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a case study from:

Migrant and Refugee Integration in Global Cities
The Role of Cities and Businesses

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The Hague Process
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Introduction of the Project and How to Read the Report

In collaboration with Maastricht University's Graduate School of Governance, The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration (THP) initiated a research project related to the economic and social integration of migrants and refugees in cities, focusing specifically on efforts undertaken by the private sector and city governments – both separately and in partnership – to provide protections and create greater opportunities in employment markets and communities.

The aim of this project is to ascertain how businesses and governments in eight global cities are contributing towards the integration of migrant and refugee populations, either through specialized outreach programmes, the provision of services or targeted funding of non-governmental organizations, and to what extent these contributions can be deepened or expanded. Perhaps a more important goal is to determine whether and how business and cities are currently working together to create opportunities for migrants and refugees and deepen their integration into society. If collaboration between the private and public sectors does not currently exist, the research identifies barriers and opportunities for potential partnerships.

The project consists of a number of components including a literature review highlighting the importance of urban migration flows, as well as the reality that it is at the local – increasingly city level - whereby migrants interact and experience the process of integration. In this context integration is defined at its most pragmatic, as a process in which migrants are empowered to thrive within the context of their destination – in part - with the help of a number of different local stakeholders. In addition to the literature review, fieldwork in eight countries was carried out to identify relevant stakeholders for qualitative semi-structured interviews. In total 56 interviews were conducted.

The results of the research will be released in a number of different formats. Firstly the main report - 'Migrant and Refugee Integration in Global Cities' presents an overview of the research process and draws together the key findings of the project using data gathered from all cities. It is also intended to be a repository of information for interested parties and thus the good practices and partnerships identified are presented in accordance to the policy dimension to which they are most applicable. For example, if a reader is interested in looking at what stakeholders in other cities are doing to facilitate the cultural integration of migrants, the reader can check this section for clear examples of what is happening in the cities of study.

If the reader requires further information about a good practice or wishes to understand if there are enough similarities between cities to be a viable option to consider for policy transfer, then they can consult the accompanying case study reports. These are intended to act as stand-alone reports for an audience interested in the particular case of a city. For ease of reference, the cities included in the study are: Auckland (New Zealand), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Chicago (United States), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), Lisbon (Portugal), Nairobi (Kenya), Rotterdam (The Netherlands), and São Paulo (Brazil).

Introduction

Chicago, in the State of Illinois, is one of the largest cities in the US with a population of approximately 2.7 million people, of whom around one in five can be classed as a migrant (see Table 1). Chicago is a city characterized by distinct, vibrant neighbourhoods that vary greatly in ethnicity, nationality, culture, and language. The city's diversity and subsequent ethnic neighbourhoods have grown with and through the arrival of new immigrants, with the largest ethnic enclaves being home to groups such as Asians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Poles. The city's strong economy and history as a welcoming, so-called "sanctuary city" attracted and continues to attract newcomers each year.

Chicago has a comprehensive integration plan known as the New Americans Plan, initiated by current Mayor Rahm Emanuel and his Office of New Americans, created in 2012 and one of the first of its kind at municipal level in the United States. The office aims to make Chicago the world's "most immigrant-friendly city" and help immigrants integrate more quickly (via activities such as learning English, home-ownership, youth education success and community support). The Office is dedicated to improving services and engaging Chicago's global immigrant communities through enhanced cooperation with community organizations, academic institutions and the private sector.

Table 1. Key statistics Illinois and Chicago

	Illinois	Chicago
Size (km²)	150,010	366.334975
Population	12,830,632	2,695,598
Migrant Population	13.5%	21%
Refugee Population	23,220	n/a

Source: Census, 2010; ACF, 2000-2012.

Migration History

Chicago has a long history of accepting migrants and immigrants have shaped its framework and growth from the very beginning. Between 1870 and 1900 Chicago grew from a city of 300,000 to nearly 1.7 million. Chicago's flourishing economy attracted huge numbers of new immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe; Germans, Irish Catholic and Italians being the most notable (LeMay, 2012).

Beginning in the 1940s, waves of Hispanic immigrants began to arrive, the largest numbers coming from Mexico and Puerto Rico, as well as Central and South America. Following the 1965 changes to U.S. immigration laws, many Asian immigrants came, particularly well-educated Indians and Chinese. As early as 1900, Chicago had long been an official U.S. port of entry, and 77.6 per cent of its population was either foreign-born or born to foreign parentage (ICIRR, 2011). Thus,

Chicago’s long history with migrants has likely influenced its current positive approach toward migrant integration.

Through a 1985 mayoral executive order, Chicago declared itself a “sanctuary city” for migrants and refugees and throughout the following decades worked to reaffirm this title (The Chicago Council, 2011). Since then, Chicago has used its sanctuary city status as a way to attract great numbers of immigrants, in order to sustain its workforce and expand its economy, particularly with Latino immigrants.

From 1990 to 2009, the foreign-born population in the state rose from 952,000 to 1.74 million (83 per cent), causing Illinois’ immigrant population to rise to 13.5 per cent. Over one quarter of immigrants (28.4 per cent) arrived in 2000 or after; 59.9 per cent arrived in 1990 or later. Immigrants accounted for 55 per cent of the growth of Illinois from 1990 to 2009. Illinois also ranks among the top six receiving states for immigrants, following California, New York, Florida, Texas, and New Jersey (ICIRR, 2011).

According to the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR), the top ten countries represented in Chicago’s immigrant population are: Mexico, Poland, China, the Philippines, India, Ecuador, Guatemala, Ukraine, Korea, and Iraq. Over half of all immigrants in Chicago are from Latin America (56.2 per cent), with the vast majority being from Mexico (45 per cent of the total immigrant population). Asians make up just over 20 per cent of Chicago’s immigrant population, while 18.9 per cent of immigrants are European, with eight per cent of this group being Polish (ICIRR, 2011).

Chicago’s Latino population has grown steadily from 1990 to 2010 and is significantly the largest minority in Chicago. In recent years, the Asian population in Chicago is the fastest growing group at 36.6 per cent and Latinos in second place at 29.4 per cent.

Table 2. Regional population by race/ethnicity

	1990	2000	2010	% Change 2000-2010
Total	7,300,589	8,146,264	8,431,386	3.5%
Asian NL	242,642	375,993	513,694	36.6%
Black NL	1,406,648	1,537,534	1,465,417	-4.7%
Latino	838,710	1,409,202	1,823,609	29.4%
White NL	4,795,120	4,687,259	4,486,557	-4.3%
Other NL	17,469	136,276	142,109	4.3%

Note: “NL” means “Non-Latino”

Source: “What Does the 2010 Census Tell Us About Metropolitan Chicago?” Prepared by Rob Paral and Associates for The Chicago Community Trust, May 2011. Retrieved and reproduced from: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2011

While hosting a diverse population, many migrant communities can be found in specific areas of the city. The majority of Latinos in Chicago reside in the Southwest of the city in the Little Village and Pilsen neighbourhoods. However, they are also scattered across the city in smaller Latino enclaves. Little Village, Pilsen, Albany Park and the suburb of Blue Island have particularly high concentrations of Mexican immigrants and have been cited by city officials as crucial hub areas, in which immigrants have fostered and sustained economic growth (The Chicago Council, 2011).

Eastern Europeans are most commonly found on the Northwest side (Irving Park, Albany Park, and Rosemont) with Polish immigrants representing the majority. Chicago is second only to the city of Warsaw in the size of its Polish population. Yet sizeable minorities of Romanians, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Russians and Serbs reflect a diversification in migration from Eastern Europe.

A third area – geographically centred along Devon Avenue on the North side – boasts a vibrant and rapidly expanding Indian, Pakistani and South Asian community with abundant with immigrant-owned businesses, money services, restaurants and grocery shops. Furthermore, south of Chicago’s downtown (“Loop”) is home to the long-established and thriving Chinatown; but a newer trend on the Northwest side around Albany Park has emerged to host a growing community of Korean, Thai and Vietnamese immigrants. Traditionally, African migrants have settled on the African-American dominated South side but some pockets have emerged on the upper North side (particularly Eritrean and Ethiopian). Chicago also has a growing Muslim population, with over 200 large and small mosques with over 40 languages spoken (Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, 2012).

Today, Chicago is still actively encouraging migration to the city, as reflected in Mayor Rahm Emanuel’s New American’s Initiative. As the Chicago Council stated in 2011, “It is our belief, our conviction, that immigrants play an integral role in each of the dimensions that make a city globally competitive and are therefore key to Chicago’s future as a top-tier global city” (2011).

Approximately 44 per cent of Illinois’ immigrants are citizens, with long-established groups from Europe being “the most likely to become naturalized, [and] the lowest rate of naturalization among the Mexican population” (Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, 2012, p. 7). The Chicago Council on Global Affairs (2011) stated that “looking locally, nearly 20 per cent of the Chicago region’s residents are foreign born,” meaning that nearly one in every eight persons in Chicago is an immigrant citizen.

Policy Framework

Immigration law in the United States is determined at federal level. However, individual states as well as municipalities have chosen to take various actions in terms of passing legislation as well as enforcement. Some states have worked “around” federal legislation to grant identity cards and driving licenses to irregular migrants, as well as to grant irregular youth in-state tuition fees. This

patchwork enforcement is, however, one of the main reasons that a comprehensive federal immigration reform (SB-744) is currently involved in a major battle at congressional level. As such, many elements of the immigration framework fall under state and municipal responsibility, by default.

At federal level, the United States has very few targeted programmes to assist newcomers; those that do exist target areas such as language, civics, employment and housing. Due to the fact that the U.S. lacks a coherent immigration policy, it is not surprising that it also lacks developed integration policies. Currently, only resettled refugees benefit from a dedicated integration policy through government agencies and NGOs, coordinated by the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (Migrant Integration Policy Index 2013). New Americans Initiatives and Offices have somewhat improved access to language, civic and employment training in the more proactive states such as New York, Florida, Washington, Massachusetts and Illinois. However, in general, the majority of legal immigrants benefit from only a few scattered, federally-funded programmes on learning English and workforce development (MIPEX 2013). Thus, in the absence of federal or state integration policies, families and immigrant communities have played the primary role of integrating new Americans.

The United States is signatory to or has ratified some of the international treaties regarding human rights. The U.S. has ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) as well as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966). It is a signatory (but has not ratified) the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The United States has neither signed nor ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990). It is not a signatory to any regional conventions, such as various European or African Conventions.

Tables 3 and 4 summarize the federal and state normative legal framework for immigration and refugees in the United States.

Table 3. U.S. federal immigration & refugee legislation 1950–2013

Law	Description
Immigration and Nationality Act 1952/ 1965 (INA)	INA provides the foundation for U.S. immigration law; passed in 1952 and has been amended several times since; INA discontinued quotas based on national origin, while preference was given to those who have U.S. relatives; Mexican immigration restricted for first time.

Refugee Act (1980)	Provided permanent and systematic procedure for the admission of refugees that are of special humanitarian concern to the United States, as well as to provide comprehensive and systematic provisions for the effective resettlement and integration of those refugees granted asylum.
Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) 1986	IRCA granted a path to citizenship to illegal immigrants who had been in the United States before 1982 but made it a crime to hire an illegal immigrant.
Immigration Act 1990	1990 increased the total immigration limit to 700,000 and increased visas by 40 per cent. Family reunification was retained as the main immigration criterion, with significant increases in employment-related immigration.
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) (1996)	IIRIRA made drastic changes to asylum law, immigration detention, criminal-based immigration, and many forms of immigration relief; Phone verification for worker authentication by employers; Access to welfare benefits more difficult for legal aliens; Increased border enforcement.
Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act (2002)	Provided for more Border Patrol agents; Requires that schools report foreign students attending classes; Stipulates that foreign nationals in the US will be required to carry IDs with biometric technology
Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) (2012)	Legislation that directs U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to allow prosecutorial discretion to defer deportation towards some individuals who immigrated illegally to the U.S. as minor children.
Proposed Federal Legislation	DREAM Act (2001–2010) H.R. 4437 (2005) McCain–Kennedy (2005) Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act 2006 Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act 2007 Uniting American Families Act (2000–2013) Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013

Sources: ICIRR, MPI 2013

Although immigration reform at federal level remains uncertain, individual states continue to push through record levels of immigrant-related legislation.

State legislatures have enacted over 230 laws and adopted 131 resolutions in 48 states, for a total of 353 laws and resolutions nationwide. The top areas of interest are identification and driver's

licenses (46 laws enacted), followed by health (28) and education (27). Human trafficking laws tripled, and health and education laws doubled in 2009 compared to 2008 (MPI, 2013). Twelve resolutions urge Congress to: support funding; expedite naturalizations; change requirements for enhanced driver's licenses; promote travel to the United States; permanently extend E-verify; address delays at ports of entry on the Texas-Mexican border; and grant waivers for an employer sponsored work programme. For example, Illinois became the fifth and most recent state to issue driver's licenses to undocumented drivers and also prohibits state and local government from requiring employers to use E-verify¹.

Immigration legislation cannot be enacted at a municipal level, so cities have limited discretion in terms of changes to the legal framework. Efforts to decentralize policymaking and enforcement in this area have led, in some cases, to the possibility of cities and state agencies opting to assist the federal government. Cities may also enact legislation in areas that, although not taken into consideration under the immigration framework, do affect the lives of immigrants and refugees at local level and may assist their integration. For example, in 1985, through mayoral Executive Order, Chicago declared itself a “sanctuary city” for migrants to encourage equal access to benefits, opportunities, employment, services and business licenses for all persons residing in the City of Chicago (regardless of nationality or citizenship) and has been subsequently striving to maintain this (Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2011). When the US Congress outlawed sanctuary policies in 1996 under the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, Chicago refused to enforce the new regulations and continued to instruct its employees not to notify the federal government of the presence of unauthorized immigrants living in their communities or seeking services (CCGA 2011).

In 2006—a time when many other states around the country, including Illinois, were introducing stricter immigration policies—the Chicago City Council reinforced the mayor's 1985 order by making it official city law. In 2006, Chicago's City Council voted to bar police and city workers from asking immigrants about their legal status in the U.S.; a step matched by other big cities responding to broadening federal arrests of illegal immigrants residing in the country.

Methodology

The sample for Chicago was achieved through web searches, literature reviews and referrals from respondents and interviewees. Because the Office of the New Americans (ONA) initiatives engage with varying actors throughout the city, it was important to contact as diverse a sample as possible. Initially purposive sampling was used, intended to reach people with ‘insider’ information that would assist in answering the research questions. Once initial contacts had been made, snowball

¹ E-Verify is an Internet-based system that compares information from an employee's Form I-9, Employment Eligibility Verification, to data from U.S. Department of Homeland Security and Social Security Administration records to confirm employment eligibility. For more information see: <http://www.uscis.gov/e-verify/what-e-verify>

sampling did occur as respondents were asked to name other potential interview respondents. In particular, the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR) provided key information on further contacts.

The response rate for Chicago was relatively high, particularly once contact had been made via telephone as a follow-up to an informational email with the basic overview of the project. Furthermore, the researcher’s physical location, directly in the city, and ability to conduct live interview and local phone calls proved advantageous.

In total eight qualitative, semi-structured interviews were completed via Skype or conducted in person. Policy makers included the Office of New Americans, the City Colleges of Chicago and a policy consultant for the mayor’s office. Practitioners include ICIRR, buildOn Chicago and three employees at a Chicago Public Library branch. Business is represented by a board member of Illinois Business Immigration Coalition (IBIC) and a KPMG Latino Network task force member.

Table 4. Response rates for Chicago

City	Contacted	Replies	Rejections	Non-replies	Interviewed	Interview response rate
Chicago	34	24	2	10	8	33%

Respondents were generally receptive; however representatives from business and industry tended to be less responsive and often replied with hesitation, although relevant enough for the project. Unfortunately no responses were received from bar associations, pro-bono legal services or financial service organizations targeting immigrants. Furthermore, all attempts at arranging an interview with representatives from McDonald’s “English under the Arches” programme proved unsuccessful.

Additionally, one of the respondents decided to withdraw their interview after the data had been collected, due to personal reasons. Therefore, in order to maintain the confidentiality agreement, all statements made by this respondent that could not be corroborated by other sources were removed from the results presented in this study.

Table 5: Sample size by category in Chicago

Respondent Type	Number of Interviews
Policy Maker/Municipal Administrator	3 (1 discounted)
Practitioners	3
Businesses	1

Civil Society	1
Total	8

Findings

The charts below depict the systematization of the main results from the policy review and interviews. Table 6 categorizes the programmes and services offered by the interviewed institutions aimed at facilitating the integration of migrants and refugees. The table follows the policy dimensions determined for this study: social, cultural and religious, legal, political, and economic.

In Chicago, a total of 28 initiatives were mapped through the interviews with the various actors engaged in migrant and refugee integration. Table 6 shows that the stakeholders are evenly distributed across the dimensions (in each dimension, n=3). However, the social dimension is the one with the highest number of initiatives (n=7), followed by the political dimension (n=6). In the political dimension, lobbying and advocacy at a federal level were mentioned by two of the stakeholders: a business (IBIC) and a practitioner (ICIRR). The cultural, legal, and economic dimensions present the same number of initiatives (n=5). Under the cultural dimension, the stakeholders focus mainly on raising awareness about diversity through the organization of cultural events. As for the legal dimension, migrants and refugees are offered information on citizenship, as well as pro bono legal counselling. Finally, regarding the economic dimension, the focus lies on providing migrant groups with training courses and promoting entrepreneurship.

Table 7 lists and describes all of the partnerships identified throughout the interviews.

Table 6. Policies, programmes and services provided to facilitate the integration of migrants and refugees according to policy dimensions retrieved from interviews in Chicago

Typology	Stakeholder	Social	Cultural	Legal	Political	Economic
Policy-maker	Office of the New Americans (ONA)	Schooling Intercultural training for service providers and law makers	Cultural events	Citizenship info centres, documentation counselling	Voter registration, Promotion of citizenship	Training for immigrant entrepreneurs, assistance with business licensing
	ICIRR	Advocacy for healthcare, legal counsel, housing	Cultural events, rallies, rights awareness	Basic legal assistance; networks to pro-bono legal services	Advocacy and lobbying at state and federal level; get-out-the-vote-campaigns	Advisory and training for corporations (such as McDonald's Corp)
Business Representative	IBIC	-	-	Expansion of H-1B visas for highly-skilled employees	Advocacy for U.S. immigration reform; promoting sensible immigration laws for business and communities	Expansion of immigrant entrepreneurship, increase in immigrant business revenue, increase foreign-born share of business ownership
	McDonald's Corporation (member)	Intercultural training, ESL courses, management training courses	Cultural awareness events			

Table 7. Partnerships for migrant and refugee integration programmes and/or services obtained from the interviews in Chicago

Stakeholder	Partner	Typology of partner	Benefit / Service	Description of Partnership	Established
ICIRR (NGO)	Office of New Americans(ONA)	Public	Citizenship info Services Training	Some services outsourced to ICIRR Steering Committee Advisory Technical Support	2011
	Legal Offices	Private	Pro-bono services	Service outsourced	-
	Healthcare Providers	Private	Info, training	Service outsourced	-
	Faith-based organizations	Civil society	Childcare, food banks, counselling, cultural events		
	Member NGOs	Civil society	Dialogue, cultural events, advocacy	Membership/steering committees	-
	McDonald's Corp.	Private	Training services ESL courses	Training, funding	2008
buildOn Chicago (NGO)	CPS (Chicago Public Schools)	Public	Joint-programmes	Service projects, internships	
	Community centres, senior centres	Public, Civil Society	Joint-service	Service projects	
	Corporations (GE, Xerox)	Business	Funding, tech support, GE provides offices	Annual events/fundraisers, donorship	
	Listen Up Español Radio	Business	Funding for schools in Pilsen	Direct funding of schools	
	ONA	Public	Basic funding, advisory	Seminar workshops	

IBIC	ICIRR	Civil society	Advocacy, Advisory, workshops, press releases	Steering committee	
Illinois Business Immigration Coalition (Business/Civil Society)	The Chicago Council on Global Affairs	Civil Society	Seminars, workshops, advisory	Steering committee, fundraising	
	Sinai Health System	Private	Advocacy	Steering committee, healthcare fair	
	Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce	Public	Advocacy	Steering committee, events	
	ONA	Public	Training, workshops	Communication, working groups	
	Office of the Mayor	Public		Communication, working groups	
	Illinois Technology Association	Civil Society	Advocacy, training, workshops	Steering committee, fundraising, events	
City Colleges Chicago (Public)	Neighbourhood Chambers of Commerce	Public	Training	ESL and GED courses, info sessions	-
	ONA	Public	Advisory		2011
	City of Chicago	Public	Training, events, funding	Funding, “College to Careers” Programme	-
	ICIRR	Civil society	Advisory, intercultural training	Steering Committees, ICIRR pushed for neighbourhood satellite campuses	-

Municipality

Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel announced the goal of making Chicago the “most immigrant-friendly city in the world.” In 2011, he created the Office of New Americans (ONA) with the goal of identifying challenges unique to immigrants, recommending initiatives to be implemented over the next three years and developing implementation plans for the Office of New Americans and its partners.

As such, the city of Chicago has a broad, ambitious and semi-coordinated integration framework that represents one of the first of its kind at municipal level in the United States. The ONA hopes to better welcome immigrants and maximize the contribution they make to the city of Chicago as well as to help immigrants enter the mainstream more quickly (through initiatives such as learning English, promoting home-ownership, youth education success and community support). The ONA is dedicated to improving services and engaging Chicago’s global immigrant communities through enhanced cooperation with community organizations, academic institutions and the private sector. Specifically, the plan “recommends a broad array of new programmes and initiatives, which are designed to improve the day-to-day lives of immigrants while promoting Chicago’s economic growth and cultural vitality” (The New Americans Plan, 2012). Through the ONA, Chicago is able to identify and tries to address the specific obstacles that Chicago immigrants face, both as a whole and within targeted populations.

Each of the New Americans Plan’s 26 initiatives strives to integrate migrants in a different aspect, specifically: *growth*: Initiatives here focus on the economic advantages that migrants bring to Chicago, and how Chicago can harness this potential to both help the city at large and the migrant population. This includes initiatives to increase exports from immigrant-owned businesses, promote small businesses, strengthen local Chambers of Commerce and create pop-up city services through them for immigrant business owners, and promote tourism in immigrant neighbourhoods; *youth*: initiatives here focus on the specific challenges of cultivating a successful atmosphere for the city’s first or second generation migrant youth, such as initiatives to improve early education, encourage youth participation in summer enrichment programmes/internships and support undocumented child migrant arrivals; *communities*: initiatives here focus on fully integrating migrant populations into the community at large, through adapting public services and social programmes to better address migrant needs; *education*: ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes, create centres where immigrants can access a wider variety of services, and expand a campaign to naturalize more immigrants.

Education for the immigrant population is recognized as an extremely crucial element of the ONA plan. The mayor’s office and the ONA work closely with the City Colleges of Chicago, a network of community colleges that primarily train minority and immigrant students for associate’s degrees in high-demand fields. According to a spokeswoman for the City Colleges of Chicago, the network is made up of seven schools and 127,516 students. Through the urging of the ONA, as well as the advocacy of groups such as the ICIRR, City Colleges have, set up satellite campuses to directly serve ethnic and minority neighbourhoods and build more trust among the migrant communities. These

satellites also offer ESOL and Adult Basic Education (GED) courses to help advance career paths of needy residents. City Colleges never ask students to disclose their documentation status. The ONA's One Summer Chicago programme enrolls 18,000 youths each summer for a summer enrichment programme to develop professional, technical, and leadership skills.

The ONA is also working with the Chicago Public School (CPS) system to streamline the process of documenting undocumented students' academic success (report cards, diplomas, etc.), while informing school guidance and career counsellors about the unique approaches they must take with undocumented students. This is in line with the Illinois DREAM Act, which ensures that all undocumented students will receive in-state university tuition rates, as well as access to a special scholarship fund just for them. BuildOn Chicago is a non-profit organization supported by both the city, as well as corporate sponsors such as General Electric and Xerox, that works directly within the CPS system to encourage student service within their own communities, as well as with other students throughout the CPS system

Chicago's Office of New Americans and its embedded initiatives to make Chicago the world's most immigrant-friendly city clearly demonstrate its commitment to immigrant needs and integration policies. However, it is important to keep in mind that the mere existence of the ONA and its 26-point plan does not *necessarily* guarantee success or better quality of the immigrant experience. It represents a crucial step and framework – one of its kind in the United States – but the reality on the ground and in the neighbourhoods must be critically examined.

The Office of New Americans relies heavily on a number of partnerships with other organizations, the CPS system, healthcare facilities and Chambers of Commerce to carry out their initiatives on the ground. It depends heavily on collaborations and pathways *already in place* – tapping into existing services rather than creating new ones. Budgetary and personnel constraints at a municipal level would greatly hinder any major additions to public services for immigrants.

Therefore, civil society organizations, faith-based institutions, neighbourhood Chambers of Commerce, and NGOs such as the Illinois Coalition on Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR) work in partnership with the Office of New Americans to implement integration policies. The ONA coordinates its 26 initiatives with its partners and relies on them to carry out specific initiatives to integrate the immigrant community into Chicago. These include a so-called “Chamber University” that brings together over 70 Chicago Chambers of Commerce to provide training on how to promote migrant businesses more effectively in their neighbourhoods. Furthermore, ONA works closely with World Business Chicago, the Chicago Council for Global Affairs, and the Illinois Business Immigration Coalition (IBIC), to launch initiatives to promote small and mid-sized immigrant businesses and their export revenues for the city.

For example, one of the ONA plan's initiative involves setting up citizenship “pop-up” centres throughout the city to provide citizenship, documentation and voter registration information. These centres target the city's public libraries and will train library

employees to take on these services. However, public libraries are at the same time understaffed and underfunded, with many reducing their opening hours and general library services. Thus, as far as the libraries are concerned, these “pop-up centres” consist of a few stacks of pamphlets on citizenship and ESOL courses, on a shelf in the library. It remains unclear how able and how willing library staff will be to provide citizenship services and migrant assistance.

Another crucial actor within the city of Chicago’s integration framework is the Illinois Coalition for Immigration and Refugee Rights (ICIRR). In fact, ICIRR is arguably a much more powerful, connected and able promoter of immigrants’ rights and needs than even the ONA and the New Americans Plan. The ICIRR is involved in nearly every action, advocacy movement, training, immigrant services project, immigrant healthcare promotion, pro-bono legal initiatives, citizenship training and services, immigrant direct counselling and crisis hotline.

During an interview with the ICIRR it was revealed that the creation of the Office of the New Americans as well as the 26-point initiative was the result of years of lobbying at a municipal level. The election of a new mayor and the immigrant support of the Obama campaign paved the way for the successful creation of this new office. Even the appointment of the ONA director was based on the recommendations of the ICIRR.

The ICIRR is critical for the immigrant and refugee framework of the city as well as the state. This umbrella organization –with over 140 member organizations – acts as a focal point for nearly all immigrant and refugee issues that involve the city. Through interviews it became clear that the ICIRR is truly the one source with a true understanding of the policymakers, stakeholders, initiatives, advocacy networks, and legislative frameworks in Chicago. The ONA defers and delegates nearly all initiatives to the ICIRR. In 2012 the ICIRR directly implemented a Citizenship Fair sponsored by the ONA, as well as several other city-sponsored initiatives.

Businesses

One of the most important initiatives by a business to promote migrant integration is the McDonald’s Corporation “English Under The Arches” programme in Chicago. This programme, which was created with the involvement of the ICIRR, constitutes a unique literacy initiative that teaches English as a second language to shift managers and select employees to help them so they can advance successfully up the corporate ladder in the McDonald’s Corporation. Their instructional model includes traditional classroom instruction, teacher-led classes via web-conferencing, independent computer-based learning and on-the-job practice.

The Illinois State Library Literacy Office’s Workplace Skills Enhancement programme awarded a grant to The Center: Resources for Teaching and Learning in Chicago to use this model to train McDonald’s employees from Joliet, Northbrook, Chicago, Crystal Lake and Aurora in one class. Local restaurants do not have enough

employees at one location to provide a class on-site, so this model provides training to several employers in one grouping. About 80 per cent of the restaurants are franchises, so the training needs of multiple employers are met at one time.

With stronger English language communication skills, participants will have increased opportunity to advance their careers. In 2013 the Workplace Skills Enhancement grant held the course “Shift Basics,” which provided eight weeks of introductory English based on the vocabulary needed to work at McDonald’s. A class to improve writing skills also allowed employees to use the in-store communication system.

The employees’ increased English proficiency help the restaurants provide more effective operations and better customer satisfaction while increasing profits. On a personal level, the employees’ improved English skills help them outside of work.

The “English under the Arches” programme has proven an award-winning success that tackles integration of its immigrant employees directly, but avoids the political controversy by focusing on the English language aspects rather than other settlement issues. This way it avoids complaints that it favours immigrants over native-born employees. This model could be transferable across borders, cities and towns as McDonalds’ global reach and employee profile make it a critical player when it comes to immigrant issues.

Partnerships

Across Illinois and in the city of Chicago, political leaders, educational institutions, businesses and rights’ advocates recognize the importance of immigrant entrepreneurs in their communities. Public and private-sector groups across the city and state have launched business ‘incubators’ for immigrant entrepreneurs, sponsored networking opportunities with local employers and helped skilled immigrants translate their foreign credentials to maximize their economic potential in the United States (Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2013).

Some of the most extensive partnerships between the city and businesses are aided by third-party organizations or NGOs. The New Americans Plan’s first initiative is to collaborate with World Business Chicago (WBC), a not-for-profit organization whose mission is to “lead Chicago’s business retention, attraction and expansion efforts and raise the city’s position as a premier global business destination” (World Business Chicago). Together, WBC and Chicago are launching initiatives to double the number of exports by small and medium enterprises (many of which are immigrant-owned) by 2017 (The New Americans Plan, 2012).

Other collaborative projects between the city and businesses include: “Choose Chicago,” the city’s official tourism branch, which works with immigrant neighbourhoods to develop a marketing strategy to actively promote neighbourhoods to tourists; the City Colleges of Chicago, which – among many other initiatives – are developing a plan to provide credit for prior education received in countries of origin to help immigrant

students transition to professional careers; and the “Chamber University,” an organization created to coordinate and inform immigrant small business owners about the services the city of Chicago can provide to make their businesses more efficient, sustainable, and profitable (The New Americans Plan, 2012).

The Illinois Business Immigration Coalition (IBIC) seeks to promote sensible immigration reform that support the economic recovery of Illinois, provide Illinois companies with both the high-skilled and low-skilled talent they need, and allow the integration of immigrants into our economy as consumers, workers, entrepreneurs and citizens. Mayor Emanuel hosted the opening launch in April 2013, stating: “It’s time to put partisanship aside and focus on the economic contributions that immigrants have made throughout our history. We all agree that immigration doesn’t just promote our values; it creates value for our businesses, our residents and our communities and I want to thank the Illinois Business Immigration Coalition for demonstrating that what is ethically right for Chicago’s families is also economically smart for our businesses and residents” (*Chicago Tribune*, 4/14/2013)

The IBIC represents a growing and diverse set (over 200 members in total) of businesses, business associations and industry leaders to promote sensible, comprehensive federal immigration reform to benefit the people and economy of Illinois and the city of Chicago. IBIC is a unique coalition that brings together stakeholders from diverse sectors – high-skilled and low-skilled, large corporations and small businesses – in a successful push for sensible immigration reform alongside elected officials and immigrant advocates. The goal is to provide a strong and effective voice for Illinois businesses in the national immigration conversation and to urge elected officials to vote in favour of the economy and the communities by supporting comprehensive, sensible immigration reform at the federal level (SB-744). Steering committee members leverage their position as business and civic leaders to promote the message that comprehensive federal immigration reform is the right path forward.

The IBIC is in a not-for-profit partnership with ICIRR, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs Immigration Task Force, Sinai Health Systems, Illinois Technology Association and Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce.

BuildOn Chicago is a non-profit organization that works directly with and through the Chicago Public School system. Though they receive some city support, their primary donors are well-known corporations (such as General Electric), as well as donors in countries from where the migrants originate. For example, one of buildOn’s major funders is a radio station in Mexico City, “Listen up! Español” and their contributions are earmarked directly for students in the Latino area of Pilsen.

BuildOn helps integrate students into their own neighbourhoods as well as throughout the city, through service work and summer internships. For many of the immigrant and refugee students this provides the chance to practice their English skills and meet students from various parts of the city that they would otherwise never come into contact with.

Mayor Emanuel has created the “College to Careers” Programme, an initiative to form partnerships between City Colleges, businesses and organizational partners to compel the creation of jobs in growing fields and help increase the competitiveness of Chicago’s businesses. Moreover, employers, not the City Colleges, will design the curriculum for the healthcare and transportation programmes. The “College to Careers” Programme will primarily benefit minority and immigrant students, as these are the main attendees of city colleges. The programme’s direct link with local businesses serves both their needs for qualified entry-level employees and interns as well as providing high-needs students with a chance to start their career path.

As part of the New Americans Small Business Series organized directly by the ONA, Mayor Emanuel launched a series of workshops to train and promote the creation and expansion of small businesses among the immigrant communities. Under this initiative, four workshops will be held annually (one approximately every three months), to train immigrant small businessmen and women and guide them how to access available local, state and federal resources. "Today, we want to be sure that the next generation of immigrants can achieve their dreams, support their families, create jobs in the neighbourhoods and help the city define its future," Mayor Emanuel said (*Chicago Tribune*, 3/15/2012). Several elected Latino officials joined Emanuel, among them Congressman Luis Gutierrez, who emphasized the benefits the city receives by investing in its immigrants.

Additionally, a donation of \$25,000 from Western Union to the private Illinois DREAM fund was announced, to be used for providing scholarships to undocumented students to pursue their college studies. Western Union will also finance the workshops through the New Americans Office and the Department of Business Affairs and Consumer Protection, to train immigrants in how to open a business, make their way through the licensing process, comply with fiscal laws and interact with Chambers of Commerce.

Conclusion

Chicago’s involvement in migrant integration is quite extensive. Its comprehensive approach to migration through the New Americans Plan outlines 26 migrant integration initiatives that it aims to achieve by 2015. In doing so, it coordinates policy makers, policy implementers, business leaders, immigrant advocates, and NGOs to achieve its goals. The city’s approach to migrant integration is both extremely active and collaborative. It seeks both reform as well as launching new ideas through an array of actors to meet immigrant needs that would otherwise remain unaddressed due to various constraints, such as lack of resources, time, or manpower.

Chicago acts as a generator for immigrant advocacy for the state of Illinois, as a whole. In one of the interviews with a Pastor of a migrant-dominated Catholic Parish, who is also on the board of the Illinois Business Immigrant Coalition (IBIC), it was revealed just

how crucial the community organizers from Chicago had been in the passage of SB-957 (driver's licenses for the undocumented). Without a broad and coordinated network of influential advocates, this bill would never have been successfully passed.

However, despite the extensive efforts and initiatives taking place throughout the city's framework, much of these are characterized by limited communication and little sharing of information or updates. For example, during interviews the researcher found it difficult to cross-check information, as respondents were often unaware of other initiatives taking place in the city. It was perceived that the ICIRR acts as a main, and possibly only, central reference point at the municipal level with a clear and precise overview of what organizations, schools, community organizations, library programmes or parishes are doing to promote immigrant and refugee integration. Furthermore, within the area of integration, there is an overwhelming sense of arbitrary measures taking place. Most initiatives seem to be carried out independently of each other in a piecemeal way. In fact, the Office of the New Americans seems to defer and delegate most ideas and projects to the ICIRR, local Chambers of Commerce or other city bodies, such as public libraries. This is perhaps not surprising, since little integration infrastructure exists.

Most importantly for this study perhaps: businesses do play a muted role in promoting and/or funding certain integration programmes, but it is usually done through a "third channel" rather than a direct partnership. The U.S. political landscape is extremely polarized when it comes to immigrant issues – this renders direct advocacy and support on behalf of the private sector extremely difficult. Many corporations support immigrant integration programmes indirectly, in two ways. First of all, some arrange a partnership through use of a third party, such as a Foundation or joint venture; others donate to an initiative that does not *explicitly* target immigrant groups, but rather the low-income sector as a whole – though for all intents and purposes nearly all of the beneficiaries are immigrants. This way, however, they avoid the political fallout of "catering" to immigrants rather than the native population.

For example, General Electric (GE) is a major global corporation that has its own arm for charitable initiatives, the GE Foundation. The GE Foundation does not directly foster any initiatives that deal specifically with immigrants or refugees. However, the interview with buildOn Chicago, an NGO that works directly with the Chicago Public Schools to foster integration within the children's own neighbourhoods revealed that GE is one of the major corporate sponsors of buildOn Chicago, although less in direct funding than in providing offices, supplies and books. But GE's partnership with buildOn remains muted and generally unknown, although without their support, buildOn would probably not exist. Although buildOn focuses on low-income students, this almost exclusively filters down to either African American students or students with migrant backgrounds.

Another example is the support for the programmes offered with the Chicago Public Libraries. Over 50 of the neighbourhood libraries offer either ESOL classes or provide afterschool programmes, primarily for immigrant and refugee children. During the interview, it was possible to observe the afterschool programme at the Mayfair branch.

Nearly 80 students showed up for the three-hour session and many had parents with them. As far as could be observed, all of the students were bilingual with migrant background and most of their parents could not speak English. The group was diverse – Latino, Afghani, Pakistanis, Indians, Koreans and Thais – and while the children received homework help the parents were receiving assistance about where to turn to for administrative needs, city services, etc., which was difficult as most had a very limited command of English. The librarian explained that they often end up connecting parents to city social workers, for assistance. Interestingly, these programmes seem to be carried out more ad hoc throughout the library system and although they are cited in the New Americans Plan, they are generally not funded by the city, but rather through a private foundation, the “Chicago Library Foundation,” which in turn is funded by private sector donors such as Kraft Foods, Motorola and the Crown Foundation.

It is unclear how transferable Chicago’s integration policies would be to other cities. Currently, Chicago is in close collaboration with several other cities in the United States and Canada also greatly affected by migrant populations (New York City, Miami, Los Angeles, Detroit, Toronto, Vancouver and others), but these cities are fairly similar to Chicago in terms of history, business climate, and government structure. It does not seem unreasonable to be doubtful that current successful integration practices in Chicago would fail in other parts of the world – especially in developing areas – because their migration demographics would almost certainly be greatly dissimilar and their infrastructure would likely not be comparable with Chicago’s.

However, there are many good practices in Chicago that other cities could learn from. Chicago’s understanding and willingness to use migration for both the city’s and the inhabitants’ advantage is apparent in both its business and social policies. Its comprehensive New Americans Plan lays a clear vision for Chicago migrant integration, as it is placed at the forefront of the mayoral agenda and thoroughly tied to other areas that are currently being addressed, such as business, education, and crime.

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