making good-faith efforts to provide linguistically and culturally appropriate services to immigrant patients, and it would be incorrect to suggest that most hospitals are indifferent to the foreign born. MacNeal Hospital in Berwyn, which serves a diverse community including many Mexican, Polish, Muslim and other immigrants, is a good example of the kinds of services necessary to serve immigrants, as well as the difficulties that arise in serving persons with of other cultures and languages.

MacNeal has a 24-hour interpreting service. A trained Spanish-speaking employee is available to interpret between 7:00 a.m. and 10:30 p.m., and can be contacted by pager at other hours. Staff of the hospital who are trained to interpret in Polish, Russian, and Arabic are available during business hours. The hospital pays staff extra salary when they are called to interpret.

The hospital has had to invest in educating its staff in “cultural brokering,” through which knowledge of immigrant mores and normative behaviors are incorporated into decision making. For example, if a patient and his or her family comes from a country where respirators are not widely available, it may be particularly important to explain the implications of using the device.

Muslim women at the hospital have been offended by being asked by staff to disrobe, and so training has had to address Muslim cultural attitudes toward the body. This has included training emergency room staff to understand issues involved in properly shrouding a body.

In regard to undocumented immigrants, the hospital is trying to deal with the fact that immigrant patients may not be able to produce a social security number. Training on this issue has two aspects. The hospital needs to attempt to rely less frequently on the social security number, and patients need to understand that it is acceptable to not have a social security number, i.e., that an undocumented person will not be reported to the INS.

Many health issues that are prevalent among some immigrant groups, such as diabetes among Mexican immigrants, need to be addressed preventatively, before an individual appears for emergency treatment. To that end, the hospital has hired a

bilingual health educator to work partly outside of the hospital, in the community, educating the public about treatment options for diabetes.

Finally, another task facing a hospital serving large numbers of non-English-speaking patients is the accurate translation of critical documents with significant legal ramifications. These include consent-for-surgery forms, advance directives forms, and even signage.

OTHER ISSUES INVOLVING SUBURBAN IMMIGRANTS

A complete inventory of the needs of suburban immigrants, as for any group, would be lengthy and beyond the scope of this report. In this section, I highlight five major issue areas involving suburban immigrants.

Poor Relations Between Some Immigrant Communities and Government Institutions

Many factors can conspire to hinder immigrant integration into suburban societies. In more benign form, the isolation of suburban immigrants may take the form of the local government and the local society ignoring their needs by, for example, not providing services in languages other than English. More severe and oppressive situations arise where the human and civil rights of immigrant communities are violated.

A group of Mexican-origin Kane County immigrants convened in a focus group for this report felt unjustly treated by the legal system in Elgin and Kane County. The group believes that the Elgin police harass Mexican immigrants by overzealously ticketing motorists for infractions such as cracked windshields, or broken turn signal lights.¹⁸ Then, according to these immigrants, in Kane County traffic court there are insufficient Spanish-language interpreters through whom a cited motorist can contest a ticket or explain its circumstances. In another focus group, immigrants and their advocates in the Aurora area described a routine failure of hospitals to provide interpreters to patients.

In the last year, several allegations have been made that suburban police departments use racial profiling to harass Latino and Black motorists. Some of the allegations come from police officers themselves. In Highland Park, five current and former police officers have charged the city with conducting racial profiling.¹⁹ A former Mt. Prospect police officer testified in federal court in January, 2000 that police in that town stopped Latino motorists wearing cowboy hats, hoping to cite them for lacking insurance or for some other infraction.²⁰ Nearly half of Mt. Prospect arrests in the last five years have been of Latinos, who were six percent of the population in 1990. In April, 2000, two Hillside police officers charged that town's police department with stopping motorists because of their skin color.²¹

¹⁸ In August 2000 the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development charged Elgin with using discriminatory enforcement of housing codes against Latinos. See Mihalopolous, Dan "Elgin shows bias in housing enforcement, HUD says" *Chicago Tribune* August 2, 2000.

¹⁹ Margaret O'Brien "Visit by Jackson riles Highland Park leaders," *Chicago Tribune*, March 16, 2000

²⁰ Michael Higgins "Fired officer claims police used racial slurs, profiling," *Chicago Tribune*, January 11, 2000

²¹ David Heinzmann "2 Hillside cops claim racial profiling," *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 2000

Other forms of bias have occurred in other contexts. In recent months, citizens of Palos Heights have been accused of displaying bias toward Muslim immigrants attempting to open a mosque in that suburb.²² A leader of efforts to keep the mosque out described Islam as a "false religion." In 1997 the U.S. Justice Department, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities and two local organizations brought suit against the town of Addison, Illinois to prevent a taxpayer-financed demolition of a Latino neighborhood.²³ The Village agreed to pay \$1.8 million to the displaced Latino families.

The Town of Cicero is a microcosm in which many of the charges of neglect, harassment and discrimination occur in their worst forms.²⁴ The town requires parents enrolling their children in school to present five forms of identification. The U.S. Justice Department forced the town to rescind a housing ordinance that limited the number of persons per housing unit. Cicero recently tried to require that candidates for political office reside in town for a specified period prior to an election (an act widely viewed as attempting to limit political opposition).

Effect of Welfare Reform

For most legal immigrants that arrived prior to August 22, 1996, eligibility for public assistance has not been significantly changed by welfare reform. Immigrants arriving after August 22, 1996, however, have been made ineligible for almost all basic safety net programs -- TANF, SSI, food stamps and Medicaid -- by the welfare reform law passed in 1996.²⁵ With each year, a larger population of legal immigrants ineligible for public assistance accrues in the suburbs. Using INS data on legal immigrants and Current Population Survey data on poverty of recent arrivals, I estimate that as of August 22, 2000 (the four-year anniversary of the passage of welfare reform), nearly 17,000 immigrants have arrived in the suburbs and are in poverty. For the suburbs as well as the state and indeed the nation, it remains to be seen what happens to low-income new immigrants and their families who in the past could have received public assistance in time of need.

Post-Welfare-Reform Immigrant Arrivals: Estimated Number in Poverty and Ineligible for TANF, Medicaid, Food Stamps and SSI as of 8-22-00	
All Suburbs	16,973
Cook	9,633
DuPage	3,673
Kane	976
Lake	1,845
McHenry	271
Will	575

Source: Author's calculations based on INS and Current Population Survey data

²² Ahmed-Ullah "Muslims cite long struggle in suburbs," Chicago Tribune, July 17, 2000

²³ Addison had sought to use Tax Increment Financing monies to declare as blighted and to demolish an area of 1,000 housing units that largely coincided with a Latino neighborhood. The plan would have removed almost all rental properties from the village.

²⁴ It would be incorrect to suggest that all or most suburbs have a dubious reputation like that of Cicero. In the past few years, in fact, the municipalities of Hoffman Estates, Rolling Meadows and Palatine have funded outreach centers providing a variety of health, education and other services specifically to immigrants. See Karuhn, Carri "Immigrant-Aid Center Aims to Help Out" Chicago Tribune, August 14, 2000. Courtroom testimony and claims by advocates make it clear, however, that there are numerous instances of negative reactions to immigrants arriving in the suburbs.

²⁵ Legal immigrant children arriving since August 22, 1996 are eligible for KidCare in Illinois.

Lack of Legal Services

Low-income immigrants have the same needs of legal assistance as other populations near the poverty line. They often cannot afford to hire an attorney to represent their interests in matters involving disputes with landlords, merchants, contractors, etc. Added to these are the complexities of immigration law that face many immigrant households. Legally residing noncitizens should have appropriate legal advice when filling out a naturalization application, as a relatively benign mark on a person’s record, such as a shoplifting conviction, can, under current immigration law, lead to deportation from the United States. Having such a conviction on a person’s record could come out in the naturalization process, leading to the irony of an individual trying to fully integrate into U.S. society, only to be removed.

Many other immigrants have a need for a qualified immigration attorney. Immigrants with legal immigration status often have legal temporary residence as they await a determination by the INS on their application to adjust their status. The legal steps in adjustment of status cases generally should not be managed by an individual on his or her own, though many persons are forced to act without counsel. Finally, in the case of the undocumented, some persons have the potential to legalize their status if they only can secure good representation.

While the hundreds of thousands of immigrants in the suburbs have a wide range of legal needs, especially related to immigration law, there are few low-cost, qualified clinics dedicated to serving immigrants in the suburban areas.²⁶ Persons needing assistance often have to attempt to get help at organizations in Chicago, and face problems in finding time and transportation to reach these services. When legal services are costly or hard to reach, some immigrants fall prey to illegitimate “immigration counselors.”

K-12 Education

The number of immigrant children in suburban schools is small, but the numbers of students with needs related to immigration is large. How is this possible? Most immigrants arrive in the U.S. as working-age persons near the beginning of their employment years of 16-64 years of age. Some come to the U.S. with children, but many do not have children until they have been in this country for a few years. Others may come with young children but have additional children born to them in the U.S.

Immigrant Generations in the Suburbs: Children	
3rd or Later Generation	79.5%
2nd Generation	17.9%
1st Generation	2.6%

²⁶ Groups providing legal services to immigrants in the suburbs include Centro Cristo Rey in Aurora, Centro de Informacion in Elgin, and World Relief (at various sites).

The interplay of childbearing and immigration means that less than 3 percent of children in the suburbs are immigrants, but nearly 18 percent are the U.S.-born children of immigrants. Thus, almost 21 percent of all suburban children are thus either first- or second-generation residents of the U.S. As a result, many U.S.-born children arrive at school in need of bilingual education or English-as-a-Second-Language instruction.²⁷ In fact, a study in the late 1990s showed that nearly half -- 48.4 percent -- of all bilingual education costs in the state of Illinois were for U.S.-born students.²⁸

The members of the focus groups convened for this study reported that immigrant parents of school children often have difficulties communicating with their daughters' and sons' teachers due to the lack of a common language. Parents also may come from cultures, unlike American society, where parents are not expected to advocate for changes in school curriculum or practices. Immigrant parents may also simply not understand how American school systems function, what are their rights, what are the recourses to assistance and information, etc. While schools in Chicago often have decades of experience in interacting with immigrant parents, many suburban schools are just beginning to set up services for multilingual populations.

Focus group members described a severe shortage of education specialists who speak languages other than English, particularly Asian languages such as Korean, Chinese languages, and Gujarati (the language spoken by the majority of Indian immigrants to Illinois). By law, psychological tests must be administered in the home language. Since it is difficult to find psychologists and other professionals with competent language skills, English-speaking evaluators often feel that they cannot rule out the lack of English as the cause of a learning problem. Tragically, this can lead to students not being recommended for needed services, leading to lost educational opportunities. Another problem involves immigrant students arriving in the U.S. in the upper grades. These children can miss opportunities to be assessed for learning disabilities, because diagnosis of such disabilities usually takes place in the beginning elementary years.

²⁷ Bilingual education uses two languages: English and the child's native language. ESL typically uses only English in the classroom, with specialized tutoring given outside the classroom in the child's native language.

²⁸ Paral, Rob 1996 *Estimated Costs of Providing Welfare and Education Services to the Native Born and to Immigrants in Illinois* Illinois Immigrant Policy Project

Naturalization

U.S. citizenship affords a variety of key rights and benefits to immigrants. These include the right to vote, to serve on juries, and to more expeditiously sponsor the immigration of a close family member. States limit certain occupations to citizens: in Illinois, non-citizens applying for teaching licenses have six years to naturalize before their license is voided.²⁹

Suburban Cook	136,769
DuPage	48,462
Kane	21,064
Lake	29,189
McHenry	4,328
Will	9,920
Total	249,732

Source: Author's calculations; see footnotes to text

There are almost a quarter million noncitizens in the suburbs, with about half of the population located in Cook County.³⁰ This population is increasing, as the number of new immigrants arriving in the suburbs outpaces the number of persons naturalizing. In metropolitan Chicago, the noncitizen population grew by almost nine percent in the 1996-2000 period.³¹

Suburban immigrants may face greater barriers to naturalization than Chicago immigrants. There are fewer citizenship service providers in the suburbs, and many immigrants lack easy transportation to the classes where English and civics are taught. As with immigrants throughout the state, suburban immigrants face long delays at the INS. Because of INS backlogs, the average time it takes to complete the naturalization process in Illinois is 14 months, with many individuals subjected to even lengthier periods.

²⁹ Plascencia, Freeman and Setzler “Restricting immigrant access to employment: An examination of regulations in five states” Claremont, CA, Tomas Rivera Center 1999

³⁰ This estimate is based on the average number of noncitizens reported by the Current Population Survey in the 1996-1999 period. The CPS estimate is for the suburbs as a whole. I apportion this number among the counties using the county-by-county distribution of foreign-born persons cited earlier in this report.

³¹ Paral 2000 *Citizenship 2000: Illinois Immigrants and Naturalization Needs* Chicago, National Center on Poverty Law

RECOMMENDATIONS TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FUNDERS

Promote Leadership Development Through Community Organizing

An indisputable goal of the immigration process is the successful incorporation of immigrants into the larger society. That goal will not be reached, however, when immigrants are socially marginalized. Hospitals, schools, and police departments will not function democratically if a significant sector of the community does not take part in the governance of those institutions. Too often, this is the case with immigrants in the suburbs.

Persons who are not closely allied to the immigrant community may try to help immigrants, but a paternal care for immigrants is no replacement for indigenous leaders articulating the needs of their community. Projects that organize community members and identify immigrant leaders are among the most important efforts that could take place in the suburbs today. The goal of such projects is not only to make immigrant voices heard, but to facilitate the entry of immigrants into positions of authority in local governments and other institutions.

Promote Networks and Coalitions

An incident that occurred during one of the focus groups convened for this report reveals the importance of developing suburban networks of immigrant advocates. As a group of talented and articulate Asian immigrant advocates discussed the needs of their communities it became clear that most of these individuals had not had an opportunity to meet each other previously. They were, in effect, working in a vacuum, and did not have regular opportunities to strategize together about broader needs of Asian immigrants and ways to address those needs on a large scale.

Such a lack of communication existed in the cities of Chicago, New York, Los Angeles and other traditional ports of entry in the 1970s and 1980s. National and local foundations in these cities played a key role in developing pan-ethnic coalitions of immigrant groups and leaders that exist today. These coalitions are among the most important methods of communicating the effects of law and policy to immigrants and, conversely, permitting immigrant communities to express their policy needs to elected officials and other policymakers. The expansion of such coalitional or networking activities into the suburbs needs to be a priority.

Support Basic Data Gathering

One of the first steps that should be taken to improve coordination and communication among immigrant advocates in the suburbs is the development of two kinds of

directories. One directory would include the names and contact information of suburban advocates. The second directory would have the names and contact information of key institutions in the suburbs, to include non-profit groups, schools, hospitals and other organizations. Some of these latter organizations would be serving immigrants already, but others could be identified as needing to improve or expand services to immigrants.

Promote Creation and Development of Organizational Capacity to Serve Immigrants

While there are many immigrants in the suburbs it is striking, especially in contrast to the City of Chicago, how few organizations either exist specifically to serve the immigrant population or have immigrant services as a clear mission. In this regard, two types of organizational development are needed.

First, there is a need for organizations that are specifically dedicated to serving immigrants in areas such as health, literacy, English instruction, domestic violence, advocacy with government agencies, etc. Ideally, these organizations would be led in substantial part by immigrants or persons close to the immigrant community. Having “immigrant leadership” in an organization could take various forms, including the presence of a substantial number of immigrants on a board of directors, an immigrant executive director, immigrant staff, etc. Immigrants generally feel more comfortable approaching a co-ethnic for assistance, and the development of immigrant-focused service organizations is important for effective service delivery.

Secondly, there is a need to enhance the capacity of existing organizations to better serve immigrants. There are, of course, non-profit service agencies already located in the suburbs, and many of them wish to serve more immigrants. Some of these groups are challenged, however, by difficulties in locating and hiring linguistically and culturally competent staff and by an organizational unfamiliarity with immigrants. These groups usually lack funding to re-orient themselves to serving a new population.

Many of these mainstream organizations need to make immigrant services an explicit part of their mission. Foundation support could help these groups formulate strategies to better serve immigrants. Steps that could be taken might include developing an immigrant advisory board, investing the substantial time needed to locate and hire experienced bilingual and bicultural staff, and participating in some of the Chicago-based networks of immigrant service providers and advocates.

APPENDIX ONE

Estimating the Number of Legal Immigrants, Refugees and Undocumented Persons in the Suburbs

The procedure by which the number of legal immigrants/naturalized persons, refugees and undocumented immigrants in the suburbs is calculated begins with a set of estimates made of these populations by the Urban Institute for the Illinois Immigrant Policy project. These estimates were made for April 1, 1994. The estimate of legal immigrants/naturalized persons was derived from analysis of INS data tapes on legal immigrant and refugee admissions. The estimate of undocumented was derived from analysis of Current Population Survey data and INS estimates of the growth of the undocumented population.

The first step in using these existing estimates was to update them to the July 1, 2000. I did this by adding in estimates based on recent growth rates of the major groups. This provided a statewide estimate. Next I apportioned the statewide numbers to the suburban area as a whole using the following parameters:

- ◆ To apportion legal immigrants/naturalized persons, I distributed these to suburban Chicago based on the suburban percent of all Illinois foreign born as reported by the Current Population Survey for the 1996-1999 period.
- ◆ To apportion refugees, I used the suburban percentage of all refugees adjusting their status to legal residence in the 1990-1996 period, based on INS public use microdata records.
- ◆ To apportion undocumented, I used the suburban percentage of all legal Mexican immigrants arriving in the 1990-1996 period.

Next I distributed the suburban estimate to individual counties using the following parameters:

- ◆ To apportion legal immigrants/naturalized persons, I used each county's respective percentage of all suburban legal immigrants arriving in the 1990-1996 period.
- ◆ To apportion refugees, I used each county's percentage of all suburban refugees adjusting their status to legal residence in the 1990-1996 period, based on INS public use microdata records.
- ◆ To apportion undocumented, I used each county's percentage of all legal Mexican immigrants arriving in the 1990-1996 period.

The justification for apportioning undocumented immigrants by using settlement patterns of legal Mexican immigrants is that persons from Mexico constitute approximately 40 percent of undocumented immigrants in Illinois.³²

³² See Warren 1994 *Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States, by Country of Origin and State of Residence: October 1992* Paper presented at "California Immigration 1994," a seminar sponsored by the California Research Bureau in Sacramento. Washington, DC: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

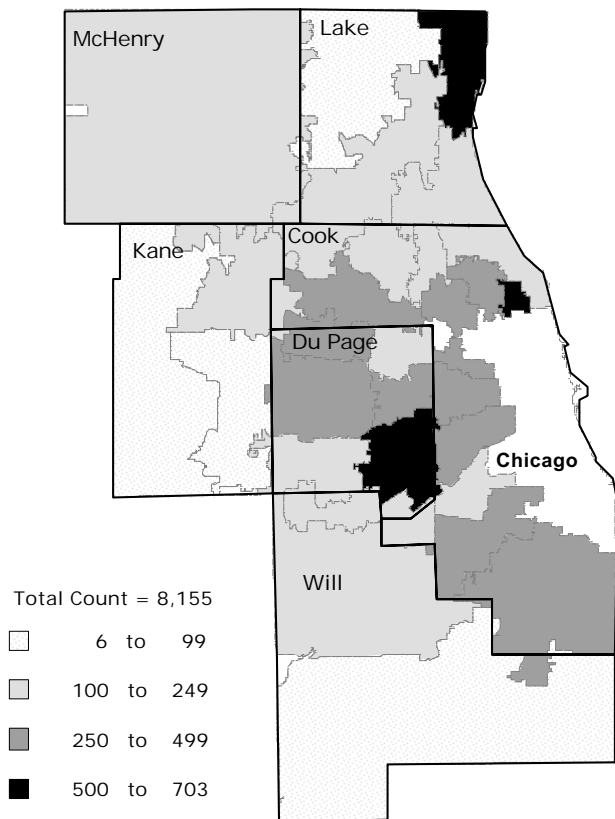
APPENDIX TWO

Country-by-Country Maps

The following pages include a series of maps showing the intended areas of residence of various immigrant groups arriving in the 1990s. These data are derived from U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service records on legal immigration. The maps are followed by a table on legal immigration to the suburbs, again based on INS data, and a table on limited-English-proficient students in suburban school districts, drawn from data provided by the Illinois State Board of Education.

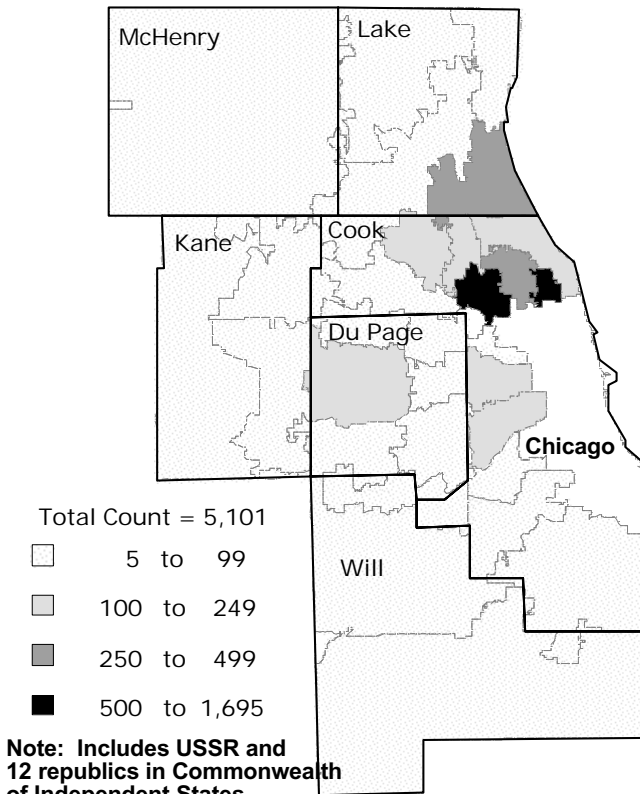
Suburban Immigrant Communities

New Immigrants from Philippines in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants/ Former USSR in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-

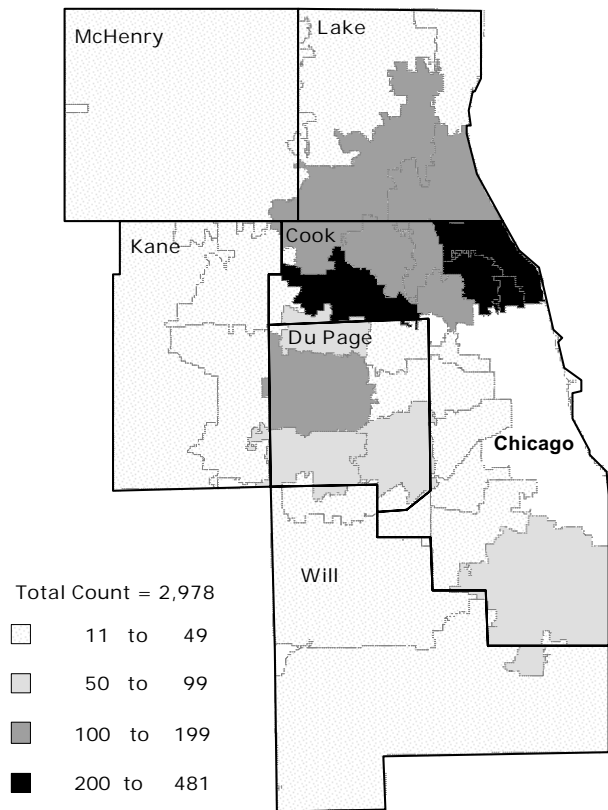


Note: Includes USSR and 12 republics in Commonwealth of Independent States

Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

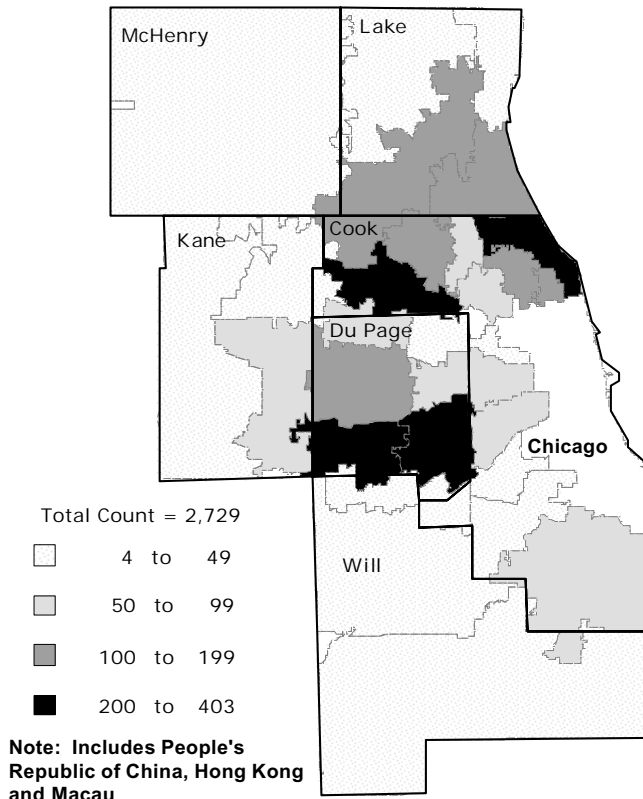
Suburban Immigrant Communities

New Immigrants from Korea in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



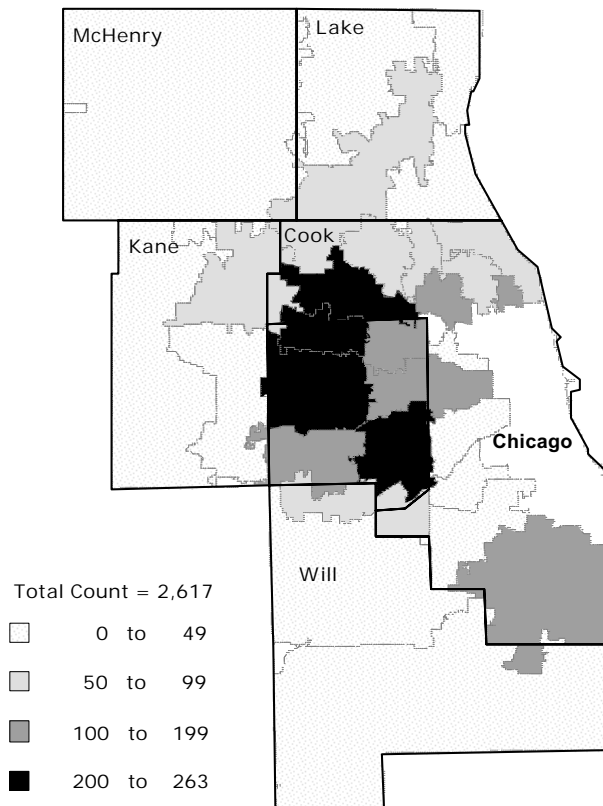
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants from China in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



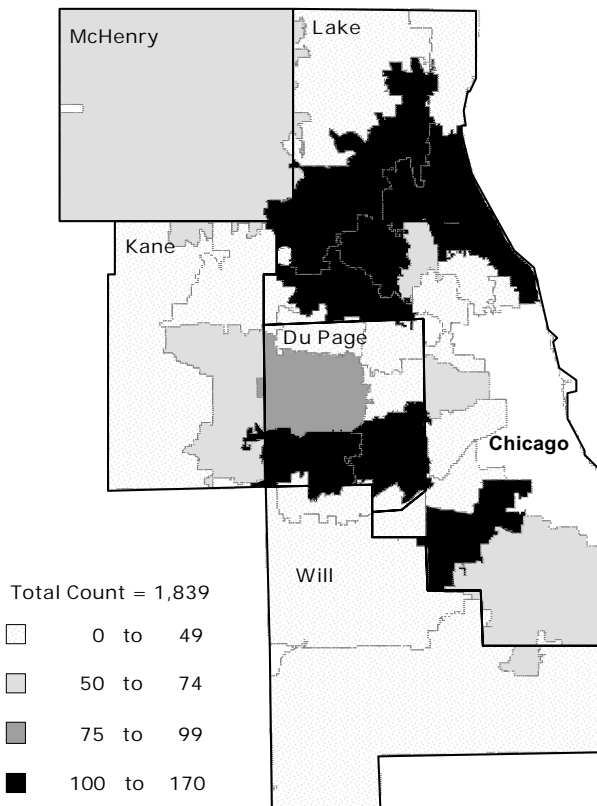
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants from Pakistan in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



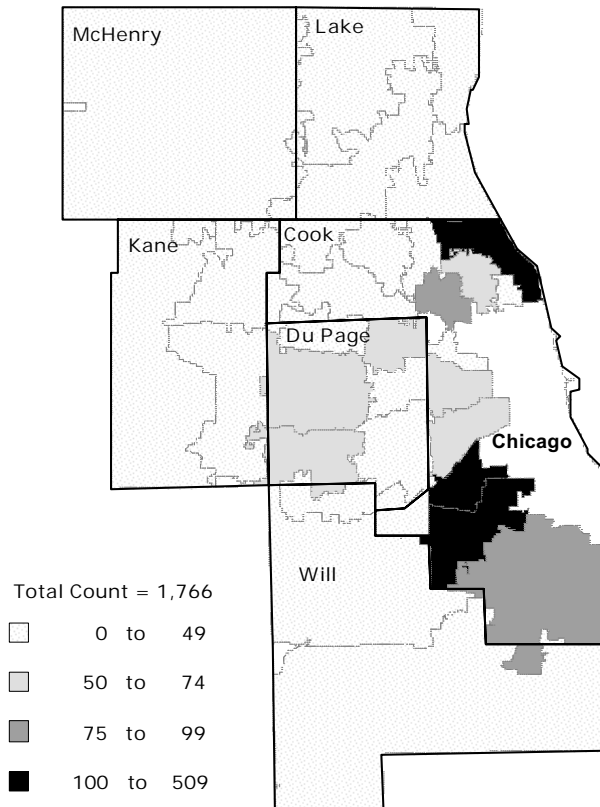
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants/United Kingdom in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



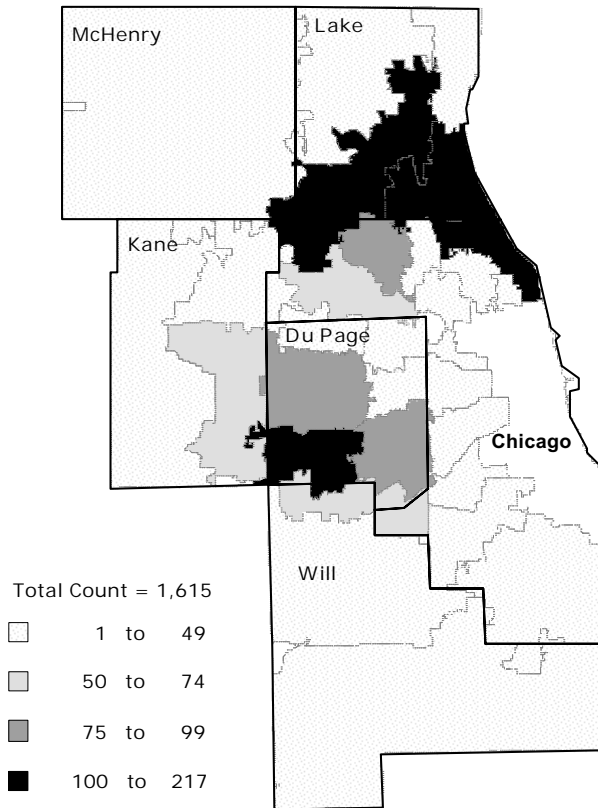
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants from Ireland in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

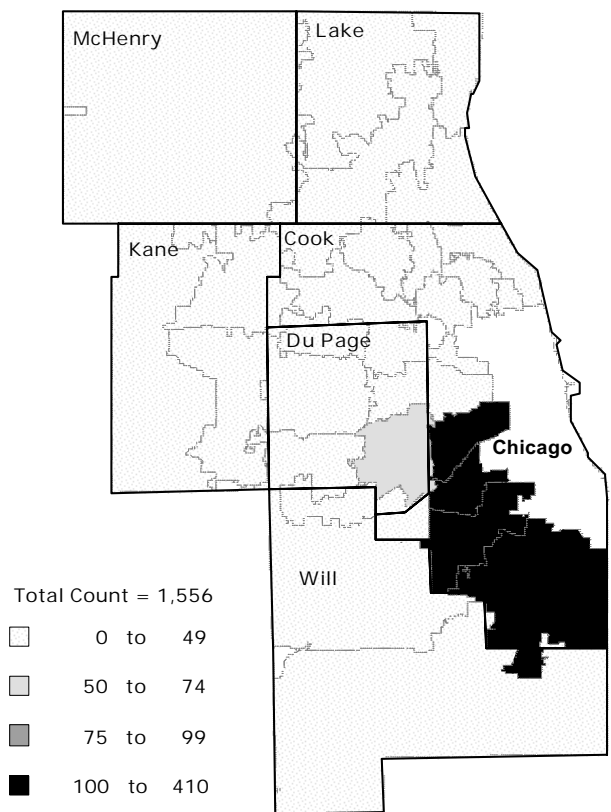
New Immigrants from Canada in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

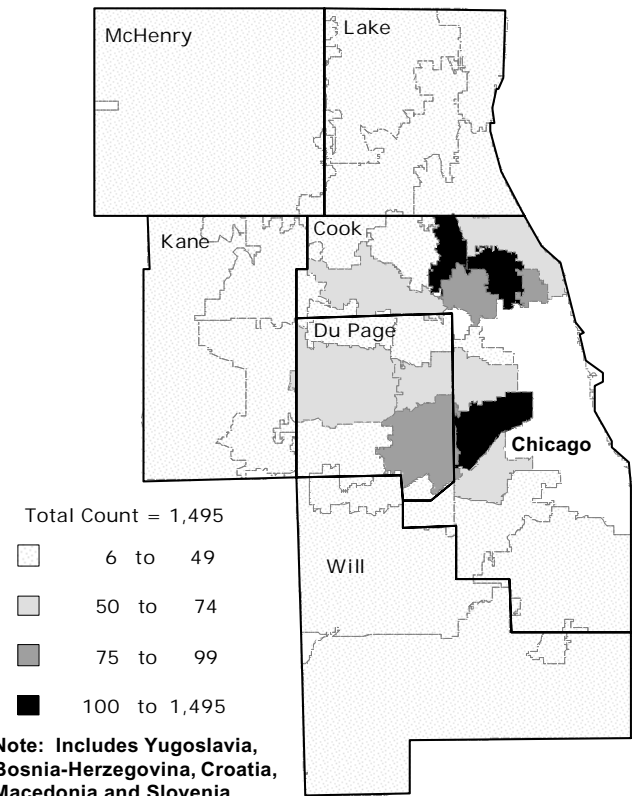
Suburban Immigrant Communities

New Immigrants from Jordan in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

New Immigrants from Former Yugoslavia
in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996

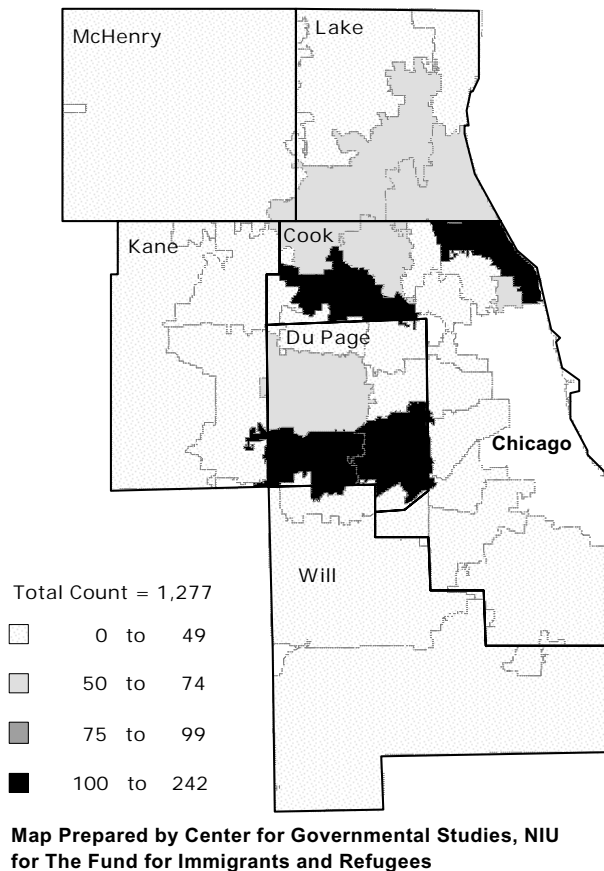


Note: Includes Yugoslavia,
Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia,
Macedonia and Slovenia

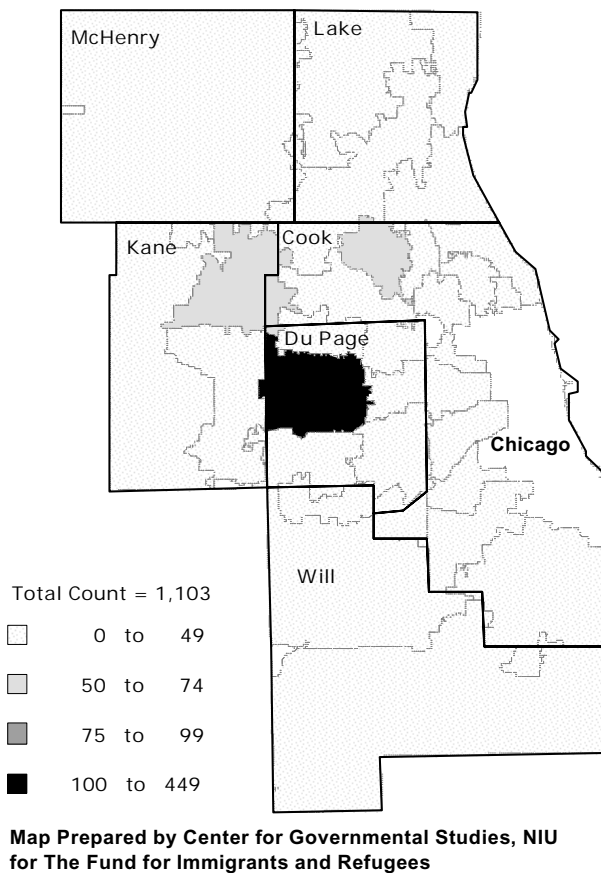
Map Prepared by Center for Governmental Studies, NIU
for The Fund for Immigrants and Refugees

Suburban Immigrant Communities

New Immigrants from Taiwan in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



New Immigrants from Vietnam in Chicago Suburbs: 1990-1996



Countries of Immigration and Top Immigrant School Districts

**Leading Sources of Legal Immigration to the Chicago
Suburbs, April 1, 1990 through September 30, 1996**

Mexico.....	17,297
India.....	15,153
Poland.....	11,374
Philippines.....	8,226
USSR (former)	5,131
Korea.....	3,013
China (inc. Hong Kong).	2,799
Pakistan.....	2,661
United Kingdom.....	1,861
Ireland.....	1,777
Canada.....	1,629
Jordan.....	1,574
Yugoslavia (former)	1,542
Taiwan.....	1,288
Vietnam.....	1,108
Japan.....	783
Jamaica.....	738
Iraq.....	698
Romania.....	692
Guatemala.....	676
Germany.....	653
Iran.....	641
Colombia.....	572
Peru.....	456
Egypt.....	444
Albania.....	425
Syria.....	397
El Salvador.....	377
Ecuador.....	353
Israel.....	340
Nigeria.....	319
Greece.....	318
Bulgaria.....	291
Thailand.....	295
Lithuania.....	281
Czechoslovakia (former).	275
Italy.....	270
Honduras.....	258
Lebanon.....	253
France.....	253
Brazil.....	250
South Africa.....	247
Kuwait.....	224
Saudi Arabia.....	223
Kenya.....	212
Australia.....	205
Turkey.....	183
Argentina.....	176
Belize.....	171
Haiti.....	155
Ghana.....	154
Bangladesh.....	150
Sweden.....	148
Paraguay.....	137
Other countries (inc. 116 nations)	3,364
Total	93,490

Source: INS Microdata Files

Average # of LEP Students in School Years 1995-1999, Top 50 Metro Chicago Districts

School District Name and Number	# Students
CICERO 99	4,851
UNIT DIST 46 [Elgin] *	4,136
WAUKEGAN UNIT 60	3,262
AURORA EAST UNIT 131	2,524
PALATINE 15	1,820
COMM 59 [Elk Grove]	1,380
COMM UNIT 300 [Dundee]	1,332
WHEELING 21	1,147
WEST CHICAGO 33	941
ROUND LAKE AREA UNIT 116 *	879
H S 214 [Arlington Heights]	877
SCHAUMBURG 54	847
JOLIET 86	691
ADDISON 4	677
DES PLAINES 62	673
MAYWOOD-MELROSE PARK-BROADVIEW	566
J S MORTON H S 201	536
COOK COUNTY 130 [Blue Island]	499
MARQUARDT 15	484
BENSENVILLE 2	467
H S 211 [Palatine]	457
NORTH SHORE 112	449
BERKELEY 87	443
COMM UNIT 200 [Wheaton]	434
MANNHEIM 83	424
GLENVIEW 34	406
BELLWOOD 88	401
MAINE H S 207	395
VILLA PARK 45	394
EVANSTON 65	392
AURORA WEST UNIT 129	377
LINCOLNWOOD 74	372
SCHILLER PARK 81	367
WOODSTOCK UNIT 200	356
HAWTHORN 73	355
EAST MAINE 63	341
BERWYN NORTH 98	330
SUMMIT 104	324
INDIAN PRAIRIE UNIT 204	317
BERWYN SOUTH 100	314
WOODLAND 50	306
BURBANK 111	304
COMM 93 [Carol Stream]	302
HARVARD UNIT 50	293
NILES H S 219	278
QUEEN BEE 16	278
RIVER TRAILS 26	256
WOODRIDGE 68	240
NAPERVILLE UNIT 203	235
DU PAGE H S 88	232

APPENDIX THREE

Partial List of Focus Groups and Informants

March 8, 2000 Community Memorial Foundation

Diane Boyer	DesPlaines Valley Community Center
Florence Forshey	DesPlaines Valley Community Center
Barbara Bernhard	Sisters of St. Joseph of LaGrange
Ann Cuneo	Community Nurse Association
Tom Perry	Community Extension Project
Beth Hamilton	Sisters of St. Joseph of LaGrange
Mary Ellen Durbin	People's Resource Center
Victoria Bigelow	Suburban Primary Health Care Council
Chris Pluta	Argo Community High School
Marbella Rodriguez	Nurse Midwives Association
Grace Hou	Chinese Mutual Aid Association

March 14, 2000 Grand Victoria Foundation

Maria Schumacher	School District U-46
Andrea Feibig	YWCA of Elgin
Trinka Waters	Community Crisis Center
Mark Nelson	Family Services Association
Edgar Andino	Sherman Hospital
Cheryl Wilkins	Centro de Informacion y Progreso
Beth Cohen	Child Welfare Center
Gilbert Feliciano	City of Elgin

March 16, 2000 Provena Hospital

Linnea Windel	Visiting Nurses Association of Fox Valley
Michael Moran	Breaking Free Family Support Center
Mary Tebean	Kane County Health Department
Theresa Heaton	Kane County Health Department
Lulu Blacksmith	Provena Mercy Center
Pamela Clemen	Mutual Ground, Inc.
Maricela Perez	St. Nicholas Church
Flor Angel LaGuardia	Catholic Charities
Maria Burnhardt	Breaking Free Family Support Center
Claudia Molina	Family Focus

April 13, 2000 Proviso Council on Aging

Elsa Figueroa	Nuevos Horizontes
Carol Garcia	College of DuPage
Sandra Morales	Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights
Kevin Weslak	Exodus World Service
Carmine Cordova	Adult Learning Resource Center

Consuelo Lazama
Horacio Esparza
Florentina Arenda
**May 9, 2000 Community Memorial
Foundation**

Nguyen Chuong
DooHwan Kim
Grace Hou
Seema Patel
Farzana Hamid

Mohammed Hamid

Other

Jeff Bartow

Dolores Ponce de Leon

Rhonda Serafin

Marilyn Sweeney

Inhe Choi

Fabio Naranjo

Dorothy Gardner

Ngoan Le

Provison Council on Aging
Progress Center
Hope Fair Housing Center

Motorola Corporation
Korean American Community Services
Chinese Mutual Aid Association
Newcomer Center
Hamdard Center for Health and Human
Services
Hamdard Center for Health and Human
Services

Interfaith Leadership Project of Berwyn,
Cicero and Stickney

Interfaith Leadership Project of Berwyn,
Cicero and Stickney

Community College District 214 Arlington
Heights

World Relief, DuPage

Crossroads Fund

MacArthur Foundation

Michael Reese Memorial Trust

Chicago Dept. of Human Services

Note: Two focus groups were held, at Triton College in River Grove and at Centro de Informacion y Cultura in Elgin, with Latino immigrants including undocumented individuals. All participants were promised anonymity in this final report.