# UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE

# FAKULTA SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD

Institut mezinárodních studií

# DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

2015 Jan Toloch

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### Jan Toloch

# **American DREAM Act: Final Solution?**

Diplomová práce

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### **Abstrakt**

Tato diplomová práce se věnuje legislativnímu zákonu DREAM Act, který byl projednávám na půdě amerického Kongresu v několika podobách v letech 2001-2011 a navrhuje umožnit cestu k získání amerického občanství potomkům nelegálních přistěhovalců. Práce si klade otázku, zda by tito potomci, kteří přišli do USA se svými rodiči, měli nést zodpovědnost za rozhodnutí rodičů porušit zákon a vstoupit do USA nelegálně. Následně se také snaží zjistit, jestli navržený DREAM Act je ideálním způsobem imigrační reformy a jaké alternativy řešení jsou nejvýhodnější. V první kapitole je podrobně popsán DREAM Act včetně jeho legislativního vývoje a hlasování v Kongresu a následně je srovnán s prezidentským nařízením Baracka Obamy DACA, které od roku 2012 umožňuje zažádat o povolení k dočasnému pobytu a zabraňuje tak možnosti deportace. Kapitola také srovnává hlavní výhody a nevýhody zavedení DREAM Actu. Druhá kapitola se zaměřuje na dopad zákona na imigranty. Popisuje potomky imigrantů a jejich právní vnímání sebe sama a přináší příběhy z jejich přechodu hranic a života v USA. Věnuje se také problematice integrace. Třetí kapitola nastiňuje dopad zavedení zákona na americkou společnost a zaměřuje se primárně na ekonomický potenciál a přínos zákona. Poslední kapitola zkoumá DREAM Act ve státě New York a aktivity studentů, které bojují za jeho zavedení do státního rozpočtu. Práce uzavírá výzkum konstatováním, že potomci nelegální imigrantů jednoznačně přináší pozitiva ekonomice i společnosti, a proto by přijetí DREAM Actu mělo být součástí amerického imigračního systému.

**Abstract** 

This thesis describes DREAM Act, a legislative proposal discussed in the US Congress between

2001 and 2011. The Act proposes a pathway to legal citizenship for children of undocumented

immigrants. The thesis aims to find whether the children of illegal immigrants should be held

accountable and face deportations, even though they were not responsible for entering the U.S.

illegally? It also discusses whether implementation of the DREAM Act is a convenient solution

of governmental reform of the broken immigration system. The first chapter describes the

DREAM Act in greater detail and compares it to the presidential executive order DAPA, a

similar program to DREAM Act providing deferred action on deportation for these children.

The second chapter focuses on impact of immigrants, their legal consciousness and tells stories

of undocumented children who crossed the U.S. border and describes their lives in the U.S. The

third chapter's focus is on impact on the U.S. society, mainly discusses the economic potential

of the DREAM Act implementation. Last chapter provides an analysis of DREAM Act in the

State of New York and activities of undocumented students fighting for its enactment. The

thesis concludes that the children should not be punished for decisions of their parents as they

bring many benefits for the U.S. society. The DREAM Act enactment is an important a step

towards a complex immigration reform.

Klíčová slova

Nelegální imigrace, USA, DREAM Act, DACA, prezidentské nařízení

**Keywords** 

Undocumented immigrants, illegal immigration, USA, DREAM Act, DACA, executive order

Rozsah práce: 106 037 znaků

Prohlášení	
	pracoval samostatně a použil jen uvedené prameny
a literaturu.	
2. Prohlašuji, že práce nebyla využita k získ	
3. Souhlasím s tím, aby práce byla zpřístup	něna pro studijní a výzkumné účely.
V Praze dne 12.5.2015	Jan Toloch

# Poděkování Na tomto místě bych rád poděkoval vedoucímu diplomové práce PhDr. et Mgr. Kryštofu Kozákovi, Ph.D. a konzultantce prof. Normě Hervey Ph.D. za cenné rady a připomínky při vytváření práce.

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V čem se oproti původními zadání změnil cíl práce?

Cíl práce se oproti původu se zásadně nezměnil. Stále si klade za cíl věnovat se analýze legislativního návrhu DREAM Act, popsat jeho dopady jak na imigranty do USA, tak obecně na americkou společnost a porovnat jej s podobným programem DACA. V souvislosti s vývojem situace v návrzích přijetí zákona DREAM Act v jednotlivých státech USA a odlišnosti jejich stanoviska, bych se rád v diplomové práci také zaměřil na analýzu určitých států a důvodů, které je vedly k negativnímu, či pozitivnímu postoji vůči tomuto návrhu.

Jaké změny nastaly v časovém, teritoriálním a věcném vymezení tématu?

Všechny tyto aspekty zůstávají nezměněny, tj. z hlediska časového tématu bych se rád soustředil na analýzu nejaktuálnějšího vývoje událostí vůči DREAM Actu na území USA.

Jak se proměnila struktura práce (vyjádřete stručným obsahem)? Obsah práce zůstává stejný:

- 1) Origins and Development of the DREAM Act
  - Background of Origin and Legislative History
- 2) Impact on Immigrants
  - Education as a Process of Integration, American Identity, American Dream
- 3) Impact on US Society
  - Impact on Economy, Controversies and Criticism
- 4) Case Study: DEAM Act in New York

Jakým vývojem prošla metodologická koncepce práce?

Při zpracování koncepce jsem se věnoval analýze reportů a zpráv vydaných v souvislosti s porovnáním DREAM Actu a zákonu DACA, které pochází z hlavních institucí věnující se problematice imigrace do USA.

Dále jsem se zaměřil na jednotlivé státy a organizace, které se věnují boji za implementaci DREAM Actu na státní úrovni. Činnosti jedné z těchto organizací jsem se rozhodl zmapovat podrobněji a zahrnout je do poslední kapitoly práce.

Které nové prameny a sekundární literatura byly zpracovány a jak tato skutečnost ovlivnila celek práce?

Během prvního semestru byla zpracována literatura, kterou jsem si vytyčil před začátkem v projektu diplomové práce. Zároveň jsem průběžně zpracovával články informující o aktuálním vývoji a na jejich základě jsem se rozhodl podrobněji analyzovat vývoj v jednotlivých státech USA.

Charakterizujte základní proměny práce v době od zadání projektu do odevzdání tezí a pokuste se vyhodnotit, jaký pokrok na práci jste během semestru zaznamenali (v bodech):

- Ucelenější přehled o dané problematice díky pravidelného monitorování vývoje situace.
- Pozorování autentického vhledu na danou problematiku skrze články s
  rozhovory se studenty z různých států USA. Díky tomu jsem poznal, že mezi
  občany se názor DREAM Act značně liší, z čehož pramení mé přesvědčení, že je
  potřeba podrobněji zmapovat problém v různých státech.
- Toto pozorování ovlivňují jednotlivé vlády států, které zaujímají rozdílná stanoviska vůči programu.

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Vedoucí semináře	diplomového		

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### 1 INTRODUCTION

The United States of America has always been a nation of immigrants. The country was established by people migrating from Europe in late 16<sup>th</sup> century and in following years they continued to come, hoping for a better life, to pursue dreams and find happiness. This process created a nation of people of multiple nationalities and ethnicities. Today, this diversity defines the country, although it also brings many challenges.

The fact that the U.S. became the world's leading power in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with one of the most developed economies in the world resulted in new waves of immigrants. Last influx began in the 1990s and continues today. Immigrants from Latin America, predominantly from Mexico, come to the U.S. for many of the same reasons as ancestors of U.S. citizens, to seek better lives. Most of these Latin American immigrants cross the U.S. borders without documents necessary to find jobs or become citizens. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the problem has become even more serious as the number of illegal immigrants rapidly increased and many of them migrated with their children to begin new lives in the U.S., having to hide so that the U.S. officials cannot deport them.

Many of them live their lives "in shadows" while the U.S. debates their immigration system and laws concerning presence of these illegal immigrants. Many U.S. citizens argue that the immigration system is broken and does not reflect current challenges, seeking passage of new laws to consider increasing numbers of illegal immigrants, their children, children born in the U.S. and other possible solutions. After more than a decade of public debate about current challenges of illegal immigration, the nation is divided how to solve this problem.

Divisions of opinion are also reflected in public opinion and Congress, which passes laws including those dealing with immigration. The major political parties, Republicans and Democrats, hold different attitudes towards this issue and thus it is difficult to pass laws regarding immigration. They share some policy goals but for different reasons.

One such proposed law is called the DREAM which is focus of this diploma thesis. DREAM, i.e., Development, Relief and Education Alien Minors Act was introduced to Congress in 2001 as a bipartisan legislative proposal but it is a controversial issue for many as it provides a pathway for legal citizenship to some of the illegal immigrants in

the U.S. The majority for whom it will assist are children of illegal immigrants who arrived to the U.S. with their parents at young ages. Unlike their parents, many of them have lived in the U.S. for most of their lives and consider themselves citizens of the United States.

This paper aims to find whether the children of illegal immigrants should be held accountable and face deportation, even though they were not responsible for entering the U.S. illegally? Does the DREAM Act, as presented for the last time in Congress, provide a way to fix the broken immigration system, are there any alternatives to it and what repeatedly caused its failure in Congress? The thesis demonstrates that legalizing formerly undocumented children may be mutually beneficial for both the immigrants and the U.S. economy and provides justice if the pathway to citizenship involves process of successful integration. By providing details about the DREAM Act proposal, discussing and comparing economic benefits for immigrants and the U.S. after the implementation with the costs of other immigration policies, this paper aims to demonstrate the best solution.

At the moment, many of these children face challenges that influence the process of integration negatively. Although protected by Supreme Court decision providing their right for to education, children are often threatened to be deported from the country by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Moreover, their English proficiency is often limited and needs to be improved. These are only some of the problems that prevent the undocumented children from successful integration.

On a political level, the issue resonates not only in Congress but also in the actions of the U.S. President and his attitude towards immigration reform. In Congress, the DREAM Act has been discussed in various versions overall for ten years, the last time in 2011. Although there was a bipartisan support for the bill, it never managed to pass both of the chambers, the last time 5 votes short in Senate. After its failure in Congress, President Obama chose to use prosecutorial discretion and announced the DACA program, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, his version of DREAM Act. Although this executive order does not provide any pathway to legal citizenship, it provides deferred action on deportation for a certain period. Some consider this order to be an amnesty for illegal immigrants and believe it is not the President's right to grant it to such a large

number of immigrants. However, the program became effective two years ago and now provides figures and numbers of individuals that it affects in reality. These statistics are important too as they can be compared to assumptions of DREAM Act beneficiaries. Therefore, at various points the Act and its hypothetical effects are compared with the DACA.

The analysis of the DREAM Act and its consequences draws on various studies carried out by institutions devoted to immigration research. One of the most influential is Migration Policy Institute that provides numerous reports and conference records on most of the issues connected with illegal immigration. Hispanic immigration is one area of the Pew Research Center whose expertise is used in this paper. The American Immigration Council operating the Immigration Policy Center aims to shape conversation on immigration and integration, its reports rely upon the press and policy makers.

To discuss the challenges that immigrants and society face, ideas of some significant researchers in the area of immigration have also been use. Associate professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, Leisy J. Abrego's work explores "how different subsectors of Latino immigrants internalize immigration policies differently and how this shapes their willingness to make claims in this country." <sup>1</sup> Her concept of legal consciousness of undocumented children provides the background for an analysis of differences between generations of adults who arrived to the U.S. and their children.

Jeanne Batalova, a senior immigration policy analyst of the Migration Policy Institute Data Hub, provides various reports and analyses regarding implementation of DACA and its effects. Together with Robert Crosnoe's research and his concept of "immigration paradox", Batalova discusses major issues of undocumented children and their integration.

This thesis is organized in three major segments. The first part describes the DREAM Act proposal and includes detailed conditions for applicants. This is followed by the conditions required by the DACA program comparing both programs. The chapter

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Leisy Barego," University of California. Accessed 2015-04-11. http://www.chavez.ucla.edu/content/leisy-abrego

also suggests what the most common potential advantages and disadvantages exist in the DREAM Act.

Second describes an immigrants' point of view of the issue. The main focus is the children of illegal immigrants, their integration to the U.S. society, primary obstacles they face and their life stories demonstrating their legal consciousness that differs from that of their parents. It also evaluates public perception of undocumented immigrants and the role the media.

The third part provides an analysis of possible impacts on U.S. society. It mostly focuses on economic benefits and costs of implementation. It also evaluates various segments of social infrastructure such as health care, education, employment etc. It evaluates the impact of the Act on both federal and the state level. This data are again contrasted with current knowledge of DACA.

In the last chapter the thesis describes DREAM Act in the State of New York and the main obstacles its enactment is facing. It finds similarities of enactment on the state level and discusses reasons it struggles be passed. Also it provides an insight into activities of undocumented students fighting for the passage and publicly promoting its activities.

At the end the thesis concludes with major findings, evaluates key figures and provides recommendations of future research.

### 2 THE DREAM ACT, FROM ITS INTRODUCTION UNTIL NOW

This chapter aims to provide background of the DREAM Act as a legislative proposal and briefly analyzes its development since it has been introduced in the U.S. Congress. The main part of this chapter describes the latest state and conditions of the proposed act and examines differences between the proposal and similar but not identical Obama administration immigration policy based on executive orders called DACA. Furthermore, the chapter discusses differences between legislative proposal on federal level and passage of the DREAM Act in some of the states and its specific implementation. At the end, the main arguments supporting or opposing the passage of the act on the federal level will be introduced.

# 2.1 DREAM Act and DACA - Introduction and Historical Development of Legislative Proposal

The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act is bipartisan legislation introduced in 2001 as a response to growing number of illegal immigrants living in the U.S. of whose children were entering the educational process. The purpose was to "provide undocumented youths, who came to the United States before the age of sixteen, a path toward legalization on the condition that they attend college or serve in the U.S. military for a minimum of two years while maintaining good moral character." It is supervised by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.

In 2001, Republican Senators Orrin Hatch and Democratic Richard Durbin first introduced the DREAM Act in the Senate. Several forms of this bill followed and were discussed in the House of Representatives and the Senate. The bill had 62 sponsors in Congress it always failed to pass, even though senator Durbin made the bill his top priority. <sup>3</sup> In 2007, the Act was presented to the Senate as an amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization Bill. However, it did not get wide support and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Raul Hinojosa Ojed, Paule Cruz Takash. "No DREAMers Left Behind: The Economic Potential of DREAM Act Beneficiaries." Accessed 2014-11-09.

http://naid.ucla.edu/uploads/4/2/1/9/4219226/no\_dreamers\_left\_behind.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rick Maze, "Bill would grant citizenship for service." Accessed 2015-04-08.

http://archive.armytimes.com/article/20070716/NEWS/707160348/Bill-would-grant-citizenship-for-service

failed to pass again. From 2009 to 2010 the reintroduced DREAM Act also failed to pass in the Senate, for second time only five votes short. In 2011, the House of Representatives passed the bill, but it failed to pass again in the Senate. <sup>4</sup> Although there was a wide bipartisan agreement on the bill, senators who opposed the bill argued that there should be an increase in immigration policy agreement before any bill could be passed. <sup>5</sup> According to an analysis of DREAM Act by party affiliation, there were 45 Senators who opposed the Act in 2011. The biggest share of opposition provided Republicans – 39 of them voted against the passage. Had all the Democrats voted yes, the bill would have passed, but 6 of them were against.<sup>6</sup>

Overall, Senators with significant share of Latino immigrants in population were more likely to vote yes for the Act than states with small Latino proportion. However, there were two exceptions: Senators in Texas and Arizona. <sup>7</sup>

Among the 16 states that have a Latino population share of 10% or higher, 69% of Senators voted yes. The 16 states where the Latino population was 5-10% of the state total, voted 56% in favor of DREAM. As the Latino population in a state decreased, so too did votes for DREAM, with only half voting yes in states where Latinos are 3-5% of the population, and just 36% voting yes in states where Latinos are less than 3%.

There is a strong affiliation of the share of Latinos in each of the states and support of the DREAM Act in the Senate. Now the question is why Senators of Texas and Arizona voted no. There is no direct answer from them. Senator of Texas, Kay Bailey Hutchison, who sponsored the Act before, publicly announced earlier: "The students are in a limbo situation. I believe we should deal with this issue. We should do it in a way that helps assimilate these young people with a college education into our country. They have lived here most of their lives. If we sent them home, they wouldn't know what home is" But then she changed her mind, voted no and said that more time is needed for the immigration

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Dream Act 2013" Accessed March 19, 2015. http://www.dreamact2009.org/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Julie Davis, "*House OKs bill aimed at illegal youth immigrants*." Accessed 2015-03-19. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/40567180/ns/politics-capitol\_hill#.VQq2I45wtig.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Matt Baretto, "Senators who opposed DREAM Act may face Latino roadblocks in 2012." Accessed 2015-04-08. http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2010/12/19/senators-who-opposed-dream-act-face-latino-roadblocks/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Edward Shumacher, "Kay Bailey Hutchison's Dream Act dance." Accessed 2015-04-08. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/16/AR2010121603283.html

reform. It was even more surprising when it was thought she would run for reelection in 2012. Because of large proportion of Hispanics she would probably lose many votes in reelection, however she decided not to run for her reelection. But it was not only Senator Hutchison who changed her opinion. Original sponsors of the act, such as Senator McCain, Hutch or Lugar dropped their support too. <sup>10</sup> This sudden change of attitudes without any profound explanation points rather to hidden political deals and malicious practices than to a comprehensive opposition.

In June 2012, the Obama administration followed up with legislation reform of the immigration laws but failed to achieve passage of the Act in Congress. In response, Obama took the initiative to provide legal conditions for children of illegal immigrants to apply for legal citizenship. On the 30th anniversary of the Supreme Court case *Plyler v*. *Doe*, when public schools were denied the right to charge illegal immigrants tuition fees, Obama announced that his administration will not deport children in the United States who were brought to the country by their parents as illegal immigrants and meet certain requirements.<sup>11</sup>

In this announcement, Obama set out on a legal path towards significant immigration reform that was to be finalized at the end of 2014. This announcement was related to Obama's executive order DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival) issued one month afterwards. DACA is a program similar to the immigration reform, but it differs in some points from the DREAM Act. The differences between these two programs will be discussed in greater detail in following chapters.

In November 2014, Obama announced that DACA program will be extended. According to the Pew Research Center there are about 4 million unauthorized immigrants who might benefit from the latest version of the program which allows additional 330,000 people to apply for temporary deportation relief and also extends the age limitation.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "Why has the DREAM Act Failed to Become Law?." Accessed 2015-04-08.

http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/dream-act

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Tom Cohen, "*Obama administration to stop deporting some young illegal immigrants*." Accessed 2015-03-20. www.cnn.com/2012/06/15/politics/immigration/

Moreover, those who arrived to the U.S. before 2010 will also become eligible for the program. <sup>12</sup>

Although the current administration has made these significant steps toward immigration reform, the outcome of the new policy is limited as it provides only a deferred action for the illegal immigrants, meanwhile the original proposal in the Congress would provide a pathway towards American citizenship. Today, DREAM Act still remains in Congress and it is unlikely that any progress will be achieved with Republican majority in both chambers, as most of the Republicans disagree with both proposals, claiming that it is a "decision to grant amnesty to potentially millions of illegal immigrants" The issue is controversial and resonates not only in Washington but also in many states. Some of the states in the US polarize this issue by passing or rejecting the Act on the state level creating their own conditions. Although only federal law can offer a pathway to legal citizenship, these versions of state DREAM Acts deal with in-state tuitions and decide about ability of many undocumented students to apply for college. Many states hold difference opinion, some of them allow undocumented students to apply for same tuition as in-state residents, and some of states ban this privilege. This federal vs. state passages of the Act, plus the question whether the states should decide about in or out of state tuitions on their own is discussed further, after providing details about the latest government DREAM Act proposal and describing the main differences between this act and DACA program.

### 2.2 DREAM Act v. DACA - Comparison of Conditions to Apply

The major difference between DREAM Act and DACA is that the DREAM Act on the congressional level is a proposal, which would set a pathway towards legal citizenship for those who have spent certain amount of time in the U.S. The DACA program was introduced as an Executive Order by the president allowing children of illegal immigrants to apply for deferred action and relief from deportation. Some opponents argue that with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Janes Krogstad, *Those from Mexico will benefit most from Obama's executive action*. Accessed 2015-03-28. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/11/20/those-from-mexico-will-benefit-most-from-obamas-executive-action/.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

the DACA program there is no need of passage the DREAM Act, which is an opinion based on their lack of information.

According to the latest proposal of 2011, beneficiaries of the DREAM Act must live in the US for 5 consecutive years. Provided that they serve for two years in military or study at least two years at an institution of higher learning, they will be permitted to stay in the U.S. for six years. During this time they may apply for permanent citizenship which they can receive after completing a degree from an institution of higher education in the United States or if they "complete at least 2 years, in a good standing, in a program for a bachelor's degree or higher degree in the United States" or have "served in the armed services for at least 2 years and, if discharged, (have) received an honorable discharge." Overall, the DREAM Act beneficiaries must:

"not have entered the United States on a non-immigrant Visa, they must have proof of having arrived in the United States before age 16, proof of residence in the United States for at least five consecutive years since their date of arrival, if male, they must be registered with the Selective Service, be between the ages of 12 and 35 at the time of bill enactment, have graduated from an American high school, obtained a GED, or been admitted to an institution of higher education and be of good moral character." <sup>15</sup>

Before the last discussed Act in Congress, it was estimated there are 2, 1 million youngsters who would be able to benefit from the program, with approximately 65,000 graduating every year. Applicants for the DACA program must have lived in the U.S. from January 2010 and arrived in the U.S. before their sixteenth birthday, graduated from high school and be of a good moral character. The application fee for DACA is \$465, \$380 for the employment authorization and \$85 for fingerprints authorization. <sup>17</sup>

In November 2014, Obama administration expanded the DACA program proposal in order to allow even greater number of illegal immigrants to apply for the program. Before, it was limited to people born after 1981, this age cap was eliminated. In the first version the person must have lived in the U.S. since 2007, now the limit was lifted to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "2011 DREAM Act Bill: To authorize the cancellation of removal and adjustment of status of certain alien students who are long-term United States residents and who entered the United States as children and for other purposes". 2011. http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/docs/EAS11295.pdf <sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "The DREAM Act." *Creating Opportunities for Immigrant Students and Supporting the U.S. Economy* Accessed March 28, 2015. http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/dream-act#do.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "FAQ about The Obama Administration's DAPA and Expanded DACA Programs." *National Immigration Law Center*. Accessed 2015-03-28. www.nilc.org/dacarenewalprocess.html

2010. Finally, the deferred action or the working permission before the expanded version was granted for 2 years, the new one extended the period to 3 consecutive years. <sup>18</sup> Once the applicant fulfills conditions and applies for the program, he or she will receive Employment Authorization Document (EAD), widely known as "work permit", which is similar but not identical to the green card. As soon as immigrants receive this permit they can also apply for Social Security number which opens door to applying for scholarships. Immigrants with EAD can travel within the U.S., however they are not allowed to travel internationally unless they apply for travel authorization Advance Parole. For this permit they need to apply 90 days in advance and pay \$360 fee. Moreover they have to abide by strict rules and "prove they are traveling for humanitarian, educational, or work purposes and your trip must be laid out to USCIS in extreme detail." After 3 year, beneficiaries can apply for another period and extend their EAD card validity in case they have remained of a good moral character. <sup>20</sup>

As a follow-up program to DACA, another segment of deferred action called Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) was introduced in 2014. To apply for this deferred action, in addition to other conditions similar to those mentioned above, there is a crucial condition -to be a parent of a U.S. citizen or permanent lawful resident. <sup>21</sup> However, in 2015, the Federal District Court in Southern District of Texas temporarily blocked the DAPA, so new applications for DAPA will not be accepted until the court makes a decision. <sup>22</sup> This thesis focuses on the period from 2012 until present, as the original DACA is valid and illegal immigrants can apply for this program without any change.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "FAQ about The Obama Administration's DAPA and Expanded DACA Programs."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "10 Things to Do After Your Deferred Action (DACA) Approval." *VisaNow*. Accessed 2015-04-09. http://www.visanow.com/10-things-to-do-after-your-deferred-action-daca-approval/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "How to Extend an Employment Authorization Card." Accessed 2015-04-09.

http://www.wikihow.com/Extend-an-Employment-Authorization-Card

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Kamal Essaheb, "DAPA & Expanded DACA: FAQ answers questions mainly about the DAPA and expanded DACA programs, both of which were announced on November 20, 2014, by President Obama.." Accessed 2015-03-29. http://www.nilc.org/dapa&daca.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "Texas v. U.S.: District Court Decision: TEXAS V. UNITED STATES The Federal District Court Decision Regarding the DACA and DAPA Initiatives.". Accessed 2015-03-29. http://www.nilc.org/TXvUSdistrictdecision.html

### 2.3 Legal Perspective

When assessing these conditions to apply for both the DREAM Act and DACA, we need to keep in mind what the U.S. Constitution says about immigration. Many people argued that the sentence in the Preamble "We the People of the United States" refers only to legal citizens, the Supreme Court disagrees. <sup>23</sup> When deciding cases regarding the First Amendment rights, the court usually draws guidance from the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment granting "equal protection under the law." To reject that the equal protection is limited only to U.S. citizens the Supreme Court referred to Congressional Committee who held that:

The last two clauses of the first section of the amendment disable a State from depriving not merely a citizen of the United States, but any person, whoever he may be, of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or from denying to him the equal protection of the laws of the State. This abolishes all class legislation in the States and does away with the injustice of subjecting one caste of persons to a code not applicable to another. . . . The 14th Amendment will, if adopted by the States, forever disable every one of them from passing laws trenching upon those fundamental rights and privileges which pertain to citizens of the United States, and to all persons who may happen to be within their jurisdiction. 24

Yet the Naturalization Clause in the Article I also gives Congress power to restrict eligibility for citizenship and Supreme Court also held that the immigration law is largely immune from judicial review as immigration is considered a matter of national security and foreign policy. Therefore, Congress has almost full authority to regulate immigration without interference of courts. <sup>25</sup>

However, there is also the executive power that regulates immigration although it is disputed whether President Obama has power to execute such actions. Part of his legal argument relies on principle that officers are responsible for choosing where their effort is focused. Therefore, the ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement), focuses rather on deportation of undocumented adults than their children at schools who are protected

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Robert Longley. "Do Illegal Aliens Have Constitutional Rights?: Courts Have Ruled They Do." Accessed 2015-04-09. http://usgovinfo.about.com/od/rightsandfreedoms/a/illegalrights.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "U.S. Constitution - Fourteenth Amendment." Accessed 2015-04-09. http://usgovinfo.about.com/od/usconstitution/a/amend14.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "Do Noncitizens Have Constitutional Rights?." Accessed 2015-04-09.

http://www.slate.com/articles/news\_and\_politics/explainer/2001/09/do\_noncitizens\_have\_constitutional\_rights.html

by *Plyler v. Doe* decision. <sup>26</sup> This concept is known as prosecutorial discretion and Obama is allowed to use it, however, Republicans argue that using it for millions of immigrants is not rather an amnesty. The only way they can block Obama's actions in the way Texas has done, to sue the U.S. arguing they will have to cover education or health care of newly arrived illegal immigrants. <sup>27</sup>

During one decade of DREAM Act's presence in Congress the bill has gone through a difficult procedure of adjustments and compromises. We can only guess what made Senators who supported the bill at the beginning change their mind. Obama Administration tries to provide own solution. The biggest inconvenience is its uncertainty about its future. New president elected in 2016 can cancel Obama executive action as easily as DACA was introduced. The program itself provides many benefits but still there are too many obstacles that undocumented immigrants will need to face. A high application fee or strict conditions for traveling internationally are only some of the obstacles that might discourage immigrants to apply.

### 2.4 Federal v. State level of the DREAM Act

The U.S. legislative process is comprised of laws discussed on various levels where they are discussed and implemented. The immigration laws are typical example of such debates and implementations. The DREAM Act has been discussed in the U.S. Congress for more than a decade has yet to come to a vote. As a result, various states decided to resolve the issue on their own. In some of the state's governments created their own version of the DREAM Act, in which the debate is ongoing. It is necessary to analyze the state's political representation and compare partisan attitudes in individual states. After assessing DREAM Act and DACA, actions and their results will be addressed.

There are 18 states in the United States which passed their own laws establishing rights for children of illegal immigrants. Most of these have provisions allowing in-state tuition rates for the children. They are: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Benjamin Wittes. "Executive Power and Immigration Reform: Hard National Security Choices." Accessed 2015-04-09. http://www.lawfareblog.com/2014/11/executive-power-and-immigration-reform/ <sup>27</sup> Ibid.

Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Texas, Utah, and Washington. Rights are granted through legislation, but two states, Oklahoma and Rhode Island, grant an authorized Board of Regents, the official governing body of universities in the state, composed of citizens appointed for seven year term by Governor with consent of the State Senate.<sup>28</sup> To administer their programs, California, Minnesota, New Mexico, Texas and Washington, currently provide also a financial aid to these students.<sup>29</sup>

States including South Carolina, Arizona, Georgia and Indiana ban receiving instate tuition rates. For example, the state of Arizona passed Proposition 300 in 2006 and is prohibiting undocumented students from applying for in-state tuition. <sup>30</sup> To understand the rationale of individual states it is helpful to consider the laws of several states regarding in-state tuition.

State of Texas, one of the gateways of illegal immigration to the U.S., first decided to pass its own law in 2001, a version of the DREAM Act supporting the presence of illegal immigrants in high schools. It might seem surprising that the source was the Republican Party which supported the program to establish a guideline for the other states. Governor Perry, when he signed the Act claimed:

"We don't care where you come from, but where you are going, and we are going to do everything we can to help you get there." And that vision must include the children of undocumented workers. That's why Texas took the national lead in allowing such deserving young minds to attend a Texas college at a resident rate. Those young minds are a part of a new generation of leaders, the doors of higher education must be open to them. The message is simple: educación es el futuro, y si se puede." 31

Referring to Hispanics, Governor Perry chose a different strategy than the usual Republican Party practices and opened doors for illegal immigrants to study at colleges in Texas. The question is how much was he influenced and aware of the Hispanic voters that would allow him to serve as the governor until 2015. Results show that Hispanic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "Board of Regents: University of Oklahoma." Accessed 2015-05-09. http://www.ou.edu/regents/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> "Undocumented Student Tuition: State Action: Allow In-State Tuition for Undocumented Students." *National Conference of State Legislature*. Accessed 2015-04-01.

 $http://www.ncsl.org/research/education/undocumented-student-tuition-state-action.aspx \ ^{30}\ Ibid.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kathleen McKinley. "Gov. Perry and The Texas Dream Act." Accessed 2015-04-01. http://blog.chron.com/texassparkle/2011/06/gov-perry-and-the-texas-dream-act/

voters did have a significant impact in 2010 and helped Perry to remain in the Governor's office. While majority of them voted Democratic, almost 40% percent voted for Perry's reelection, which is enough to maintain electoral majority. Nevertheless Perry's decision was a significant milestone in DREAM Act history as, after 2001, other states began to implement their own versions of the Act.

In 2005, the Washington Legal Foundation unsure whether it is state or federal duty to decide on the in-state tuitions, raised a question to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), who should approve these policies. DHS responded:

"The individual states must decide for themselves whether or not to admit illegal aliens into their public post-secondary institutions. States may bar or admit illegal aliens from enrolling in public post-secondary institutions either as a matter of public policy or through legislation. Please note, however, that any state policy or legislation on this issue must use federal immigration status standards to identify which applicants are illegal aliens. In the absence of any state policy or legislation addressing this issue, it is up to the schools to decide whether or not to enroll illegal aliens, and the schools must similarly use federal immigration status standards to identify illegal alien applicants." 32

Other states followed passing their own versions of the Act. Although none of them can serve as a pathway towards legal citizenship, all of these states agree that both the immigrants and the state will benefit if they are allowed to attend colleges.

The difference of in and out of state tuition is quite significant at University of Huston. A resident fixed tuition fee for fiscal year 2016 is \$4,855 per term, but it is \$12,205 for non-residents. However, many families have lower incomes and therefore their children cannot afford to apply for colleges at all. Yet there are states in the U.S. that provide financial aid for undocumented students. Texas, California, New Mexico, Washington and Minnesota approved granting it.

All of these issues will be analyzed more profoundly in the following chapters regarding the economic realities of undocumented immigrants and their enrollment in colleges and universities. This chapter describes basic differences and individual implementation of DREAM Act at the state and federal level. As none of the states can provide a pathway towards legal citizenship in the U.S., many are trying to find ways to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Michael Olivas,. "The Political Economy of the DREAM Act and the Legislative Process: A Case Study of Comprehensive Immigration Reform." Accessed 2015-04-01. http://law.uh.edu/ihelg/ab540/Olivas-political-economy.PDF

provide paths to apply to the educational process so that both the immigrants and the state benefit.

# 2.5 Advantages and Disadvantages of Implementation of the DREAM Act

One of the fundamental arguments of proponents of the Act is the fact that many, if not most, of the possible beneficiaries of the Act came to the United States with their parents without making the decision to leave their home country. Therefore they are not responsible for entering the country illegally. This is also connected to the amount of the time they have spent in the U.S. As all of the beneficiaries came to the U.S. at young ages and as one of the conditions to apply for the Act is to have spent at least five consecutive years, many of these children identify themselves as Americans. Therefore, they should be treated as Americans rather than immigrants.<sup>33</sup> Also, the legalization of citizenship is justified by their economic potential. First, it is said the illegal immigrants are more likely to be employed in positions that other Americans do not want and second, the more educated children will occupy working positions with higher incomes and therefore, contribute more to the American economy. Higher incomes will also generate higher tax revenues that could be used to decrease government deficit. Moreover, this would happen without fear of deportation so they would be able to focus on their career. <sup>34</sup>

Opponents of the Act base their arguments on the fact that the students as well as their families are in the country illegally and should be deported. The question is whether this solution is realistic as there are millions of individuals. The deportation would be covered by taxpayers. Process of detention is quite lengthy and each of the illegal immigrants would have to be deported to the country of his or her origin. Therefore this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Andorra, Bruno. "Unauthorized Alien Student: Issues and 'DREAM Act' Legislation." 13. Accessed 2015-04-07. DIANE Publishing, 2011

https://www.google.cz/books?hl=cs&lr=&id=BGhV42\_37nUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=DREAM++act&ots=E0KWDMIMRr&sig=u12bOzBhGxpxZxEUDAxKXnd-yG8&redir\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false 

"Pros and Cons of The Dream Act." OccupyTheory. January 03, 2015. Accessed April 06, 2015. 
http://occupytheory.org/list-of-pros-and-cons-of-the-dream-act/.

solution seems rather impossible, however, this thesis will analyze this problem more closely and compare these costs with other options.

Critics also believe that if DREAM Act was implemented American taxpayers would pay for this pathway to citizenship and, moreover, they are afraid that such legalization would attract more immigrants and would result in a greater immigration influx. The first part of this argument may be right, but only until a certain point. If immigrants enter the social system, including paying taxes and if provided a pathway to pursue further education, it is presumed that their income will be higher and therefore from certain point they return more tax resources to the system. As for the immigration influx, both the DREAM Act as well as DACA program include 5 years presence in the U.S. as a condition to apply, moreover, statistics prove that immigrants react to the strength of economy of the U.S. rather than to the immigration laws.<sup>35</sup> The number of immigrants stopped rising with the economic recession in 2008 and so far has not been increasing although the immigration policies are more welcoming than before (Graph 1).

Further, they argue it is unfair to charge the immigrants in-state tuition, while some of American students have to pay out of state tuition.<sup>36</sup> Contrary to the argument of supporters that undocumented immigrants occupying positions that other Americans are not be willing to do, opponents argue that the jobs taken by the undocumented immigrants cause all salaries to remain low due to the increase in manpower. This might also, according to them, cause higher level of unemployment. More broadly, the opponents believe that issuing such an Act would be same as rewarding those who break laws and, therefore, it does not solve immigration issues but, on the contrary, it creates greater problems. <sup>37</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> "Unauthorized Immigrants: Who they are and what the public thinks." Accessed 2015-05-09.

http://www.pewresearch.org/key-data-points/immigration/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Andorra, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid. 9.

### 3 IMPACT ON IMMIGRANTS

Migration of people from one country to another brings always new challenges. Oftentimes, they consider such challenges for a long time before they decide to leave their country of origin. Factors for their decisions can be divided into two groups: first, it is "push" factor, such as poverty, unemployment, war, high criminality, lack of services, political instability etc., second, it is a "pull" factor, such as higher employment, wealth, safety, political stability, better services etc. <sup>38</sup> Many of these reasons are considered by migrants to the U.S. before they leave their home country. The price to be paid for the decision to start a new life in the U.S. can be high. They often lose contact with family members, regret the loss of their culture and are not able to adapt in the new one. Many live in a permanent fear of being deported because of an undocumented status. They can be exploited by their employers because of the status, face language problems because of their limited knowledge of English, etc. Their children often confront challenges for the same reasons plus others due to differences between them and their parents. Many, if not most, of the children were brought to the U.S. with their parents in at very young ages. Unlike their parents, they did not decide to leave their home country. Therefore we should ask whether these children should suffer from these challenges. This chapter analyses challenges that children of illegal immigrants, the potential beneficiaries of the DREAM Act, need to face after moving to the U.S. while confronting the intentions of the U.S. government to ease their life in the new country. They often resent their parents lack of English. Cultural differences and feel they are 100% Americans are often creating pressures in families.

Using testimonies of both children and their parents living in the U.S. facing challenges on a daily basis, this chapter describes their perceptions of their legal status and the influence which impact their lives in the U.S. Moreover, after comparing legal consciousness of children and their parents, the process of integration, the role education and military service, play in this process are evaluated.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> "Why do people migrate?." Accessed 2015-03-29.

### 3.1 Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Immigrants

Studies have shown that different generations of immigrants perceive their legal status differently and this perception results in different civil engagements. Leisy Abrego, a scholar from University of California describes these differences in her analysis. She believes that children of the illegal immigrants comprise a 1.5 generation who perceive their illegality differently because of their social position. Abrego argues that fear predominates in the consciousness of first generation of undocumented immigrants, while the 1.5 generation's consciousness confronts with stigma rather than fear. <sup>39</sup> She believes that this perception plays a crucial role on the pathways through which immigrants integrate into U.S. society. <sup>40</sup> In the following testimonies, children of illegal immigrants testify how this status translates into their everyday lives.

In order to demonstrate different legal consciousness of adult immigrants and their children, Abrego conducted interviews with members of both groups. In the study she asked questions to explore the effects of immigration on their legal status and the role that it played in daily activities.<sup>41</sup> Marta, a girl from El Salvador, who crossed the U.S. border at the age of 15 responded a question whether she was scared when crossing the border:

"Well, yes, because they tell you, you hear how difficult it is to cross [borders and territories] and how dangerous the trip is. But you're filled with desperation when there is nothing more to do, and you don't know where the next meal is going to come from, so then you're forced to hit the road. You know what awaits you, but there's no other way." "42"

Many of the immigrants who were brought to the U.S. as very small children have quite limited memories of the journey, Miguel, a boy from Guatemala recalled:

"I do remember that we had to hide in like the grass, this area that was like a big field and they would tell me to stay quiet. And I kind of like remember a house that a lot of us stayed in. But that's all I remember from that. Oh, and I remember falling asleep, and then I woke up at a McDonald's where my dad was waiting for us." 43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Leisy J. Abrego,. "Legal Consciousness of Undocumented Latinos: Fear and Stigma as Barriers to Claims-Making for First- and 1.5-Generation Immigrants." 337. Accessed 2015-03-29. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2011.00435.x/full

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid. 347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid. 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid. 351.

Unlike the dangerous journey which held the same potential threats for both the adults and the children, in their daily lives in the U.S. different stories and challenges faced are shared. Some testimonies express a certain amount of shame they experienced in schools.

"I debated so many times whether to tell my counselor. Because you're just scared to tell somebody because you don't know what they're going to think. And you're just so scared of that reaction. ... You feel inferior because you know they have more rights than you. And even though I know I've worked as hard as my friends, they're the ones who are going to get to go to [four-year colleges]."<sup>44</sup>

Some of the children do not hesitate to tell their life story and illegal status even if the cost might be arrest. Ronaldo, a 16-year-old student in Georgia decided to join the increasing number of illegal students who reveal their status; his story was published in media:

"I started school in the second grade. My mind was slowly beginning to take shape. It was then that I was introduced to new cultures, but my eyes were color-blind. For when I saw people, I didn't see their color - I just saw their person. At first I had trouble learning English. I was often mocked in elementary school and it made me feel uncomfortable. I remember spending hours translating my homework for 3 hours after school with my mom, dictionary in hand. [...] Psychologically, you get damaged, because you know, any time they ask you where you're from, it's such a pain. I mean, your mind goes like, "Whoa, whoa, what do I say? What do I say? I mean, so it's a lot, I mean a lot. You torture yourself, you get depressed. Anything starts going down. [...]I consider Georgia my home, regardless of what Georgia state legislators may have you believe. In a way, I feel ostracized by the same society that made me who I am. My desire is only to contribute rather than degrade. I wish Georgia could understand that." "45"

Recently, this so called 'coming out' is becoming popular among young undocumented immigrants. Some people compare this generation to the activists for civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s, who fought in the Vietnam War or protested against it. This new approach of young DREAMers mark a departure from generation of their parents who have been hiding in order to avoid deportation. Abrego concludes that for the reason that undocumented children suffer from stigma of their legal consciousness

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 347

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Thomas Wheatley. "The 'coming out' stories of six undocumented students arrested near the Gold Dome." Accessed 2015-03-30. http://clatl.com/freshloaf/archives/2011/06/29/the-coming-out-stories-of-undocumented-students-arrested-yesterday-near-the-gold-dome

rather than fear, they are more likely to take such actions, overcome barriers and distance themselves from the negative connotations of illegality.<sup>46</sup>

Such actions in seeking to overcome barriers can be worth it, as the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) issued the Morton Memo on Prosecutorial Discretion in 2011. This memorandum refers to "the agency's authority to not enforce immigration laws against certain individuals and groups." This means that the agency will not focus on deporting the DREAM Act-eligible people and others while cracking down on those who pose "a clear risk to national security." Therefore those impacted can focus on their education instead of fearing deportation. Yet the memo does not solve the problem as these people retain illegal status and need to seek ways to be integrated into the society.

### 3.2 Integration of Undocumented Immigrants

The process of integration of undocumented immigrants has a significant impact on not only Americans, but it has a fundamental effect on undocumented immigrants themselves. Full integration into U.S. society and economy generally takes longer than one generation and children of immigrants oftentimes outperform their parents in educational attainment, occupational status and wealth and home ownership. <sup>48</sup> To date, federal government has not often intervened in the integration process. Instead, it relies on a strong labor market and high quality education. <sup>49</sup>

For the DREAM Act beneficiaries, the most intensive tool for integration would be education. Therefore, it is relevant to analyze its impact on integration of immigrants and evaluate its importance. After finishing high school, some students are also offered to choose to study at a college or to serve in military.

<sup>46</sup> Abrego.358

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Corey Dade. "A New Generation of 'Dreamers' Goes Public." Accessed 2015-03-30. http://www.npr.org/2011/06/28/137476280/a-new-generation-of-dreamers-goes-public

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Tomás R Jiménez,. "*Immigrants in the United States: How Well Are They Integrating into Society.*" accessed 2015-04-01. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigrants-united-states-how-well-are-they-integrating-society

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

### 3.2.1 Integration and Education Attainment

Based on the *Plyler v. Doe* court decisions discussed earlier there are now almost no obstacles for these children attendance in public schools. The DREAM Act enactment will use the educational process as a basis of incorporation and condition of undocumented children on their way to becoming American citizens. Moreover, the enactment could possibly mean a higher number of the undocumented students in U.S. schools. Are government policies serving its purpose, to facilitate this process?

Children from families lacking American citizenship are a diverse population in the U.S. educational system. Some studies point out that "while some of the children at U.S. schools in the K-12 system have improved their social and economic prospects, others are often disadvantaged, discriminated against, and face other barriers that reinforce their social stratification. " $^{50}$ 

On one side, research show that, in many cases, students from immigrant families often outperform their classmates in schools. This phenomenon is referred to as the "immigrant paradox" and it occurs contrasting with social and economic disadvantages. <sup>51</sup> This immigration paradox is most visible in secondary schools. Analysis of National Education Longitudinal Study found that immigrant adolescents reach higher achievement levels on math tests then those with American born parents between 5 and 20 percent. It is important to note that this paradox is seen in students from Asian immigrant families. <sup>52</sup> Researchers explain this paradox by circumstances that are related to lives of immigrants before, after and during migration. <sup>53</sup> A crucial aspect is whether children of immigrants use their native language plus English, to give students "access to an array of community and institutional networks. When youth are connected to adults and families are connected with each other, youth may be less oriented to potentially

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ricardo D Stanton-Salazar and Angela Valenzuela. *Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring.* 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Crosnoe, Robert. "K–12 Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Youth." 129. Accessed 2015-04-02. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ920370.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid. 133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Crosnoe, 134

negative influence."<sup>54</sup> Moreover, in these families, especially those of Asian origin, parental involvement in the educational process has been observed more frequently than those from regions. Their parents tend to have higher educational expectations and seek supplement sources for educational development, such as sending their children to extracurricular activities after school. <sup>55</sup> Another reason is that Asian immigrants generally tend to be of a higher socio-economic status than other immigrants. <sup>56</sup>

One group that is often disadvantaged among students are children of Mexican immigrants. In contrast with their Asian schoolmates, more than half of the students from Mexico have no parent with high school degrees and their socioeconomic status is generally lower.<sup>57</sup> As such families come to the U.S. with fewer socioeconomic resources than others, their children face greater disadvantages connected with ethnicity or immigration status.<sup>58</sup> Their family status also influences each students' life in the U.S. and their schools, based on neighborhoods which they live in. Latin American families tend to place their children into schools characterized by more conflict environment, weaker academic norms, less ties between adults and students and larger classes in general. <sup>59</sup>

It should be a task for state and federal governments to provide these disadvantaged students means to facilitate their incorporation into schools and the society. Some of the ongoing policy programs are already designed for that purpose, yet the fact that this segregation still exists is a proof they are not very efficient. One of them, called Upward Bound, is maintained on federal level by the U.S. Department of Education. It aims to "provide fundamental support to participants in their preparation for college entrance. It provides opportunities for participants to succeed in their precollege performance and

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Tanya Golash-Boza. "Assessing the Advantages of Bilingualism for the Children of Immigrants." *International Migration Review* vol. 39, issue 3 (2005): 721-753. Accessed 2015-05-02
 <sup>55</sup> Crosnoe, 137

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ludwig, Jens. "Success by Ten: Intervening Early, Often, and Effectively in the Education of Young Children" The Brookings Institution, 2007Accessed 2015-04-03.

 $http://www.brookings.edu/{\sim}/media/research/files/papers/2007/2/education-ludwig/200702ludwigsawhill.pdf$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Marta Tienda,. "Hispanicity and Educational Inequality: Risks, Opportunities and the Nation's Future. Princeton University, 2009 Accessed 2015-04-03.

https://www.ets.org/Media/Research/pdf/PICRIVERA1.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Crosnoe, 142

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid.

ultimately in their higher education pursuit."<sup>60</sup> However, researchers argue that, due to the lack of opportunity for such programs as well as practical knowledge about curricular and extracurricular activities, many students are left behind their peers. <sup>61</sup>

Researchers also suggest that another issue connected with presence of undocumented Latino children at schools is lack of cooperation between schools and their families. Latin American parents have often very little experience with the U.S. education system, therefore the programs should focus on promotion of going to college and explanation of the system to parents. <sup>62</sup>

Community based programs such as "Abriendo Puertas or Lee y Serás" (Opening Doors or Reed and You Will Be) are promising initiatives. "Abriendo Puertas uses the "popular education" approach to engage parents in lessons that reflect the culture of the target audience". <sup>63</sup> The Lee y Serás program promotes reading among Latino children in order to facilitate their education. <sup>64</sup> These programs aim to guide parents to become home teachers during the time the children are not at school. In order to become successful, parents need to be free of their fear of cooperating with such communities because of their legal status. Also, while the primary focus should be on the children in schools, it would also ease the advancement if parents were involved in an educational process to improve their English language proficiency as well as their cultural awareness of the U.S. so that the families will be incorporated into the society. Only then will the integration process be fully efficient.

### 3.2.2 Integration and Military

Another means intended to serve as a process of integration via the DREAM Act is military service. According to the proposals, immigrants may choose whether they would

<sup>62</sup> Ruth N López Turley. When Parents Want Children to Stay Home for College. University of Wisconsin Accessed 2015-04-03. http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/cde/demsem/Turley-StayingHome-spring05.pdf

<sup>60 &</sup>quot;U.S. Department of Education: Upward Bound Program.". Accessed 2015-04-03.

http://www2.ed.gov/programs/trioupbound/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Crosnoe, 144

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> "Abriendo Puertas / Opening Doors: Building a Better Future Through Parent Leadership.". Accessed 2015-04-03. http://ap-od.org/about-us

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Lee y Seras: About Us. Accessed 2015-04-03. http://www.leeyseras.net/

like to attend an institution of higher learning or to serve in one of the branches of the United States Military. <sup>65</sup> Although, until recently, undocumented immigrants were banned serving in the army, the Obama administration has reacted to the increasing number of individuals willing to join the military and plans to allow a limited number to become U.S servicemen. Although there is no evidence of the process of integration while attending the army to date, there is a significant group of those who are eager to serve the U.S after years in the country that many of the undocumented immigrants consider their homeland. It is necessary to respond to their determination and analyze what it would mean for them to serve and how the government responds to their goals.

As 2014 ended, the United States opened a new way for undocumented immigrants to earn citizenship. The Obama Administration responded incorporating undocumented youth in the U.S. army, as one goal of the DREAM Act. This is very attractive to many of these individuals as it promises a fast track towards citizenship. Immigrants who serve in the military can apply for the citizenship on the first days of their service and they can take the oath after 6 months of serving.<sup>66</sup>

The goal of the U.S. army is to recruit professionals in areas where the military service has shortfalls. It would also like to take the advantage of immigrants able to speak some of the languages uncommon in the U.S., such as Albanian, Amharic, Nepalese, Swahili, Tagalog, Urdu, Yoruba and many others, that the military might use for foreign missions. <sup>67</sup> As one result, a program has been created seeking immigrants with these capabilities called Military Accession Vital to the National Interest (MAVNI). MAVNI is promoted as a program with benefits, such as bypassing the Green Card process, earning money for college and gaining opportunities for advanced schooling. <sup>68</sup> Yet, at present, the administration limits the recruitment to only 1,500 individuals each year and therefore there is an immense backlog of applicants. Supporters of the DREAM Act, such

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> "Basic Information about the DREAM Act Legislation.". Accessed 2015-04-03. https://dreamact.info/students

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Julia Preston. "Military Path Opened for Young Immigrants." Accessed 2015-04-04. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/26/us/military-path-opened-for-young-immigrants.html?\_r=0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> "Military Accession Vital to the National Interest." Accessed 2015-04-04.

 $http://www.goarmy.com/content/dam/goarmy/downloaded\_assets/mavni/mavni-language.pdf \ ^{68}\ Ibid.$ 

as Senator Durbin, argue that it is a "missed opportunity and urge President Obama to allow broader enlistment of young people with deferral".<sup>69</sup>

Of course, primary motivation in joining the military for many of them might be winning their legal citizenship, however, some also feel moral obligations to serve the country in which they have been living for most of their lives. As one of the applicants for one of the 1,500 places says: "For me, it is really about serving my country and to really send a message to a lot of people who oppose the Dream Act or immigration, for them to see who we are, that we are as American as they are."<sup>70</sup>

### 3.3 Conclusion

Many factors influence life and incorporation of undocumented immigrants and their children in the U.S. society. Although these two groups came to the U.S. together, their behavior as groups is different. The second generation is more independent and appear to be more integrated. Yet the perception of these two different generations is often bit hazy among other Americans due to coverage of the national media which often categorizes all undocumented immigrants as one group of problematic citizens or criminals, ignoring the achievements of youthful immigrants. This creates an unjust negative perceptions among many citizens and it is one of many obstacles in the way of these children to becoming legal citizens. As discussed, these obstacles also include the socioeconomic status of families which leads to students' placement in low quality schools, lack of cooperation between schools and parents for multiple reasons, English language issues and restricted military recruitment.

In order to achieve successful integration, enactment of the DREAM Act must consider all of these challenges and develop multiple policies taking them into account. Some of the policies are already in place but, in practice, they need to have greater impact on children as well as their families. Without these policies the enactment of the Act might cause harm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Julia Preston,. "Military Path Opened for Young Immigrants."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ibid.

#### 4 IMPACT ON THE U.S. SOCIETY

It is also necessary to explore the impact of immigration reform within the U.S. Different perspectives will be considered. While the general topic of this chapter will be focused on the economic impact, the paper will include various segments such as social security and healthcare, employment, education or security consciousness. Data for this research was collected and published by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) and focused on the latest congressional DREAM Act proposal of 2011. This data will be contrasted with recently collected analyses discussing similar issues of the DACA program.

# 4.1 Public perception

Before analyzing what impact will have implementation of immigration law it is useful to discuss statists of public perception of proposed immigration reforms as well as general attitude of the U.S. citizens towards undocumented immigrants. These statists should be closely followed and considered by politicians as a potential electorate.

Although majority of U.S. citizens believes that Congress should provide a path to legal status for undocumented immigrants, the nation is divided on current Obama policies. 67% say that immigrants should have a way to stay legally. 43% approve that immigrants apply for citizenship and 24% approve permanent residency. <sup>71</sup> (Graph 2) On the other hand, when it comes to presidential immigration policies and implementation of DACA, only 50% of respondents. (Graph 3). <sup>72</sup>

In 2014 Pew Research Center survey 23% percent of respondents said they are "very sympathetic towards undocumented immigrants and 42% are "somewhat

<sup>71 &</sup>quot;Immigration Action Gets Mixed Response, But Legal Pathway Still Popular: Rise in Hispanic Support of Obama on Immigration." Accessed 2015-04-09. http://www.people-press.org/2014/12/11/immigration-action-gets-mixed-response-but-legal-pathway-still-popular/
72 Ibid.

sympathetic". Comparing to the 2013 survey the proportion of those whose feelings towards immigrants are positive has risen 7 points. (Graph 4)<sup>73</sup>

Generally the U.S. society is more optimistic towards immigration which could be caused by various reasons. U.S. citizens are getting used to their presence or they have learned that presence of immigrants in the U.S. might be beneficial for all. Also, it could be because of decreasing number of immigrants. Their number increased in 2000s but during the economic recession after 2008 it has leveled off. <sup>74</sup> Researchers are unsure about particular reason for that. It can be combination of the recession effects together with slightly improving economic conditions in Mexico and high number of deportations from the U.S. <sup>75</sup>

# 4.2 Economic Impact

A significant reason for implementing the DREAM Act are the economic benefits for the immigrants and the American society. First, however, it is necessary to outline how many immigrants are estimated to become beneficiaries of the DREAM Act in order to understand its impact. As the DREAM Act has not been enacted by the U.S. government, the potential benefit is outlined by using estimated quantities of the beneficiaries. In 2010, the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) analyzed two possible scenarios: first, it calculated possible economic impact of the full number of beneficiaries, i.e. approximately 2.1 million undocumented individuals in the U.S. Second, based on the DREAM vs. Reality: An Analysis of Potential DREAM Act beneficiaries, it is estimated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> "Immigration Action Gets Mixed Response, But Legal Pathway Still Popular: Rise in Hispanic Support of Obama on Immigration."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> "Unauthorized Immigrants: Who they are and what the public thinks." Accessed 2015-04-10. http://www.pewresearch.org/key-data-points/immigration/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Michael Matza,. "Pew report: Immigrant numbers have leveled off." Accessed 2015-04-10. http://articles.philly.com/2014-12-02/news/56618633\_1\_illegal-immigration-unauthorized-immigrants-douglas-massey

that only 38 percent, i.e. 825,000 individuals would be likely to apply at the beginning due to multiple barriers.<sup>76</sup>

MPI analyzes four groups of potential beneficiaries seeking identity barriers which could prevent individuals from achieving permanent residency due to stipulations of the DREAM Act. Group 1 consists of individuals 18 – 34 years old with at least an associate's degree. Due to their education, this group is most likely to encounter no barriers that might prevent them from achieving permanent residency. The MPI report estimates that 96, 000 potential beneficiaries match this description. Also, additional 18,000 adults over age of 35 would qualify retroactively as they meet the Act's requirements. This group of 114,000 individuals would be likely to gain legal status. Group 2 is comprised by individuals of the same age with only a high school degree or GED. That means they will either have to achieve at least two years of higher education or serve for two years in the U.S. military. According to the report, 47 percent of this group have family incomes below 200% of the federal poverty level and 35% have limited English proficiency. These are the major obstacles that limit their ability to achieve permanent citizenship, therefore the study estimates that only 290, 000 of 612,000 potential beneficiaries would qualify for permanent residency. Group 3 is represented by children under 18 years of age who, according to the research, would face greater challenges than the previous groups because of their lack of a high school degree or equivalent plus they too would have to complete two years of college or serve in armed services. They also face language barriers. The report estimates that obstacles will only allow 400,000 of 934,000 individuals to qualify. Group 4, comprised by individuals 18-34 without a high school diploma, is estimated to have the least opportunity for residency. The main obstacles to apply for citizenship are the following: 70% of this group have limited English proficiency, 65% live in families below 200% of the poverty line, 60% of women are parents and 85% are working. Due to these circumstances, the report estimates only 22,000 out of 489,000 would be able to become permanent residents.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Jeanne Batalova. "DREAM vs. Reality: An Analysis of Potential DREAM Act Beneficiaries." Accessed 2015-03-27. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/dream-vs-reality-analysis-potential-dream-act-beneficiaries

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Hinojosa and Takash.

However, these numbers are estimates and, without implementation of the act, it will not be clear how many undocumented immigrants will apply. MPI estimates that passing of the DREAM Act would enhance national economy earnings by "a highly educated workforce that will contribute trillions of dollars to the U.S. economy. A higher supply of skilled students would also advance the U.S. global competitive position in science, technology, medicine, education and other endeavors"

To understand how the enactment can boost economy in various sectors, the following research is divided into segments of the economy analyzed separately. The federal level will be addressed, followed by the state level.

#### 4.2.1 Federal Level

#### **4.2.1.1 Employment**

In order to see the influence of education on incomes it is necessary to look at annual measures of incomes based on education. Differences between incomes of immigrants according to their education are measured every year by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 2014, individuals with less than a high school diploma earned on average \$488 per week with an unemployment rate of 9%. Individuals with bachelor's degree earned \$1,101 per week with an unemployment rate 3.5%, while individuals with professional degrees earned \$1,639 per week, only 1.9% was unemployed.<sup>79</sup>

Reports of the American Immigration Council provide various conclusions demonstrating that access to greater educational opportunities would bring better jobs and more taxable income. For example, individual with a bachelor's degree earns approximately \$750,000 more during the lifetime than an individual with a high school diploma.<sup>80</sup> Their research also states that overall earnings generated from 2010 over 40

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Hinojosa and Takash.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Employment Projections: Earnings and Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment." Accessed 2015-03-23. http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep\_chart\_001.htm

The data are for persons age 25 and over, earnings are for full time wage and salary workers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> "Why Passing the DREAM Act Would Benefit the Economy." In Accessed 2015-03-22. http://www.dreamthedocumentary.com/why-passing-the-dream-act-would-enefit-the-economy/

years would be \$1.4 trillion current dollars in case the 38 percent potential beneficiaries would apply and up to \$3.6 trillion if all of them apply. <sup>81</sup>

Opponents the DREAM Act and of immigration argue that immigrants occupy positions belonging to citizens and, as the immigrants are willing to work for less money, employers are more likely to employ undocumented immigrants rather than Americans. In fact, such a phenomenon has a positive impact on economy too. In a research made in 2005 it has been found that, in states with heavy concentration of immigrants, U.S. native born workers have migrated to better paid occupations than manual jobs. This mechanism also stimulates productivity of workers born in the U.S. and generates more employment opportunities. <sup>82</sup>

# 4.2.1.2 Social Security and Health Care

Some undocumented immigrants receive Social security and Medicare but most of them do not because they are not eligible for government programs nor for health insurance provided by employers. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that individuals affected by the latest proposal would be younger and healthier than the rest of the population, therefore there would be relatively few of the beneficiaries to qualify for Social Security and Medicare benefits by 2020. Based on the Current Population Survey, about 0.2 percent of the affected population would qualify for these programs. <sup>83</sup> On the other hand, although the undocumented immigrants underutilize healthcare compared to the general public, they often use emergency rooms as they are must provide care regardless their insurance coverage. This leads to higher expenditures at hospitals and the estimated annual cost that could be eliminated by the enactment of the DREAM Act is between \$6 and \$10 billion.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> "The Dream Act" Creating Economic Opportunities." Accessed 2015-03-22.

 $http://www.american immigration council.org/sites/default/files/docs/DREAM\_Act\_Economic\_Fact\_Sheet\_120810.pdf$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Giovanni Peri, "The Effect of Immigrants on U.S. Employment and Productivity." Accessed 2015-3-23. http://www.frbsf.org/economic-research/files/el2010-26.pdf#page=4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Peter H Fontaine,. "Congressional Budget Cost Estimate: H.R. 6497 Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act." In Accessed 2015-04-23.

http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/hr6497.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> David Becerra,. "Fear vs. Facts: Examining the Economic Impact of Undocumented Immigrants in the U.S.." Accessed 2015-03-23.

#### **4.2.1.3** Education

Some people are concerned that passage of the Act could deny native born students entrance to colleges and universities, including financial aid. However, universities would actually benefit from accepting beneficiaries of the DREAM Act as it would keep the talented students in the United States. States The Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan, believes that "these young people live up to their fullest potential and contribute to the economic growth of our country. In particular, the DREAM Act will play an important part in the nation's efforts to have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world by 2020," Higher enrolment of students at schools and colleges may also lead to creation of jobs not only for teachers but also for administrative workers, maintenance staff, bus drivers and others that would help local and state economies.

Higher enrolment of students in public schools would bring higher state expenditures associated with education of undocumented children, however, these costs represent only 3.3 percent of the total cost between \$520-\$535 billion that is spent each year by the Department of Education to educate all children in the U.S. 88 Moreover, universities would gain more funds form in-state tuitions.

#### 4.2.1.4 Cost of Deportations

Another important economic aspect connected to the current problems with immigration is the cost of deportations and the manner the U.S. faces the issue. To date, the Obama Administration has partially addressed the problem by deportations carried

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Roberto G. Gonzales, "Wasted Talent and Broken Dreams: The Lost Potential of Undocumented Students." Accessed 2015-03-23.

http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/docs/Wasted%20 Talent%20 and %20 Broken%20 Dreams.pdf#page=9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> "THE DREAM ACT: Good For Our Economy, Good For Our Security, Good for Our Nation." Accessed 2015-03-23. https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/DREAM-Act-WhiteHouse-FactSheet.pdf

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> David Becerra and David K Androff. "Fear vs. Facts: Examining the Economic Impact of Undocumented Immigrants in the U.S.." In Accessed 2015-03-23.

 $http://www.wmich.edu/hhs/newsletters\_journals/jssw\_institutional/institutional\_subscribers/39.4. Becerra. pdf$ 

out by ICE, the American federal law agency serving to "identify, arrest, and remove aliens who present a danger to national security or are a risk to public safety, as well as those who enter the United States illegally or otherwise undermine the integrity of our immigration laws and our border control efforts."<sup>89</sup>

It is a topic of public debates as to whether it is possible to face this problem by deporting all of the illegal immigrants. One of the most relevant arguments against it is the cost of these deportations. Americans must ask how much it costs taxpayers to deport one illegal immigrant and whether America has capacities to deport all of them.

In 2013, the Obama administration deported 438,421 unauthorized immigrants out of which 198,000 had committed crime but 240,000 were not criminals. Since Obama has been in office there has been more than 2 million deportations (in 5 years), which is approximately the same number as during G. W. Bush's presidency. <sup>90</sup>

The cost of deportation of one undocumented immigrant is, according to ICE, about \$12,500. The Center for American Progress states that the whole process of detention, legal proceeding and transportation to the country of origin can cost up to \$23,480.91 Costs consists of the following segments: 1) apprehension: in 2008 the budget for apprehensions was \$1.24 billion which financed 67,728 deportations. 2) Detentions cost \$3,355. This prices covers \$99 per a bed and \$12.82 per a guard per day. ICE possesses 32,000 beds in 350 facilities and 15,300 spaces in community-based supervision program. The average number of days that detainees is held is 30, so the average cost per individual is \$3,355. 3) Legal Proceedings cost \$817. This is an average amount based on proceedings in total. In 2008 there were usually two proceedings per one deportation.92 4) Costs of transportation: approx. \$1,000. This amount is variable and differs according to the return destination of detainees. Most of the detainees, however, come from Mexico

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> "Enforcement and Removal Operations of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement." Accessed 2015-03-25. http://www.ice.gov/ero

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Anna Gonzalez Barrera,. "U.S. deportations of immigrants reach record high in 2013." Accessed 2015-03-25. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/10/02/u-s-deportations-of-immigrants-reach-record-high-in-2013/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Jan Kasperkevic,. "Deporting All of America's Illegal Immigrants Would Cost Whooping Deporting All Of America's Illegal Immigrants Would Cost A Whopping \$285 Billion." Accessed 2015-04-25. http://www.businessinsider.com/deporting-all-of-americas-illegal-immigrants-would-cost-a-whopping-285-billion-2012-1

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

and they are transported back to their country by bus. <sup>93</sup> Overall, this solution promoted by some politicians would cost approximately \$285 billion over five years with a high possibility that this number would rise with increasing number of immigrants. <sup>94</sup> It is almost impossible that the ICE would be able to deport all of these individuals. First, they lack capacities of detention centers and second, because of the enormous cost to be covered by taxpayers.

#### 4.2.2 State Level

Demographic distribution of undocumented immigrants differ and therefore some states would benefit more and some less from the enactment of the Act. The Initiative for Global Development analyzed the educational effects of the DREAM Act variance in individual states and the dependence on age, educational attainment and number of immigrants. For example, Massachusetts is a state with a low estimated educational attainment impact on economy as they contain "fairly well-educated older DREAMers" unlike some states containing older DREAMers that avoided going to colleges because of their illegal status. <sup>95</sup> Based on this analysis, California would benefit the most by 2030. It would profit \$97.7 billion in total business income with 550,000 eligible DREAMers, followed by Texas with \$66 billion per 325,000 individuals, Florida with \$21 billion per 151,000 individuals and New York with \$15.9 billion per 105,000 individuals.

From this point, the focus is on California, the state to see the biggest impact of the enactment of the DREAM Act as more than 27 percent of the population in 2010 was foreign born. <sup>97</sup> According to Regional Economic Models, immigrants to enroll for legal citizenship will generate more than 121,000 jobs and \$9.9 billion for the state by 2020. <sup>98</sup> Foreign born students in California are one of the crucial forces that creates jobs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Kasperkovic.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Juan Carlos Guzmán, "The State Economic Benefits of Passing the DREAM Act." Accessed 2015-03-

 $<sup>23.\</sup> https://www.american progress.org/issues/immigration/news/2012/10/01/39215/the-state-economic-benefits-of-passing-the-dream-act/ \\ ^{96}\ Ibid.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> "Map the Impact of Immigration Across the Nation: A project of the Partnership for a New American Economy." Accessed 2015-03-24. http://www.maptheimpact.org/state/california/

<sup>98</sup> Ibid

California is an important hub of scientific advancement as many of the top level American universities are based there. It is estimated that two in five graduates of Master's or PhD programs in STEM fields were foreign born and almost 57 percent of PhD students in earning engineering degree were noncitizens too. 99 Each of these graduates who stay in the U.S. contributes to a large employment boost. A recent study by the Partnership for a New American Economy states that of every 100 foreign born graduates of these Master's and PhD programs working in a STEM field, 262 jobs are created for Americans. 100 Immigrants in California also contribute to the rising level of competitiveness of companies. The University of California earned 370 patents in 2011 and more than 76 percent of them were from foreign born students. The startup programs were also an important economic sector influenced by the number of immigrants in the state. A study by the University of California-Berkeley found that between 1995 and 2005 more than 50% of startups in Silicon Valley had at least one founder of immigrant origin, including Facebook or Tesla Motors. However, as the U.S. lacks programs granting visas for these entrepreneurs, it has become difficult and discouraging for these immigrants to stay and so many chose countries such as Singapore, the United Kingdom or Canada, whose laws are more welcoming. The same research made in 2005 and 2012 has shown a 44 percent drop of foreign born founders of new startups in Silicon Valley. 101

Although many immigrants around the U.S. wait for the federal government to decide on issues related to immigration, California is one of the states with its own version of the DREAM Acts known as California DREAM Act. Since 2013, the law allows undocumented students to apply for non-state funded scholarships and state-funded financial aid. <sup>102</sup> The democratic governor Jerry Brown, who is in favor of immigration reform, signed the Act saying: "While Washington waffles on immigration, California's moving ahead, I'm not waiting." This act is being called a milestone of immigration

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Science, techonolgy, engeneering and mathematics

<sup>100</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> "Map the Impact of Immigration Across the Nation: A project of the Partnership for a New American Economy."

Nanette Asimov, "Jerry Brown signs Dream Act for illegal immigrants." Accessed 2015-03-24.
 http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Jerry-Brown-signs-Dream-Act-for-illegal-immigrants-2327890.php
 Karen Bates. "Undocumented Immigrants In Calif. Will Benefit From New Laws." Accessed 2015-03-24.
 http://www.npr.org/blogs/codeswitch/2013/10/07/230183623/undocumented-immigrants-in-calif-will-benefit-from-new-laws

reform in California not only because it allows students to apply for financial support to study at universities but it also includes section, the Trust Act, which is one of the most important components of this multi bill package. It was designed to counteract the Secure Communities program started by the Obama Administration, that were heavily criticized by activists claiming that they resulted in thousands of deportations of people with no criminal records. They were also criticized for the amount of bureaucratic paperwork connected with deportations that resulted in hundreds of people being deported. 104 The Trust Act aims to ease this paperwork and lower detention density. It is believed that the act will affect and prevent about 20,000 individuals from deportation. These immigrants will also be able to apply for professional licenses and apply for and receive drivers' license. 105

# 4.3 Impact of DACA

Comparing to these hypothetical costs that the U.S. economy might gain or lose by approval of the Act or not, it is interesting to analyze what the two years of Executive Order by Obama meant for the economy and whether it reflected the same impact as it is was predicted for the DREAM Act. The Obama Administration's enforcement agencies have been granting deferred action for undocumented youth together with renewable two year permits and applicants also obtain Social Security numbers. While DACA does not offer a path to legalization of their status, it aims to move a larger ground of young adults into lives which improve their social and economic status and wellbeing. Therefore, it is relevant to consider its impact of this executive order and compare it to the estimates of the DREAM Act implementation.

This analysis was done by the National UnDACAmented Research Project survey of 2,684 young adults, 18-32 years of age who applied for DACA. It represents the largest data collection on this population. The survey showed that almost 60% of DACA beneficiaries found new jobs thanks to the program and 45% of them increased their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Bates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Patrick McGreevy. "Signing Trust Act is another illegal-immigration milestone for Brown." Accessed 2015-03-24. http://www.latimes.com/local/la-me-brown-immigration-20131006-story.html#page=1

annual earnings. Twenty one percent of these young adults have gained internships which will likely lead to a successful career in the future. Fifty seven percent obtained driver's licenses which promises a better access to education and employment. Forty nine percent have opened bank accounts for the first time and 33% of them received their first credit card. <sup>106</sup> The research has also shown that the greatest benefits from participation in the program were gained by those applicants who already had a bachelor's or higher degree. Those who possessed BA's gained new jobs 1.5 times more often than those who never went to a college. <sup>107</sup>

However, not all of the eligible students applied for the program. The report assessed 244 respondents who meet the DACA requirement but have not applied. The number one reason for their failure to participate was economic limitations. Forty-five percent of them could not afford to pay the \$465 administration fee required. An additional 10 percent stated they did not know how to apply. The research concluded the main obstacles for these individuals were low family incomes and limited social networks. Additionally, 15% of respondents said they were afraid of sending personal data to the federal government and about one third of this group said they are waiting for better conditions to apply. <sup>108</sup>

Although the young adults who applied for the program do not need to fear they would be deported or live their life "in shadows", they are often members of whole families living in the U.S. whose parents or other family members lack legal status. This has an impact on economic of DACA beneficiaries. In the survey, 90% said they have someone in their family who would benefit if the immigration reform was passed. Therefore many immigration experts believe that best means of the DACA to succeed is to include parents and siblings these who qualify to solve to immigration problems efficiently. Although currently frozen, the DAPA program for parents of DREAM Act beneficiaries would also have a significant positive effect on the U.S. economy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Undocumented immigrants are not prohibited to have their bank account but many banks require an ID card for opening it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Roberto G. Gonzales, "Two Years and Counting: Assessing the Growing Power of DACA."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Ibid.

#### **4.3.1** Taxes

It is a common myth that undocumented immigrants do not pay taxes. They do and as it is evidenced by Social Security Administration as a "suspense file" (taxes that are not matched to worker's names). Taxes are paid by at least 50% of undocumented immigrants' households using Individual Tax Identification Numbers and other have taxes deducted from their paychecks. The evidence shows that amount of money collected from undocumented immigrants between 1990 and 2000 grew by \$20 billion. <sup>110</sup> This contradicts the argument that only U.S. citizens will have to pay for education and other expenses connected with setting a pathway to citizenship.

Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy's research demonstrates that in 2012 undocumented immigrants contributed \$11.84 billion in the U.S. These contributions varied from \$3.2 million in Montana with estimated 6,000 undocumented immigrants to more than \$3.2 billion in California with more than 3.1 million undocumented immigrants. The research estimates that under Obama's executive order, the state and local tax contributions would increase by \$845 million a year, once all undocumented immigrants apply. See Graph 5 for list of states and tax change of population impacted by executive order.) These figures prove that undocumented immigrants have significant impact on state tax revenues. If all 4 million people eligible for DACA program apply, personal income tax revenues could boost state economies and public funds. (See Table 1)

# 4.4 Security Consciousness

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

Security consciousness is another problem connected to perceptions undocumented immigrants. The fact that many of the potential beneficiaries come from Mexico and other parts of Central America and have similar characteristics as American native born

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Anchondo, Leo. "Top 10 Myths About Immigration." Accessed 2015-04-10.

http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/high-school/top-10-myths-about-immigration

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Matthew Gardner, , Sebastian Johnson and Meg Wiehe. Undocumented Immigrants' State & Local Tax Contributions. Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy Accessed 2015-04-10. http://www.itep.org/pdf/undocumentedtaxes2015.pdf

population who are "frequently incarcerated, oftentimes young, poor, high-school dropouts, from an ethnic minority" creates negative connotations. These popular stereotypes may reinforce impression that there is a link between undocumented immigrants, even though studies have proved the opposite. <sup>113</sup>

Although the number of undocumented immigrants in 1990s and 2000s doubled, the rate of violent and property crimes decreased by 34% and 26% respectively. <sup>114</sup> The Federal Bureau of Investigation Unified Crime Reports compared data of total crime rates between High Immigrant Jurisdiction (HIJs) and non HIJs. <sup>115</sup> The study found that between 1999 and 2006 violent and non-violent crime in the U.S. decreased by 10 percent (3808.1 per 100,000 residents in 2006 versus 4273.8 per 100,000 residents in 1999) but it also discovered that crime decreased faster in the nineteen countries with HIJs than in non HIJs. Moreover, when the researchers examined the incarceration rate of the undocumented immigrants they found out that the rate was lower than that of the native born Americans. <sup>116</sup> The answer for that suggests that "immigration provides a protective effect, with strong community ties generating a cultural commitment to conformity and guarding against the criminogenic effects of social disorganization, strain, and economic and social marginalization." Moreover, the fact that these individuals are undocumented and they live their lives "in shadows" also most probably causes that they avoid criminality and violence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> David Becerra,. "Fear vs. Facts: Examining the Economic Impact of Undocumented Immigrants in the U.S..." 115. Accessed 2015-03-26.

 $http://www.wmich.edu/hhs/newsletters\_journals/jssw\_institutional/institutional\_subscribers/39.4. Becerra. pdf$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> HIJ are defined as 19 states with the most resident immigrants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> "The Myth of Immigrant Criminality and the Paradox of Assimilation: Incarceration Rates among Native and Foreign-Born Men." 5. Accessed 2015-03-26.

http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/docs/Imm%20Criminality%20(IPC).pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Tim Wadsworth, ,. "Is Immigration Responsible for the Crime Drop? An Assessment of the Influence of Immigration on Changes in Violent Crime Between 1990 and 2000 n." 537. Accessed 2015-03-26. http://alumni.colorado.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Is-Immigration-Responsible-for-the-CrimeDrop.pdf

#### 4.5 Conclusion

As discussed above, the economic impact of immigrants on the US society is significant. If the U.S. wants to benefit from the presence of immigrants, it must choose a way to do so. This translates into making fundamental immigration reform that would consider data of the economic impact of their presence. The statistics provided above could be used as for learning from the law enforcement.

At the moment, there are two paths to follow: the radical deportation of all the undocumented immigrants, whether or not criminals, or support the young undocumented individuals living in the U.S. with benefits from their potential. The first option will bring huge expenditures on deportations that would probably affect all taxpayers in the U.S. and would have only a negative impact on the U.S. economy. Another question is whether the nation has means for massive deportations affecting millions of people. The U.S. government can choose a better way, to set clear path for them to become citizens so that the states' economies will benefit from their presence. The fact that the beneficiaries would not have to fear being deported plus the freedom to apply for better paid jobs would allow them to spend their earnings on significant investments such a car, a house or further education. Such a reform of immigration laws must be broad and permanent, unlike the current DACA program, so that it has a long term effect on America's economy and people's lives. The potential could be reached if conditions support family, most importantly parents, living together with their children and become a solid economic unit in the system. The current situation is, for many individuals, too fragile and, therefore, they prefer to wait for further resolutions. The U.S. loses significant sources of growth and many were lost in the past already.

#### 5 CASE STUDY: NEW YORK DREAM ACT

The New York DREAM Act is a state versions of the federal proposal in Congress. Although it cannot solve the problem of legal citizenship for the undocumented immigrants, in many ways it shows aspects of the national impact of its enactment.

The current proposal of the New York DREAM Act intends to enable those students who meet in-state tuition requirements access to state financial aid and scholarships. It also plans to open a DREAM Act Fund Commission in order to raise private funds that would be used for scholarships for children of immigrants. <sup>118</sup> Such a state DREAM Act will influence 146,000 children currently studying at public schools. Due to the financial costs of college and university degrees only 5-10% of undocumented youth graduating from public schools in New York pursue further education. <sup>119</sup>

# **5.1** Political Perspective

The passage of the DREAM Act in both chambers of the New York legislative is a classic example of political balancing. Governor Andrew Cuomo, a Democrat, included the DREAM Act in the executive budget for 2015-16, but he also linked it to a new tax credit for donations to private schools. Republicans control the State Senate. They are in favor of the tax credit but oppose the Act supported by Democrats. Democrats control the Assembly and oppose the tax credit. Therefore the situation seems to have no solution.

Republicans called this measure a "no-go". As Dean Skelos, a Republican conference leader, states "We don't believe that we should be spending taxpayer dollars on people that are here illegally while other kids are saddled with student loans." Although Democrats are in favor of the Act, they will not vote for its passage. Sheldon Silver, the Assembly Speaker says: "I support giving parents' relief from the cost of education. But I'm not sure that providing corporate tax relief is the way to provide the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> "New York DREAM Act (A.2597 / S.2378) Information Sheet." Accessed 2015-04-05. http://www.nydreamact.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/New-York-Dream-Act-Infosheet.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> "Creating Opportunities for Immigrant Students and Supporting the U.S. Economy: The DREAM Act." Accessed 2015-04-05. http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/dream-act

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Josefa Velasquez,. "Legislative leaders wary of Cuomo budget proposals." Accessed 2015-04-05. http://www.capitalnewyork.com/article/albany/2015/01/8560633/legislative-leaders-wary-cuomo-budget-proposals

relief to parents."<sup>121</sup> Although there is no evidence of the DREAM Act to be linked to any other law or budget passage on the federal level, the arguments, especially those of Republicans resemble those in New York. They hold the same opinion despite the economic prospect analysis states that in long term enactment both the students and the state economy would benefit, same as the analysis of the economic impact on the federal level.

# **5.2** Economic Perspective

The perspectives of the economic impact of the Act are even more persuasive that the analyses of the impact on the national level. The Foreign Policy Institute anticipated a strong return on budget investment in a policy report of 2013. The cost of New York State DREAM Act would be \$17 million each year, which represents 2 percent of expenditures for Tuition Assistance Program. <sup>122</sup> This report concludes the following:

"For a 4-year college student, the maximum cost of TAP (Tuition Assistance Program) is a one-time investment of \$20,000 (four years at \$5,000). Compared to a high school graduate, the college graduate can then be expected typically to earn an additional \$25,000/year in New York State, spending money in the local economy, and paying about \$3,900 more per year in state and local taxes. For a 2-year graduate, the cost of TAP is a one-time \$8,000 investment (2 years at \$4,000), the boost in median earnings is \$10,000/year, and the added state and local taxes are about \$1,000/ year. The economic benefits of an education are clear, even if for undocumented immigrants they may be less than these overall levels." <sup>123</sup>

In addition, these expenses would not put a strain on the taxpayers as the tax load would increase only to some extent, if the \$17 million cost was financed through the state income tax, average annual tax per one taxpayer would be  $87\phi$ . <sup>124</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Velasquez.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> The New York State DREAM Legislation: A strong return on investment. Foreign Policy Insitutie, 2013Accessed 2015-04-05. http://fiscalpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/NYS-DREAM-legislation-ROI.pdf

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> The New York State DREAM Legislation: A strong return on investment.

# **5.3** Perspective of Beneficiaries

Politicians and public are not the only factors in this debate. When the government announced it is not going to include the DREAM Act in the executive budget in 2015 – 16, young beneficiaries of the Act become more engaged than before and started to push politicians to change their decisions. Within one year their activities increased to support the DREAM Act enactment.

Monica Sibri, a 22 year-old undocumented student from Ecuador, who arrived to the U.S. at the age of 16, established and chairs an organization called CUNY ( City University of New York) Dreamers. This organization has branches at many other campuses around the state of New York and, in total, it advocates rights of more than 6,000 undocumented students in the CUNY system. Their goal is to provide advocacy training and teach legal rights to undocumented immigrants and, more importantly, to persuade politicians to pass the DREAM Act on legislative sessions in Albany. 125 Although the act doesn't grant work permit nor legal status, these students still invested major efforts to create public awareness and add pressure on politicians.

In March 2015, when they learned the New York State dropped DREAM Act from the executive budget, 50 Dreamers joined the "Strike 4 DREAM", a hunger strike to escalate the pressure on politicians. Although it did not change the decision to restrict the budget, they gained public and media attention.

This case study presents the DREAM Act in one of the states. With respect to the situation of the DREAM Act in Congress, there are many similarities. The New York DREAM Act's budget was not passed due to laws connected to it, rather than political disagreement about the act itself. This implies that the real interest of politicians is not to ease the situation of undocumented students who want to pursue further education, but to use the DREAM Act for political negotiations and intrigues. These politicians should not be surprised that students like Monica Sibri are organizing themselves to increase pressure and spread awareness of their demands. It is likely that organizations like CUNY

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Medina, Daniel. "Undocumented New York students undeterred in their fight for higher education." Accessed 2015-04-08. http://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/mar/03/undocumented-new-york-high-school-students-dreamers-financial-aid

Dreamers will unite with other similar organizations in other U.S. states to increase pressure on politicians in Congress.

#### 6 CONCLUSION

This thesis discussed the issue of undocumented immigration to the United States and focused on the DREAM Act, a legislative proposal to set a path for children of illegal immigrants towards legal citizenship. The aim of this thesis was to answer the question whether children who came to the U.S. with their parents at very young ages without a chance to decide if they want to take the risk, break the law, and live in the new country without legal documents should be punished for decisions of their parents. The assumption was that legalizing presence of these children will be beneficial for them as well as the U.S. if the pathway to citizenship involves process of successful integration.

Statistics show that this option is undoubtedly mutually beneficial on many levels and the U.S. can maximize this benefit if its lawmakers provide a clear pathway and just conditions for integration. Although they broke the law by entering illegally, most of them lived in the U.S. long enough and have real potential to become full citizens of the U.S. who will contribute to the society with their skills and educational attainment.

The argument that the U.S. citizens will pay for their process of integration is challenged by economic analysis proving that these taxpayers, as is also true of other undocumented immigrants, pay their taxes. In addition, the amount of real costs of DREAM Act implementation as well as provision of state tuition fees in individual states is negligible if compared to other solutions of the immigration issue. Moreover, the "investment" in these young immigrants will soon be returned in state and local taxes, development of occupations at universities, savings on health care etc.

An alternative way to face the immigration problem, such as deportations, seems rather unrealistic due to enormous expenditures to be covered by tax payers. The U.S. does not have at its disposal enough room for deportation of millions undocumented individuals as the procedure of detention lasts 30 days on average. Moreover, most of the undocumented immigrants do not pose a national security threat.

Barack Obama's executive orders and immigration reform programs stem from good intentions. However, in the future they can become quite problematic for those who have applied. The biggest disadvantage of the order is the fact that it provides only a temporary solution. It brings what immigrants wanted: the freedom to apply for jobs or

DACA program provides valuable statistics about beneficiaries and tells reasons why some of them decided not to apply. Fear of provision of personal data to federal offices, expensive entrance fees, or lack of information about the program are only some of the reasons why beneficiaries could not apply. Any further immigration reform should take into consideration these reasons and make the application procedure easier so that everyone can apply. However, the future president might have very different immigration policy and he or she can cancel all of Obama's orders. If this were to happen, all of the beneficiaries would be caught in a limbo.

What remains unanswered is the reason why some of the Congressmen changed their opinion and voted against the DREAM Act, despite the fact that they previously supported it and were in overall agreement about its benefits. Most of the politicians avoid this answer directly. This indicates that there were probably political calculations behind the scenes. It also reveals the malicious intentions of some of the Senators and Representatives who do not want to admit these individuals to a legal presence in the U.S. and to ease the pressure on their lives.

Concluding that the DREAM Act is beneficial, further research should focus on supplementary immigration reforms regarding other undocumented immigrants. Statistics prove that the economic benefits are even more significant if families stay together without fear of being deported. The presidential executive order DAPA, a program for parents of undocumented children, would also need its legislative equivalent in Congress. However, before its introduction, there should be an analysis of how many parents would be affected and what programs for integration should be introduced with such a new law. The training programs for Latino immigrants are an example of a way to facilitate their presence in the U.S., yet the programs would need to cover a far larger population than they do now.

It seems there is no simple solution for the immigration reform as there are more layers to the problem. However, it is necessary to provide opportunities for those who might bring benefits for the U.S. society. To take advantage of the potential, lawmakers must secure laws to protect it.

The best solutions of immigration reform are those which bring the most benefits. Improvement of the immigration system so that it is in accordance with the current situation will take many steps that often require political courage in Congress. The DREAM Act is one of these steps towards complex reform. As this thesis and other studies prove, it is very probable that the courage in the DREAM Act vote will bear fruit.

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# **8 LIST OF SUPPLEMENTS**

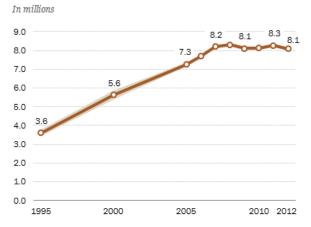
- Graph 1: Unauthorized Immigrants in Labor Force
- Graph 2: Seven in Ten Continue to Support Path to Legal Status
- Graph 3: Divides on Immigration Executive Action
- Graph 4: About Two Thirds Are Sympathetic towards Undocumented Immigrants
- Table 1: State and Local Taxes Paid by Undocumented Immigrants in 2012

#### 9 SUPPLEMENTS

Graphs 1, 2, 3, 4

FIGURE 1

# Unauthorized Immigrants in the U.S. Labor Force, 1995-2012



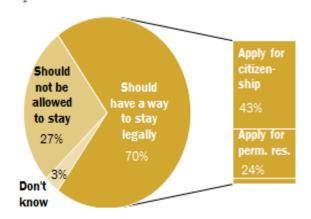
Note: Shading surrounding line indicates high and low points of the estimated 90% confidence interval. Data labels are for 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011 and 2012. The 2009-2012 change is not statistically significant at 90% confidence interval.

Source: Table A2, derived from Pew Research Center estimates for 2005-2012 based on augmented American Community Survey data from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS); for 1995 and 2000 based on March Supplements to Current Population Survey.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Seven-in-Ten Continue to Support Path to Legal Status for Undocumented

Undocumented immigrants in the U.S. who meet certain requirements ...

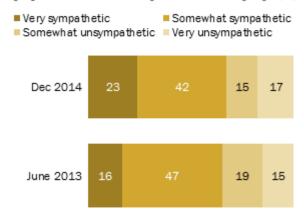


Survey conducted Dec. 3-7, 2014.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY

# About Two-Thirds Are Sympathetic Toward Undocumented Immigrants

Sympathetic toward immigrants in U.S. illegally? (%)

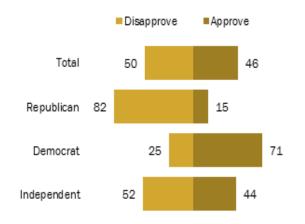


Survey conducted Dec. 3-7, 2014. Don't know responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY

# **Divides on Immigration Executive Action**

Obama executive action that expands number of undocumented immigrants allowed to stay & work (%)



Survey conducted Dec. 3-7, 2014. Don't know response not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY

Table 1

State	TOTAL UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT POPULATION			POPULATION IMPACTED BY EXECUTIVE ACTIONS		
	Current Taxes	Perm. Legal Residence	Tax Change	Current Taxes	Full Implementation of Exec. Actions	TAX CHANG
Alabama	69,716,000	89,745,000	+20,029,000	27,542,000	34,649,000	+7,107,000
laska	3,426,000	3,769,000	+343,000	1,020,000	1,096,000	+76,000
rizona	237,897,000	281,925,000	+44,028,000	118,080,000	136,753,000	+18,673,000
irkansas	58,932,000	72,420,000	+13,488,000	28,930,000	34,744,000	+5,814,000
alifornia	3,264,255,000	3,768,786,000	+504,531,000	1,620,786,000	1,828,769,000	+207,983,000
olorado	144,038,000	182,308,000	+38,270,000	72,019,000	89,083,000	+17,064,000
onnecticut	136,567,000	158,351,000	+21,784,000	53,385,000	60,494,000	+7,109,000
Delaware	12,449,000	18,134,000	+5,685,000	5,706,000	8,122,000	+2,416,000
Dist. of Col.	28,861,000	33,809,000	+4,948,000	8,590,000	9,834,000	+1,244,000
Florida	604,955,000	665,450,000	+60,495,000	241,216,000	259,307,000	+18,091,000
Georgia	351,839,000	455,500,000	+103,661,000	150,283,000	190,139,000	+39,856,000
Hawall	31,174,000	41,212,000	+10,038,000	10,391,000	13,425,000	+3,034,000
daho	26,609,000	32,066,000	+5,457,000	14,870,000	17,512,000	+2,642,000
Illinois	793,719,000	959,004,000	+165,285,000	398,277,000	470,278,000	+72,001,000
Indiana	93,700,000	122,689,000	+28,989,000	42,069,000	53,833,000	+11,764,000
owa	36,349,000	44,954,000	+8,605,000	17,683,000	21,372,000	+3,689,000
Kansas	69,421,000	80,423,000	+11,002,000	35,228,000	39,884,000	+4,656,000
Kentucky	38,801,000	55,307,000	+16,506,000	16,167,000	22,521,000	+6,354,000
Louisiana	59,852,000	73,391,000	+13,539,000	19,607,000	23,496,000	+3,889,000
Maine	4,265,000	5,409,000	+1,144,000	1,269,000	1,573,000	+304,000
Maryland	293,836,000	375,887,000	+82,051,000	101,812,000	127,282,000	+25,470,000
Massachusetts	196,898,000	259,358,000	+62,460,000	69,181,000	89,055,000	+19,874,000
Michigan	86,015,000	112,719,000	+26,704,000	38,707,000	49,571,000	+10,864,000
Minnesota	87,473,000	104,948,000	+17,475,000	40,372,000	47,337,000	+6,965,000
Mississippi	27,306,000	33,783,000	+6,477,000	8,192,000	9,905,000	+1,713,000
Missouri	52,117,000	67,754,000	+15,637,000	22,696,000	28,835,000	+6,139,000
Montana	3,236,000	4,481,000	+1,245,000	963,000	1,303,000	+340,000
Nebraska	44,401,000	52,379,000	+7,978,000	21,631,000	24,938,000	+3,307,000
Nevada	93,891,000	103,280,000	+9,389,000	42,737,000	45,942,000	+3,205,000
New Hampshire	8,768,000	9,699,000	+931,000	2,610,000	2,821,000	+211,000
New Jersey	613,438,000	701,470,000	+88,032,000	237,010,000	264,863,000	+27,853,000
New Mexico	66,319,000	74,252,000	+7,933,000	32,679,000	35,756,000	+3,077,000
New York	1,093,455,000	1,344,325,000	+250,870,000	424,606,000	510,159,000	+85,553,000
North Carolina	278,444,000	372,188,000	+93,744,000	121,918,000	159,260,000	+37,342,000
North Dakota	5,539,000	6,355,000	+816,000	1,648,000	1,848,000	+200,000
Ohio	81,227,000	106,039,000	+24,812,000	33,680,000	42,968,000	+9,288,000
Oklahoma	76,494,000	93,327,000	+16,833,000	36,381,000	43,378,000	+6,997,000
Oregon	83,139,000	122,014,000	+38,875,000	42,240,000	60,582,000	+18,342,000
Pennsylvania	150,357,000	201,037,000	+50,680,000	61,256,000	80,042,000	+18,786,000
Rhode Island	33,108,000	40,159,000	+7,051,000	13,884,000	16,458,000	+2,574,000
South Carolina	69,254,000	88,119,000	+18,865,000	26,134,000	32,497,000	+6,363,000
South Dakota	4,174,000	4,591,000	+417,000	1,242,000	1,335,000	+93,000
Tennessee	108,586,000	119,479,000	+10,893,000	44,660,000	48,024,000	+3,364,000
Texas	1,502,328,000	1,652,561,000	+150,233,000	763,478,000	820,739,000	+57,261,000
Utah	74,819,000	97,431,000	+22,612,000	39,960,000	50,854,000	+10,894,000
/ermont	5,756,000	6,684,000	+928,000	1,713,000	1,944,000	+231,000
/irginia	240,431,000	317,095,000	+76,664,000	89,917,000	115,893,000	+25,976,000
Washington	301,937,000	332,131,000	+30,194,000	148,147,000	159,258,000	+11,111,000
West Virginia	4,139,000	5,515,000	+1,376,000	1,232,000	1,604,000	+372,000
Wisconsin	83,672,000	101,743,000	+18,071,000	38,533,000	45,790,000	+7,257,000
Wyoming	3,560,000	3,916,000	+356,000	1,060,000	1,139,000	+79,000
All States	\$11,840,943,000	\$14,059,368,000	+\$2,218,425,000	THE RESERVE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN	\$6,238,263,200	+\$844,864,70

Source: Gardner, Matthew, Sebastian Johnson and Meg Wiehe. Undocumented Immigrants' State & Local Tax Contributions. Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy Accessed 2015-04-10. http://www.itep.org/pdf/undocumentedtaxes2015.pdf