



Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars

*Division of United States Studies
Canada Institute*



Education and Immigrant Integration in the United States and Canada



Edited by Philippa Strum and David Biette



**Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars**

*Division of United States Studies
Canada Institute*



Education and Immigrant Integration in the United States and Canada

Proceedings of a Conference held on April 25, 2005,
sponsored by the Division of United States Studies and the
Canada Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars,
and The Migration Policy Institute

Edited by Philippa Strum and David Biette

September 2005



Available from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

One Woodrow Wilson Plaza
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20004-3027

www.wilsoncenter.org

ISBN 1-933549-01-7

Cover photo: © Steve Chenn/CORBIS



The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, established by Congress in 1968 and headquartered in Washington, D.C., is a living national memorial to President Wilson. The Center's mission is to commemorate the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson by providing a link between the worlds of ideas and policy, while fostering research, study, discussion, and collaboration among a broad spectrum of individuals concerned with policy and scholarship in national and international affairs. Supported by public and private funds, the Center is a nonpartisan institution engaged in the study of national and world affairs. It establishes and maintains a neutral forum for free, open, and informed dialogue. Conclusions or opinions expressed in Center publications and programs are those of the authors and speakers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Center staff, fellows, trustees, advisory groups, or any individuals or organizations that provide financial support to the Center.

The Center is the publisher of *The Wilson Quarterly* and home of Woodrow Wilson Center Press, *dialogue* radio and television, and the monthly news-letter "Centerpoint." For more information about the Center's activities and publications, please visit us on the web at www.wilsoncenter.org.

Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director

Board of Trustees

Joseph B. Gildenhorn, Chair
David A. Metzner, Vice Chair

Public members: James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress; John W. Carlin, Archivist of the United States; Bruce Cole, Chair, National Endowment for the Humanities; Michael O. Leavitt, Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; Condoleezza Rice, Secretary, U.S. Department of State; Lawrence M. Small, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution; Margaret Spellings, Secretary, U.S. Department of Education

Private Citizen Members: Carol Cartwright, Robert B. Cook, Donald E. Garcia, Bruce S. Gelb, Charles L. Glazer, Tamala L. Longaberger, Ignacio E. Sanchez



The Migration Policy Institute (MPI) is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank in Washington, D.C. dedicated to analysis of the movement of people worldwide.

MPI offers pragmatic responses to the challenges and opportunities that large-scale migration presents to governments, communities and institutions worldwide. The Institute's program of research and policy development is built on solid data, balanced analysis, understanding of political processes, and the engagement of multiple stakeholders—from policy elites and business interests to community leaders and migrant organizations. MPI's work in North America, Western Europe, and many developing countries also allows national policymakers to benefit from international comparative research, as more and more countries accumulate data and experience that shed light on global migration forces. The Institute aims to provide the building blocks of migration policies that work, for source countries and countries of destination as well as for migrants and their new neighbors. For more information, please visit www.migrationpolicy.org.

The Migration Information Source, MPI's monthly online resource at www.migrationinformation.org, provides reliable, easy-to-access data on international migration flows and timely analysis of migration trends shaping the world. Features include the innovative Global Data Center, more than 45 Country Resource pages, updates on the latest legislative developments from Capitol Hill, and tools for journalists, in addition to sustained coverage of migration, refugee and integration issues.

Trustees

Mary E. McClymont, Chair, Former President and Chief Executive Officer, InterAction; **Bill Ong Hing, Vice-Chair**, Professor of Law and Asian American Studies, University of California, Davis; **The Most Reverend Nicholas DiMarzio, Treasurer**, Bishop of Brooklyn, Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn; **T. Alexander Aleinikoff**, Dean, Georgetown University Law Center; **Beverlee Bruce**, Former Program Director, Social Science Research Council; **Joseph Chamie**, Former Director, United Nations Population Division; **Kathleen Newland**, Director, Migration Policy Institute; **Demetrios G. Papademetriou**, President, Migration Policy Institute; **James Ziglar**, Former Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Demetrios Papademetriou 1

OPENING REMARKS

Education, Immigrant Integration and Demography 5
Joseph Chamie

PANEL I: ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY (K-12) EDUCATION

Immigrant Integration and “Bilingual” Education 17
Alec Ian Gershberg

**Absent Policies: Canadian Strategies for the Education and
Integration of Immigrant Children and Youth** 22
Fariborz Birjandian

Commentary: Policies in the United States 29
Margaret McHugh

Commentary: Policies in Canada 32
Charles Ungerleider

Discussion 34

PANEL II: ADULT LITERACY AND WORKFORCE TRAINING

Adult Literacy and Workforce Training in the United States 40
Heide Spruck Wrigley

The Role of Colleges in Integrating Internationally Trained Immigrants 44
Sabra Desai

Commentary: Policies in the United States 48
B. Lindsay Lowell

Commentary: Policies in Canada 51
Howard Duncan

Discussion 54

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN ONTARIO

The Honorable Dr. Marie Bountrogianni 59

Discussion 64

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES 68

Demetrios G. Papademetriou

The phenomenon of migration touches the lives of more people and looms larger in the economic, social, and domestic policies and international relations of more nations today than at any other time in history. It is particularly relevant to the United States and Canada. Both countries have been built through immigration and immigrants continue to be central to their overall growth. As immigration levels for each are hovering around historical highs, it is important that the governance of the phenomenon be assessed on a regular basis.

Two sets of facts associated with current levels and forms of immigration complicate its governance. First, immigration has grown sharply higher and immigrant origins have expanded enormously. Second, immigrant groups are branching out from the largest cities, which have had substantial experience with managing successive waves of internal and international migration, to smaller cities, suburban areas and, increasingly, rural communities. These places are less well prepared to adjust to the new influxes.

These realities of contemporary immigration—its size, its widened origins, and its dispersion—make the integration of immigrants an urgent matter. And among the many facets of integration, three sets are most prominent: language acquisition, education, and training; labor market and economic incorporation; and health care and other critical social services.* All three are critical to the well-being of both immigrants and the communities in which they settle.

WHY FOCUS ON INTEGRATION... AND INTEGRATION BY AND FOR WHOM?

Successful societies are founded as much on the rule of and equality before the law as they are on the many forms of social partnerships rooted in fundamental principles of access and equity. This implies that immigrant-receiving societies cannot continue to engage the international migration system without making simultaneous and substantial investments in understanding and addressing

** This is not intended to downplay the importance of the longer-term issues of civic engagement and social and political incorporation.*

immigration's effects on host communities. This knowledge will also promote the associated public policy goals of good governance and social cohesion.

In practice, this translates into the need to treat the cultural, social, political, and economic facets of the local community not merely as a “space” in which immigrants “happen” to live, but as one with which immigrants are always in a dynamic relationship. The experiences immigrants have in local settings shape their opportunities just as their presence produces social, cultural, economic, and political changes. It is thus in the receiving society's interest to prepare the ground not only for the immigrants' economic and labor market contributions, but also for their social and political incorporation.

Integration is the process through which, over time, newcomers and hosts form an integral whole. For this to happen, newcomers must be encouraged—and assisted—to weave themselves into the host community's economic fabric as soon as possible, enabling them to get the fairest possible returns on their human capital investments and thus contribute as early and as fully as possible to the community's economic life.

Economic and labor market assimilation, however, is only the starting point of integration. Newcomers, hosts, and the social, cultural, and political institutions of the receiving community must also engage the much harder task of shaping their now common space. It is success in this latter task that makes possible the win-win arrangements that underlie successful immigration systems and, by extension, successful multi-ethnic societies. Meaningful and successful integration draws its very energy from the concept's dynamism, from the very fact that immigration of the scale now being experienced by the United States and Canada is fundamentally about “becoming,” rather than “being.”

FOCUSING ON MUTUALITY

Analyses of the socio-cultural incorporation of immigrants demonstrate that immigrants thrive best in socially and politically supportive environments that allow them to change most of their social and cultural traditions at their own pace, while learning and adapting to important community practices as quickly as it is practical. This allows immigrants to build up their confidence and sense of belonging gradually but deeply. A model grounded on equity and mutuality, continuous interaction and mutual adjustments and accommodations, and an organic rather than a forced pace of adaptation, holds the greatest promise.

Such a model is not easy to implement and is burdensome for both parties. Newcomers must learn to negotiate a new and unfamiliar environment while financially supporting themselves and often, family members in their home countries. They must also contend with the fact that their minority and new-

comer statuses make them vulnerable to marginalization. The host community must in turn cope with large influxes of foreigners in its schools, workplaces, housing, public spaces, and neighborhoods.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE SECTOR COOPERATION

Given the knowledge gaps and differences in perspective, the emerging field of immigrant integration must continue to collect and evaluate information about how newcomers relate to the communities in which they settle and how newcomers' responses to receiving communities help to shape their hosts' subsequent reactions to immigrants. Both parties to the integration process will have to accept responsibility for its outcome, and all societal actors and institutions must engage the process with steadfastness.

Governments at all levels must recognize and embrace their role as those who set and oversee minimum standards, as promoters and financiers of flexible and innovative initiatives, as evaluators of what works and what does not, and as advocates for and enforcers of inclusiveness, fairness, and equality. The distribution and allocation of social and public goods must also adjust to the presence of immigrants. At the same time, it must be remembered that local communities have to live with the consequences of national immigration policy. It is not a surprise, then, that it is at the local level that practical ideas are born, nurtured, tested, and adapted.

Investments in education, for example, can make an enormous difference in the speed and degree to which immigrants will contribute to their adopted countries. Encouraging coherent suburbanization can alleviate inner-city space and housing shortage issues. Immigrant dispersion to mid-sized and smaller cities, as well as rural areas, may allow for wider population distribution and contribute to the social and economic revitalization of the countryside. In order to achieve such goals, however, the national government must constantly coordinate with local governments to assess each region's changing needs and to support appropriate policies.

Today, however, the public sector cannot be expected to solve the integration puzzle without relying extensively on and leveraging the resources of the private and non-governmental sectors. These sectors—employer and worker groups, church groups, civic, ethnic, and immigrant organizations, private foundations, and the various community-based non-profit entities—typically amass extensive experience with various aspects of newcomer integration and can serve as crucial social resources for both immigrants and the government. Altruism and solidarity need not be their main motivations. Many of these organizations are looking for ways to increase their membership and incorporating newcomers can support that policy objective. That is because

newcomers in search of acceptance and stability often remain loyal members of the organizations that provided them with services during their difficult transition into the host community.

CONCLUSION

Regardless of how prepared any society may think it is to receive immigrants, it must be much better prepared in the years ahead, for immigration levels are likely to continue to increase. Mirror-image social and economic forces in the advanced and developing worlds nearly guarantee it. These forces include the need to maintain funding for social support systems as the low birth rate begins to affect the size of the work forces of most advanced industrial societies, increasing skill- and locational-mismatches, and the economic growth imperative. Hence the integration imperative.

Managing integration well starts with the recognition that the overwhelming majority of immigrants make strong long-term contributions to the communities in which they settle. Each party to the processes discussed here, however, is operating with incomplete, and often erroneous, information about the other, and each continues to have a static understanding of itself in what are extremely dynamic environments.

Hence the importance of this volume. For too long, far too much of our energy—as policymakers, analysts, and citizens—has been devoted to immigration policies and the associated disagreements about who should be admitted, under what circumstances, and with what priorities in mind. It is now time to begin to invest a good part of that energy also in assisting newcomers to become members of our communities. The themes discussed in these essays are suggestive of where we might start and of the challenges we are likely to face.

Education, Immigrant Integration and Demography JOSEPH CHAMIE

Education and immigrant integration are vital concerns of the nation-state. That is true not only of Canada and the United States but of virtually all the countries around the world that are receiving immigrants today. At the same time, the very meaning of words like “integration” and “assimilation” varies from language to language and those words are interpreted differently by different groups. There are also considerable financial and political constraints on action in the area of education and immigrant integration.

Enormous sums are at stake. In the United States, for example, spending on kindergarten through 12th grade education under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was \$17 billion in 2001 and will be almost \$25 billion in 2005.¹

Compared to other countries, particularly in Europe and Asia, the United States and Canada are doing relatively well in the area of immigrant education. But to understand how nations are doing, we must look at the subject in the context of population.

A report card on the general performance of children of immigrants might say, “Children of immigrants do on average at least as well as the children of the native-born, and the children of immigrant parents who have command of the native language have especially high performance.” There are numerous examples of the offspring of immigrants excelling in both Canada and the United States. There was even a Hollywood movie about how children of immigrants win spelling bees despite the fact that the contests are not in the language spoken at home.² The U.S. census of 2000 showed that the biggest minority in the country is the Hispanic population, which is now larger than the African-American population. This is a turning point in U.S. history, with both symbolic and practical implications for the allocation of resources.

The world’s population today is 6.4 billion. We went through and are continuing to experience very rapid growth, and the latest estimate is that the world’s population will reach around nine billion by mid-century (Figure 1).

Virtually all of that growth, however, is taking place among the developing countries of the world, not in developed countries such as the United States

FIGURE 1

World Population by Variant, 1950-2050

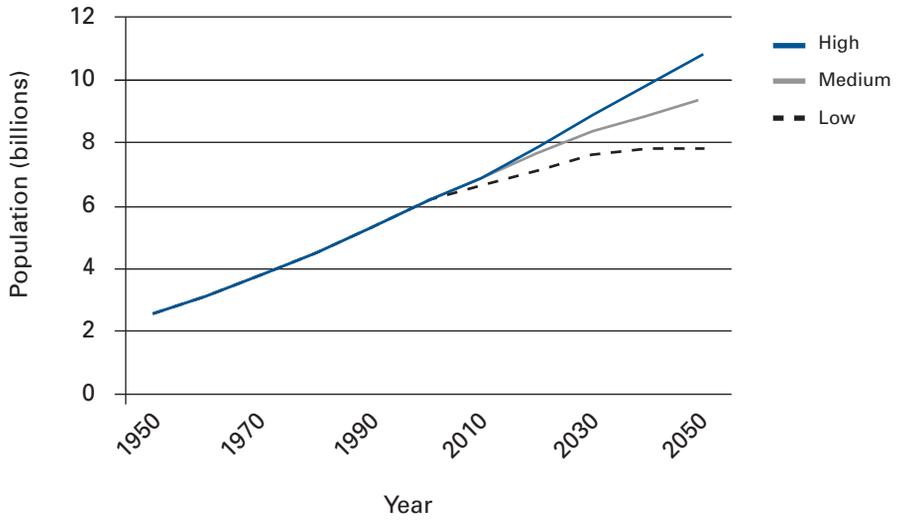


FIGURE 2

Population of Development and Developing Regions: 1950, 2000, and 2050

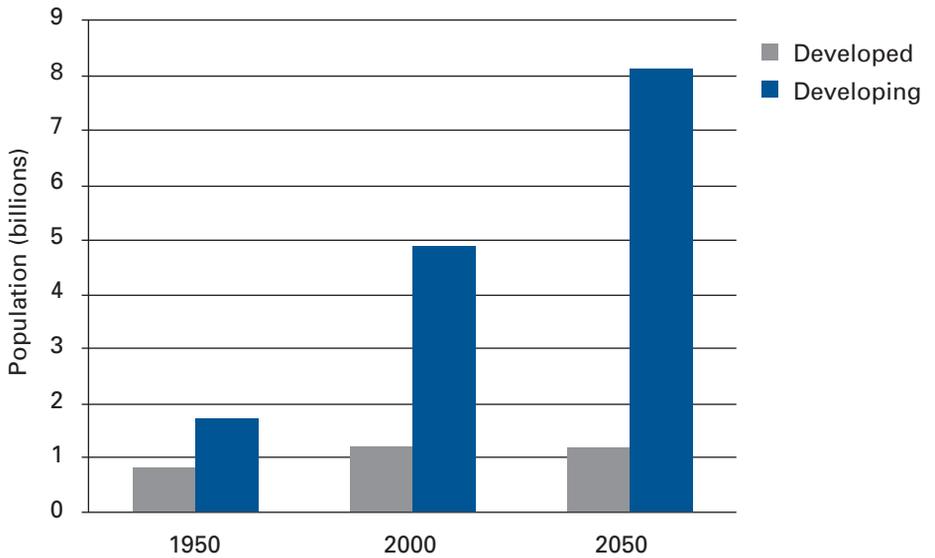
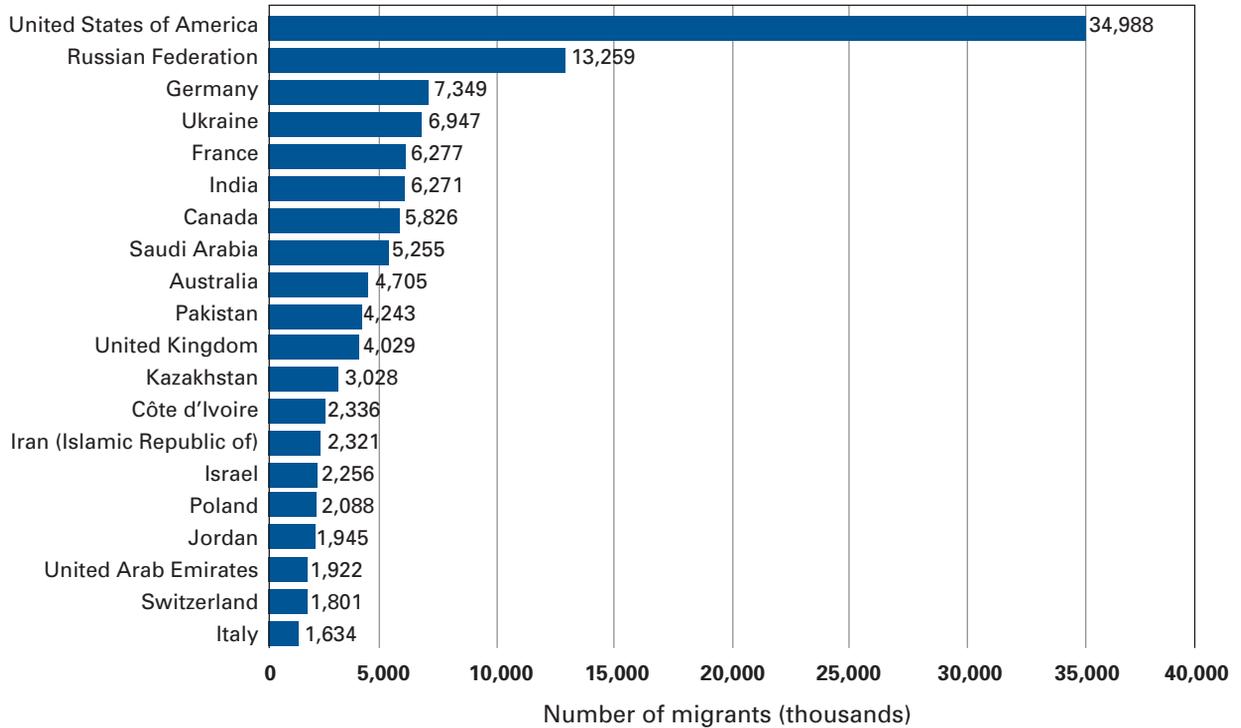


FIGURE 3

Countries with the largest international migrant stock, 2000



and Canada (Figure 2, p. 6). The population of Europe has in fact already peaked and is declining. This has serious implications for immigration.

The United Nations has issued a chart showing the countries with the largest international migrant stock in 2000. The United States is far ahead of any other country with about 35 million foreign-born, while Canada is about seventh with close to six million (Figure 3).

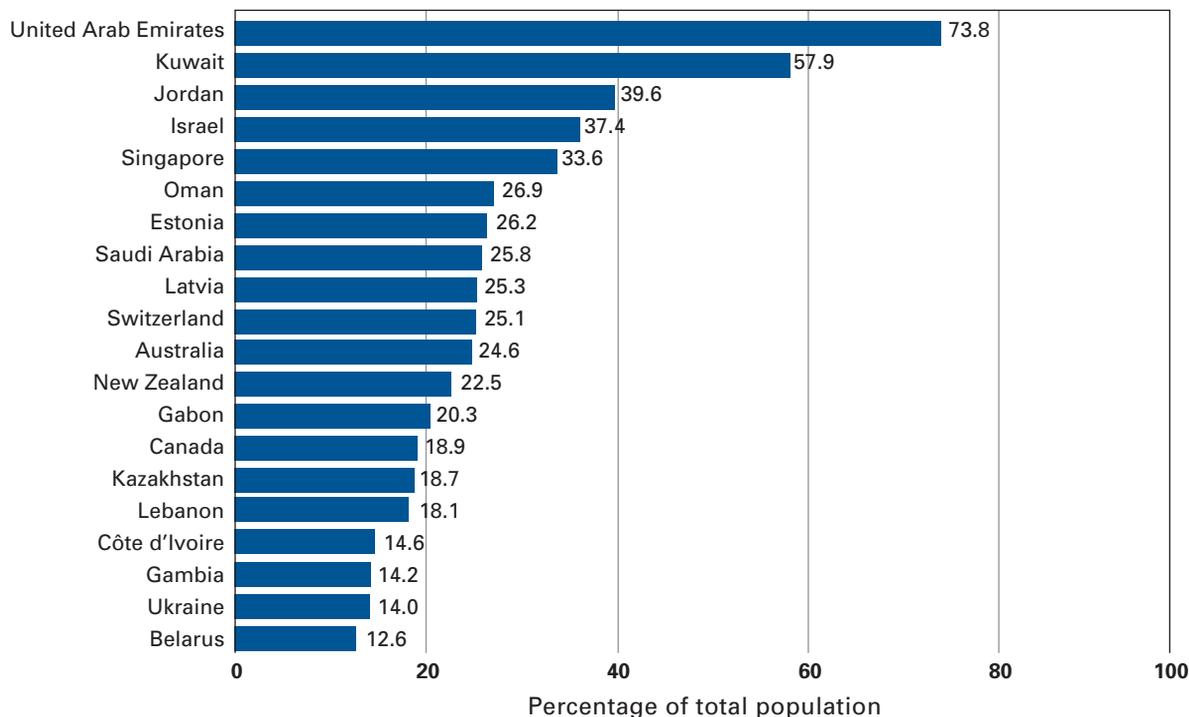
Figure 4 shows the proportion of immigrants in various nations' populations.

As of 2000, roughly 19% of Canada's population was made up of immigrants; that of the United States, around 12%. Note, however, that the countries with the greatest proportion of immigrants are in the Persian Gulf area and Asia.

Which countries are contributing most to population growth? This is important as an indicator of where the immigrants are likely to be coming from (Figure 4). Figure 5 shows the top ten contributors to population growth. The number one contributor in the world today is India, followed by

FIGURE 4

Countries with the highest percentage of international migrant stock in total population, 2000 (Countries with population of 1 million or more inhabitants)



China, Pakistan, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. Those six countries account for half of the world's population growth every year.

India is as large a contributor of immigrants every year as the next three nations combined. For the sake of understanding how big that is, imagine the 25 nations of the European Union and add the natural growth—the births, minus the deaths—of the European Union in the year 2004. India had the equivalent of that growth for 2004 by January 6. Six days of population growth in India are equivalent to one year of natural increase in the entire European Union.

Pakistan is another rapidly growing country. Its population in 1950 was less than 50 million. Today, its population is in excess of 150 million, and our best guess is that by mid-century the number will be 350 million, making it the largest Muslim country in the world (Figure 6).

Nigeria is another example of a country that is growing very rapidly. It, too, had a population of well below 50 million in 1950. It is above 100 million

FIGURE 5

Top Ten Contributors to Population Growth, 2000-2005

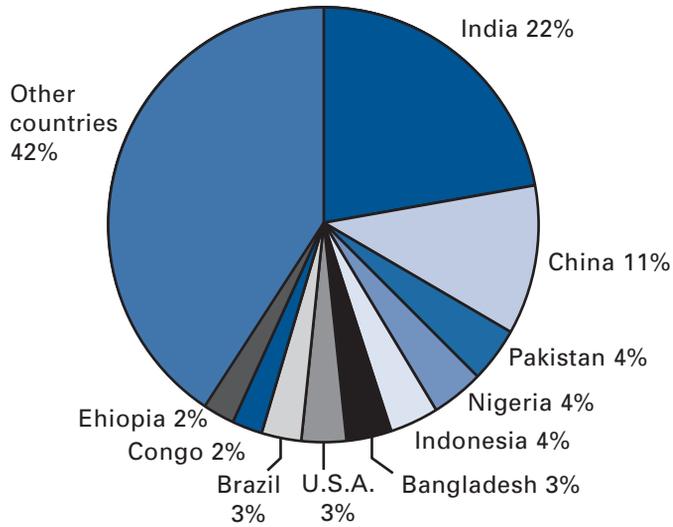


FIGURE 6

Population of Pakistan by Variant, 1950-2050

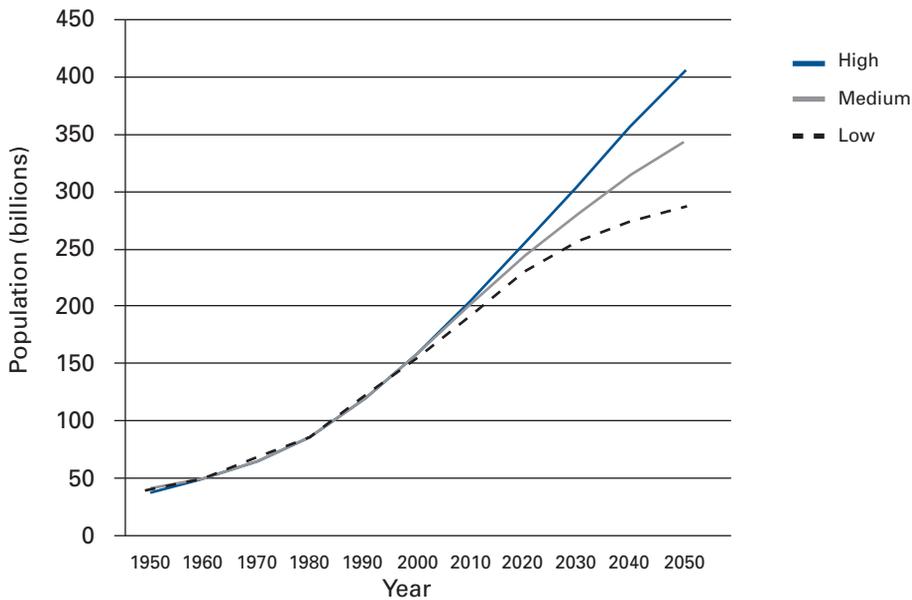


FIGURE 7

Population of Nigeria by Variant, 1950-2050

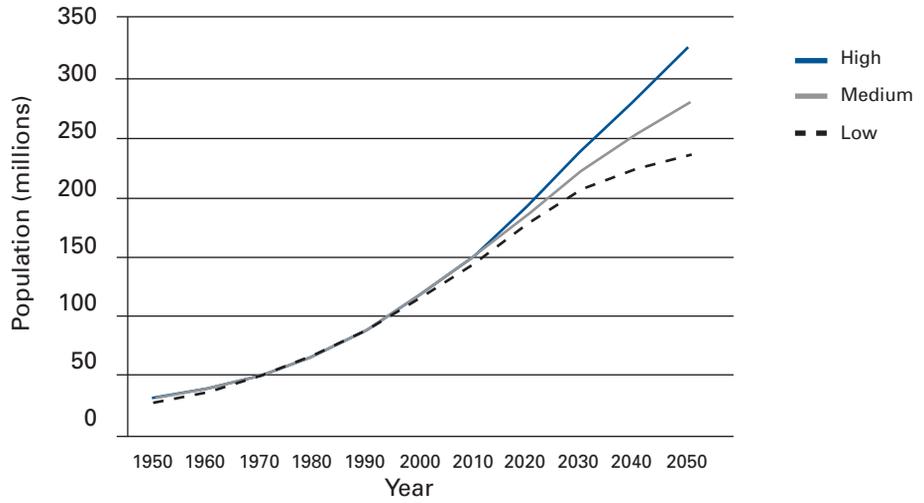


FIGURE 8

Population of Japan by Variant, 1950-2050

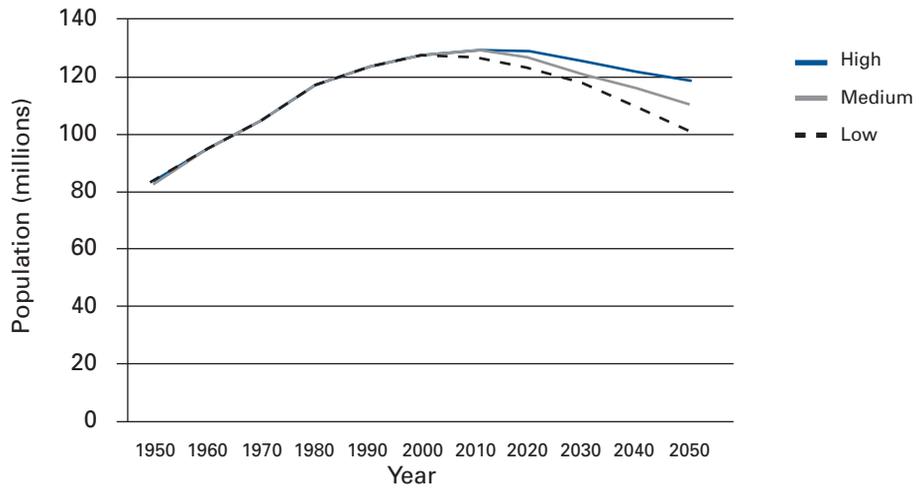
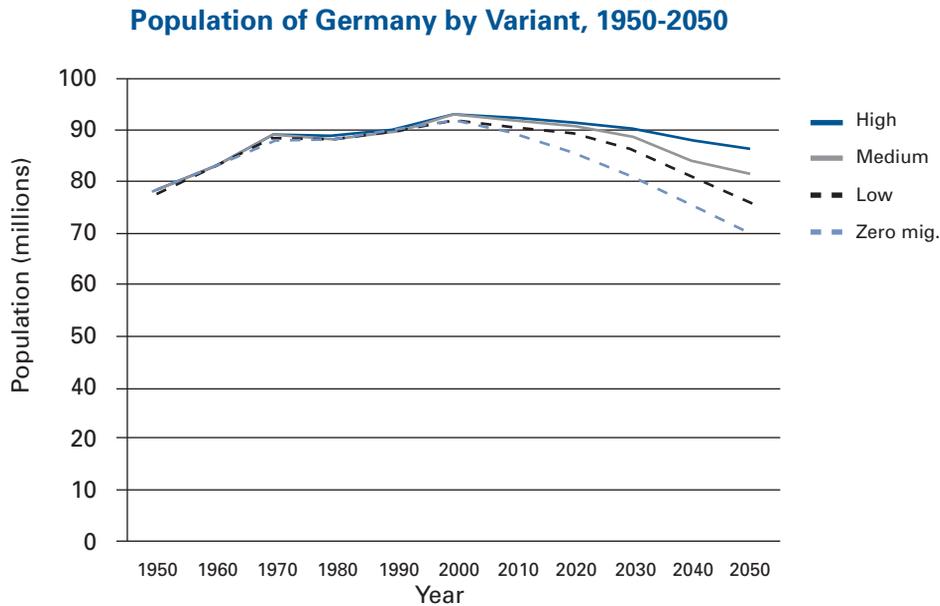


FIGURE 9



today, and it too will approach 300 million by mid-century (Figure 7).

The important thing to note about these two examples of rapidly growing developing countries is not necessarily the numbers but the upward shape of the line. In comparison, the line for Japan resembles a sad smile. The population of Japan, which has very little immigration, is projected to decline (Figure 8).

The population of Germany, another world economic superpower, is also declining. The fourth and lowest line on the chart shows Germany’s population without immigration. Even with some immigration, which reflects the numbers we can anticipate arriving in Germany, its population will continue to decline in the coming years (Figure 9).

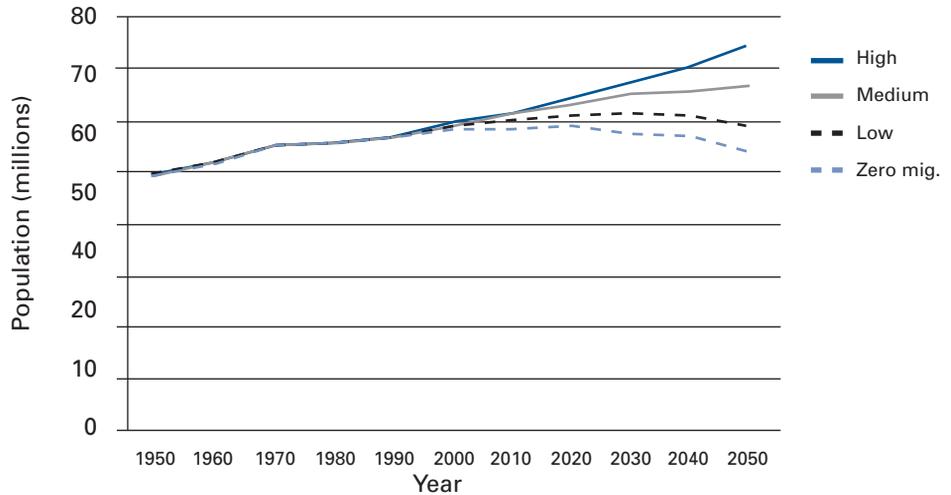
There is a somewhat rosier picture for the United Kingdom. There again, immigration plays a large role. Without immigration, the U.K. would also be facing a decline in its numbers (Figure 10, p. 12).

Let us turn to Canada. Without immigration, Canada would not grow, and the Canadians know this. There are slightly more than 30 million Canadians today, and by mid-century, without immigrants, the population would be about the same size but much older. For Canada in particular, immigration plays a vital role (Figure 11, p. 13).

The situation of the United States is similar. The American population right now is an estimated 298 million. By mid-century, according to projections by

FIGURE 10

Population of United Kingdom by Variant, 1950-2050



the U.S. Census Bureau and Eurostat, the United States will add at least another hundred million people. This cheers real estate developers and other people who benefit from a growing population, but it is a source of concern to many others, especially environmentalists. In any event, without immigration, the population growth projected would be almost 80 percent less. Instead of being over 400 million, it would be around 325 million. So the United States, like Canada, can expect a great deal of growth due to immigration. That means immigration and education are going to be vital concerns for both countries.

If we turn to the question of why Europe’s population is declining and why Canada will experience a decrease in its native-born population, we discover that the demographic engine pulling the country is fertility. For demographers, there are only three variables in growth: fertility, mortality and immigration. As an English commentator noted at the beginning of the 20th century, “the typical working-class mother of the 1890s, married in her teens or early twenties and experiencing ten pregnancies, spent about fifteen years in a state of pregnancy and in nursing a child for the first year of its life. She was tied, for this period of time, to the wheel of childbearing.”³ Anyone who has studied the French Canadians in Quebec in the 19th century knows this was true of Canada as well.

Things have changed dramatically since then. Women have improved their status. Consider the number of technical degrees awarded to U.S. women in 1970 and in 2000—a mere generation’s difference. Forty-nine percent of

FIGURE 11

Population of Canada by Variant, 1950-2050

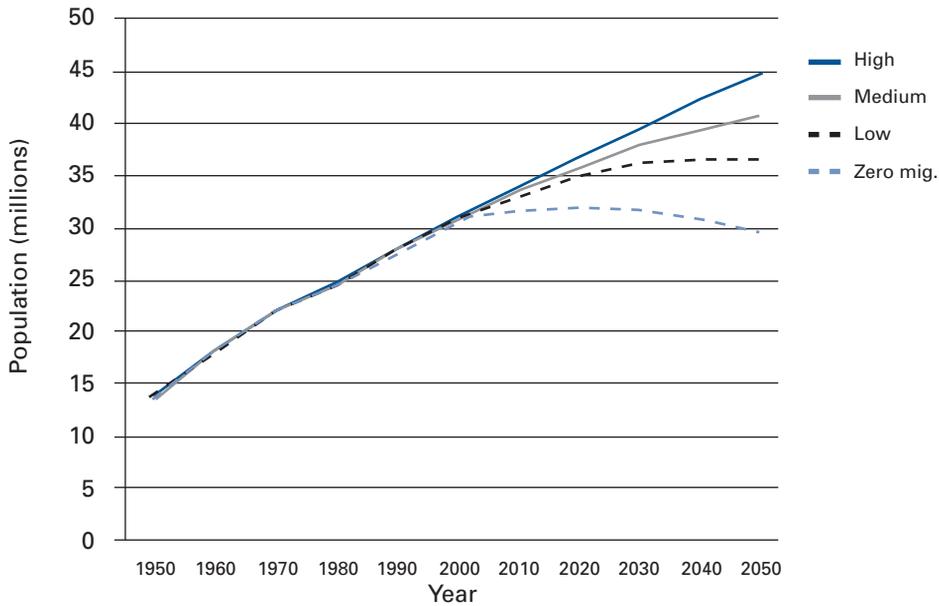


FIGURE 12

Population of U.S.A. by Variant, 1950-2050

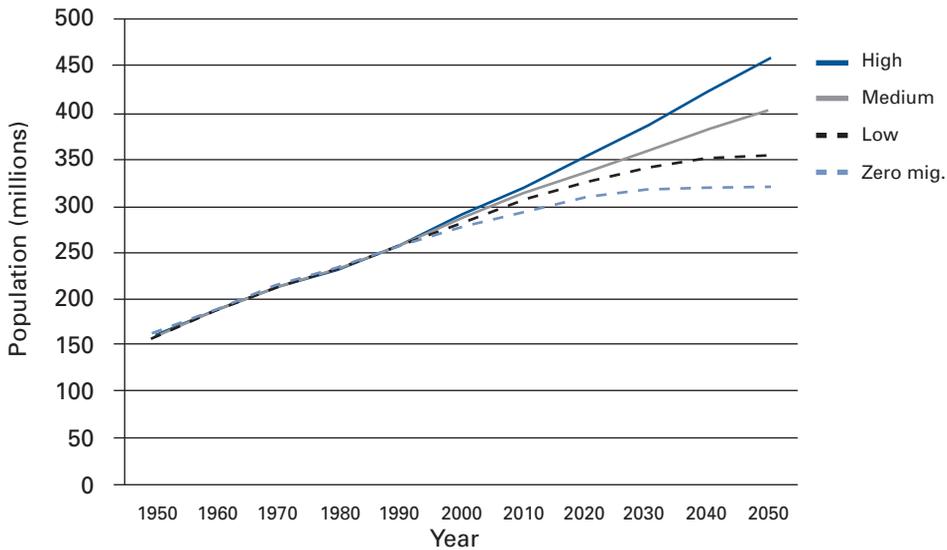


FIGURE 13

**Proportion of Degrees in U.S.A. Awarded to Women:
1970 and 2000**

	1970	2000
Ph.D.s	13%	49%
MDs	8%	43%
Law	5%	46%
Dentists	1%	40%

Ph.D.s now are women. There is a similar pattern in Europe, and in fact women are the majority of students at the tertiary level in Europe.

Any discussion of immigration and education must include an examination of the impact of an aging population. As we will see, social security and immigration are closely tied together. Ida May Fuller, from Vermont, was the first social security payee in the United States. She received \$22.54 a month in 1940 and lived to the age of 100. Jeanne Calment, a Frenchwoman, lived to the oldest verified age in history. She was born in 1875 and died in 1997, 122 years and 167 days later.

What does this have to do with immigration and education? Look at the graph of Italy (Figure 14). In 1950 the percentage of the world's population over 65 was five percent; for Italy, the proportion was eight percent. By the year 2000, the number for the world was still below seven percent but it had more than doubled for Italy, and by 2050, one third of the Italian population will be above 65.

A pay-as-you-go social security system requires a working population. The aged and the young compete for resources. When one third of the population is over the retirement age of 65, that is a very large voting block, guaranteeing that resources will go to the elderly. There are already numerous instances of communities in which the elderly, living on fixed incomes, have voted down school bonds.

There are many things to consider as we wrestle with the problem of immigration and integration. As mentioned earlier, definitions and understandings of words like integration vary. What does it mean to be integrated

Any discussion of immigration and education must include an examination of the impact of an aging population.

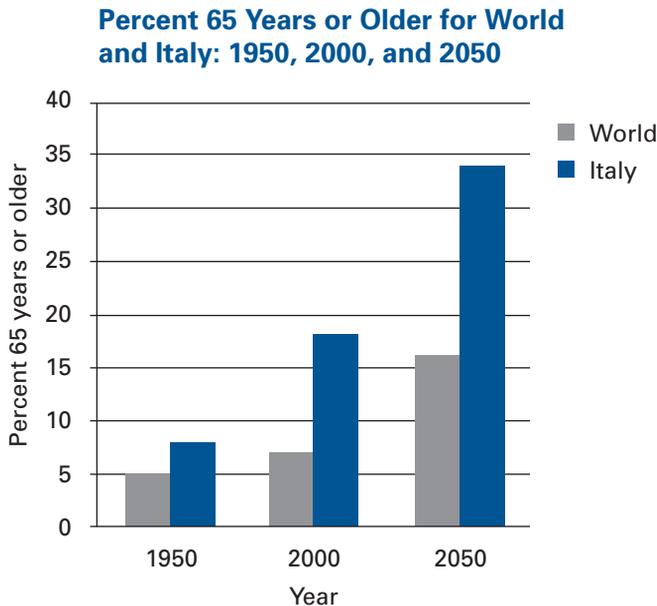
into the United States or Canada? Does it mean that in the United States you must speak English in order to be integrated but in Canada you have to be bilingual in French and English? If you have lived in New York for 15 years and are a citizen who speaks only Spanish fluently, are you integrated?

What do we mean by education? A recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial complained that the United States is spending billions on educating people but that many high school graduates can barely read their diplomas.⁴ That was not a statement about immigrants alone, but about the entire population. What, then, do we mean by education? I remember a *New Yorker* cartoon of some years ago in which a personnel manager was sitting at a desk and asking a young job applicant, “Oh, I see, you’ve graduated from high school. Can you read?”

Another question to be considered is, who is migrating? The American and the Canadian systems are distinctly different with regard to who is permitted in, how many people are arriving without documents, how many are staying, and so on. Who are the migrants and how do we select them?

We might also ask, as we pose our questions, what time frame we are considering. The medium time frame for economists is two or three years, but for demographers it is fifty years. Our long term is 100 or 200 years. During that time, many American nations will see immigrants arrive, bear children who are citizens, become citizens themselves, and eventually die—which means

FIGURE 14



that the count of foreign born will decline. In other parts of the world that is not the case because citizenship is not given as readily and, in some nations, simply being born in the country does not ensure citizenship.

Finally, about whom are we concerned? There is a very different pattern for men and women. In many ways, male offspring of immigrants have an easier time than girls. The boys' role in North America is very similar to their role in their countries of origin. They are expected to obtain an education and then go to work. For many women, however, their new role may be quite different from the one in their home countries. Someone from a traditional Muslim community in Pakistan who immigrates to Vancouver, for example, may find her father telling her she cannot wear certain kinds of clothes to school, she cannot date, and she has to marry someone from Pakistan. That usually applies to the daughter but not to the son. We must take into account those difficulties that are gender specific.

It is my belief that the public school system has become feminized. Grades K-6 are taught primarily by women and the format is for the most part geared toward girls, not boys. By and large, boys hate sitting down in straight rows, and they hate being told to read when what they want is to go outside and play sports. In many areas the drop-out rate for high school students is much higher for boys than for girls. Girls read earlier than boys, they read more than boys, and they take more Advanced Placement classes than boys. The consequences of the bias against boys in the public school system must be addressed.

Finally, there is the issue of language. When I went to kindergarten, no one except the teacher spoke English. By the third grade, every child spoke English. My view is that we should not be supporting bilingual education in the school system. Of course, people may speak whatever language they wish at home. However, I consider bilingual education to be a disservice to those who are trying to integrate and who should be learning English. I am convinced that integration and assimilation occur much faster and more humanely if education is in the language of the nation.

NOTES

1. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, PL 107-110, 20 U.S.C. 6961-6968, 115 Stat. 1723-1728. For statistics on spending under NCLB, see <http://edworkforce.house.gov/democrats/eseainfo.html>. Statistics on overall federal spending on education are available at <http://edworkforce.house.gov/issues/108th/education/funding/summary.htm>.

2. The 2002 movie "Spellbound" is a documentary about eight teenagers competing to win the U.S. National Spelling Bee competition.

3. R.M. Titmuss, *Essays on "The Welfare State"* (Allen and Unwin, 1966), p. 91.

4. Editorial, "Some Students Left Behind," *Wall Street Journal*, April 25, 2005.

Elementary and Secondary (K-12) Education

Immigrant Integration and “Bilingual” Education

ALEC IAN GERSHBERG

I would like to begin, as I begin in *Beyond “Bilingual” Education*,¹ with a quotation from management guru Peter Drucker:

America’s experience of immigration should give it a lead in the developed world for several decades to come...But it is not numbers alone that will give America an advantage. Even more important, the country is culturally attuned to immigration, and long ago learned to integrate immigrants into its society and economy...The one big obstacle to the full integration of recent immigrants in America is the poor performance of American public schools.²

I raise the specter of the economic costs of failing to educate immigrants effectively in order to bring advocates of different values together for constructive debate, because no matter what side of the immigrant debate one is on, there is an incentive to support effective immigrant education.

Beyond “Bilingual” Education presents a study of California that marries quantitative and qualitative work, concentrating on the five biggest urban school districts: Fresno, Long Beach, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego. My co-authors and I performed about 120 in-depth interviews with teachers, principals, and other school and district staff in those districts, and used a database to paint a statistical portrait of immigrants in the California public schools and to begin disentangling what it means to be an immigrant from what it means to be an English Language Learner (ELL). One of our findings adds to a growing literature showing that all else being equal, immigrants do better than, or are in higher performing schools than, their native inner-city peers. We also cast doubt on the idea that immigrant education problems are largely a Hispanic problem, even in California, and we question the assumption that model immigrants are non-Hispanic immigrants, because we found that they do not necessarily do better, especially in the first few years.

The title *Beyond “Bilingual” Education* is worth discussing briefly. We put “bilingual” in quotation marks because the term is used differently by different groups and often in ways that we do not consider truly bilingual. While I think of bilingualism as the mastery of two languages, bilingualism, or bilingual education, has come to mean any method of instruction that uses any language other than English in the classroom to any extent. It is therefore important to recognize that two people discussing “bilingual” education may not be talking about the same thing.

Some people have interpreted the book title as being anti-bilingual education. In fact, my co-authors Anne Danenberg and Patricia Sánchez and I have attempted to remain agnostic in the great debate about “bilingual” education versus “English immersion,” although I believe we do have some insights to add to it.

Our main argument is that the immigrant education policy debates in the United States have been dominated by these highly politicized disputes. California’s Proposition 227, which made English immersion the favored method of instruction over bilingual education, is probably the most prominent example. Following California’s lead, Arizona and Massachusetts passed ballot initiatives restricting the use of bilingual education in favor of some version of an English-only curriculum. What Proposition 227 did, essentially, was to change the default. If after testing you were considered an English Language Learner, the default used to be that you were placed into bilingual education and could opt into English-only. Proposition 227 reversed that so the default is English-only or English immersion, and you can opt into bilingual education.

In the states that have adopted such measures since California did, the opt-in has become more restrictive, in some cases requiring an essay and a personal visit by immigrant parents to the school. Colorado voters, on the other hand, defeated a similar measure after two millionaires financed rival ad campaigns. As we will see, the debate has entered the federal policy arena through the No Child Left Behind Act, in part because one of the Act’s main sponsors described bilingual education as “badly in need of reform.”³ The book demonstrates that while there is much more to educating immigrant students than deciding what language pedagogy to employ, for most policymakers and the public, immigrant education policy and language teaching policy are basically one and the same.

I was inspired to study immigrant education for the first time by an interest in so-called newcomer schools, which specialize in educating immigrants in their first years in the school system. They do teach English, and they do teach bilingually, but they also teach immigrant children and their parents how to assimilate to the unique stresses of U.S. public schooling. We have no systematic evidence that newcomer schools *are* better than mainstreaming students, but we have no evidence that they are *not* better. I believe that the reasons for

which some states like California have almost entirely abandoned newcomer schools have been political rather than pedagogical.

We should be aware that newcomer policy is happening every day in every school and classroom with a significant population of recent immigrants. Our book shows that teachers and other school staff are making daily decisions that amount to *de facto* newcomer policies. Since newcomer policy is happening, it makes sense to think about it in an organized way.

The book describes and discusses many of the challenges immigrants face, such as navigating the school system, parental participation, legal issues, health care, and stigmatization. The magnitude of the issues can be gleaned from a few numbers. Currently a little more than ten percent of students pre-K through high school in the United States are English Language Learners. There are roughly a million recent immigrants across the country, although the country does not do a particularly good job of counting them. In the five large California urban school districts that we studied, the story is in some ways even more striking. About four percent of the students in the school districts are recent immigrants, about 37 percent are English Language Learners, and about 67 percent of the students are poor. Fifty percent of the students in grades K-6 are English Language Learners and about 78 percent are poor. The average English Language Learner is in a school whose student body is 85 to 90 percent poor. It is therefore hard to escape the concentration of race, poverty and language minorities in our schools, although we found segregation between schools was not necessarily worse than it is for African Americans. These immigrant students are taught by teachers with less experience, less education and fewer credentials aside from those for language.

When we turned to the subjects of navigating the school system and parental involvement, we found, first, that the school systems are particularly inaccessible and hard to navigate, so that it is difficult for parents to figure out the right choices that must be made for their children. Second, the “culture” of participation here is different from the culture more familiar to many immigrants, with respect to the way in which they are expected to be advocates for their children. Third, navigation of the school system is made even more difficult by fear, which is often associated with some immigrants’ undocumented status.

The book does not attempt to settle the debate over whether bilingual or English immersion is better, but it does highlight some of the key tensions and the ways in which they play out. No one, for example, wants to say that parents should not have the biggest role in how their children are educated. At the same time, professional educators are trained to identify the best method of instruction for each child. The way the bilingual education debate has played out, in both the political area and in schools, has often had little to do with optimal pedagogical decision-making. Most reforms, such as those in

We still do not have adequate hard evidence about whether or not bilingual education works well in general or in what situations it does or does not work well.

California, have changed the default method to English immersion, as noted above, but allow parents to opt into bilingual. The process for opting in, however, has tended to become more and more restrictive and intimidating and, as I mentioned, may require a parent's personal appearance at the school and the writing of an essay. California essentially bans educators from influencing family decisions about the placing of their children, but of course many caring teachers try to find ways around such restrictions. The book depicts some of these tensions.

In almost all cases, we found, all immigrant students are treated in the same way, whether they arrive with seriously interrupted schooling or have been diligent students in their home countries, and that makes a big difference. Personal anecdote is not a substitute for social science, and I believe we still do not have adequate hard evidence about whether or not bilingual education works well in general or in what situations it does or does not work well. We have to be realistic about whether or not bilingual education is the best method given the teaching force we are likely to have, but that debate is by no means settled.

The stigmatization of recent immigrants and English Language Learners is relevant to the debates about No Child Left Behind. One of the most striking things we found is that the assessment systems that identify students in need of special instruction may not be measuring the right things. Students in almost all states are tested based on something called the Home Language Survey. The Survey measures whether anyone in the home speaks a language other than English. The test is not administered to English-speaking students, but an elementary school teacher in San Diego told us of an experiment in which the teachers at the school did give the test to native English speakers. "They didn't pass it," she reported. We also had teachers tell us that if recent arrivals had gone to school in Mexico, they were better prepared for algebra than if they had been schooled in the local schools of Fresno or one of the other urban districts we studied. (The story is of course different for students arriving with little or interrupted schooling.) This shocked us policy analysts but apparently did not shock education specialists. We ought to think about that in the context of No Child Left Behind.

At the same time, given what a different educational track ELL students are put on, it is clear that some level of stigmatization is taking place. In fact, one perhaps unintended effect of No Child Left Behind is that school staff must now view the student body through an explicitly racial and language-minority lens.

The federal government does have one program that focuses on providing funds for immigrant students who may or may not be ELLs. It is the Emergency Immigrant Education Program, and it is important because districts that receive large numbers of immigrants, even of English-speaking

Caribbean immigrants, qualify for the program.⁴ It is also important because it allows districts to fund programs that are not necessarily focused only on teaching English. Los Angeles and San Francisco, for instance, used it to fund newcomer schools, and Fresno used it both to build a center to receive and orient recent immigrants and to help fund weekend cultural education programs that were important to groups such as the Cambodian Khmer.

No Child Left Behind, however, changed the criterion for funding districts through the Emergency Immigrant Education Program, so that districts with high numbers of immigrants are not eligible but districts with high growth in immigrant populations are, and the bottom line is clear. Some districts, such as San Francisco, no longer qualify for funding through this program, but there are small districts in Nebraska that do. In the year after No Child Left Behind was enacted, the count of qualifying recent immigrants in California fell from 206,000 to 133,000, and funding per pupil plunged from \$153 to \$67 per year.

More than 75 percent of recent immigrant students are concentrated in a few states: California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New York. While immigration policy and enforcement is a federal concern, many costs are highly localized. In my work in New York City, I showed that over half of New York City's services for ELL students are funded through a local tax levy.

In conclusion, public schools are caught in the hypocrisy of immigration policy and politics. In the United States, we have a paradoxical approach to immigration and immigrants. Anti-immigration ballots and initiatives have swept through election polls in California, yet most recently the state has taken measures to support greater participation in our society by undocumented immigrants. Undocumented college students now pay in-state tuition and undocumented immigrants can obtain driver's licenses. On a national level, the Federal Reserve approved the *matricula* card issued by Mexican consulates as a form of identification. This allows undocumented residents to open accounts at many U.S. banks and to participate more fully in everyday life. At the same time, the Department of Homeland Security has tightened immigration control at our borders. What used to be called the Immigration and Naturalization Services was described to me during the research for this book by a prominent corporate immigration lawyer as "an organization designed not to find 8,000,000 people." Today, that would be more like 10,000,000.

It is this paradox, experienced by immigrants in the larger society, that is reflected in the public school system attended by newcomers. It is no wonder that immigrant parents often do not exercise their rights as parents of students, let alone serve as active advocates for them, or that they do not make the most informed decisions about the best language pedagogy for their child. At the same time, public schools have been a rare immigrant bastion, a place where

**Public schools
are caught in the
hypocrisy of
immigration
policy and
politics.**

the public sector is obligated to provide services to children regardless of their legal immigration status.

One fact seems clear, as Joseph Chamie noted: more newcomers will become a part of the fabric of life in U.S. schools. Immigrant students and families are in our schools because our world economy has pushed and pulled them here, and we want them here. Newcomer students are the children of a highly desirable labor force that the country needs in order to compete in the global market. They are also the children of people who, all else being equal, are highly motivated and future-oriented, willing to take risks and make sacrifices for their children. The way U.S. schools receive, treat and educate the children of these immigrant workers will have a direct impact on the next phase of our country's economic and social health and progress. It is time to put politics aside and figure out what works best, and unfortunately I do not think we are doing a very good job of that.

I might add that I disagree with Dr. Chamie about the feminization of the school system. Since the 1950s, the wonderfully increased opportunities in the labor force for women has led the country's school system to lose a large source of what had been trapped but very high quality labor. A talented woman in the 1940s and 1950s who wanted to work had few options other than teaching. Now there are many other options, and the result has been that it is much more difficult to find quality teachers for our public schools.

Absent Policies: Canadian Strategies for the Education and Integration of Immigrant Children and Youth

FARIBORZ BIRJANDIAN

In Canada, the federal government is responsible for managing immigration, but the provinces play a role in deciding how many new permanent residents should be accepted each year. The federal government, which has concluded immigration agreements with most provincial and territorial governments, currently permits roughly 200,000-250,000 immigrants into the country each year.

For the first 60 years of the past century, European nations such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, as well as the United States, were the primary sources of immigrants to Canada. Today, immigrants are most likely to be from Asian countries, and this trend is likely to continue.

Canada is in need of immigration policies that insure a reasonable distribution of newcomers. Almost 90 percent of newcomers are attracted to major urban centers. Over 80 percent of Canadian immigrants move to the three

TABLE 1

Immigration by Top Source Countries

Country of Last Permanent Residence	2003							2004					Difference YTD 2004 / YTD 2003
	Total	Rank	Q1	Q2	Q3	YTD	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	YTD	YTD Rank	
China, People's Republic of	36,116	1	8,322	10,625	9,397	28,344	7,772	9,379	10,153	9,030	28,562	1	1%
India	24,560	2	4,598	7,349	7,322	19,269	5,291	5,030	7,234	7,449	19,713	2	2%
Philippines	11,978	4	2,003	3,317	3,280	8,600	3,378	3,110	4,159	3,570	10,839	3	26%
Pakistan	12,330	3	2,662	2,967	3,408	9,037	3,293	2,805	4,061	3,410	10,276	4	14%
United States	5,990	6	1,358	1,391	1,472	4,221	1,769	1,828	2,067	1,863	5,758	5	36%
Iran	5,648	7	1,200	1,353	1,730	4,283	1,365	1,500	1,738	1,864	5,102	6	19%
Romania	5,465	8	1,082	1,418	1,721	4,221	1,244	1,474	1,792	1,506	4,772	7	13%
United Kingdom	5,194	9	1,056	1,382	1,538	3,976	1,218	1,318	1,726	1,689	4,733	8	19%
France	4,124	12	781	905	1,379	3,065	1,059	1,019	1,404	1,586	4,009	9	31%
South Korea	7,086	5	1,726	2,023	2,140	5,889	1,197	1,032	1,325	1,643	4,000	10	-32%
Total – Top Ten Only	118,491		24,788	32,730	33,387	90,905	27,586	28,495	35,659	33,610	97,764		8%
Total – Other Countries	102,861		20,773	26,132	29,952	76,857	26,004	26,422	31,586	31,388	89,396		16%
Total	221,352		45,561	58,862	63,339	167,762	53,590	54,917	67,245	64,998	187,160		12%

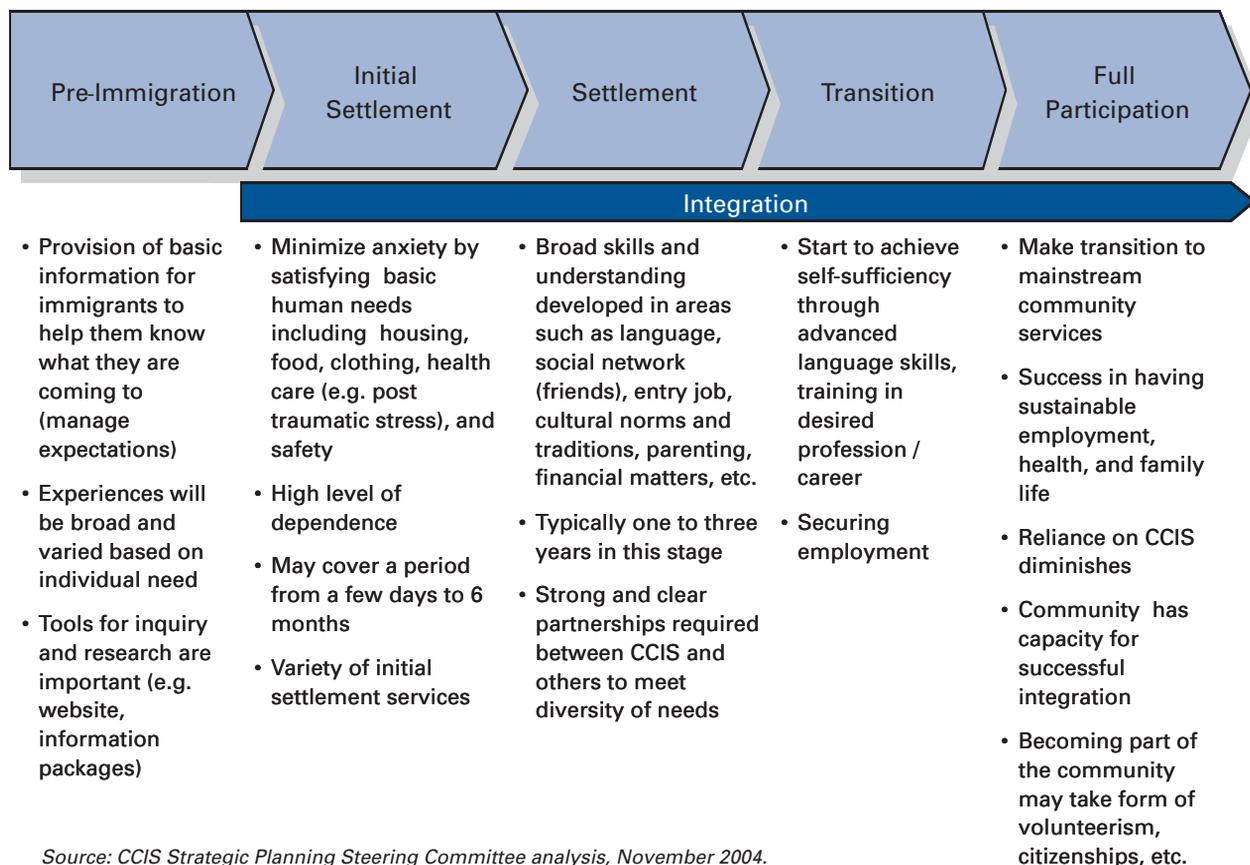
major urban centers of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, respectively; only 12 percent settle in the smaller centers of Alberta, Manitoba and Atlantic Canada. That makes developing integration policies on the national level in general and integration policies for education in particular a major challenge.

Changing and Aging Population

Among the G8 nations, Canada's median age is higher than that of the United States and Russia but lower than that of Germany, Japan or Italy. Given Canada's current age distribution, overall population aging is unavoidable. While immigration brings additional support to the labor market, it has a limited impact on population aging. During the decade between 1981 and 1991,

TABLE 2

Settlement Services Continuum



Source: CCIS Strategic Planning Steering Committee analysis, November 2004.

1.4 million immigrants arrived in Canada. This level almost doubled to 2.2 million between 1991 and 2001, yet the median age increased by roughly four years during both periods.

Immigration, Settlement and Integration

Settlement and integration are processes that involve newcomers and the entire community. The wide variety of specialized services and programs are designed primarily to aid and enhance the integration process for adults. The Catholic Immigration Society of Calgary which I run provides a continuum of services in partnership with numerous community and main-stream organizations.

Education

Education in Canada is the responsibility of each province and territory, and each province has a Minister of Education as well as elected municipal school boards. The constitution provides for public schools and Catholic schools; recently, charter schools and other religious schools have opened. Each local school board sets its own priorities, without collaboration with other boards. As a result, education policy development and implementation is a reactionary process rather than futuristic, organized or centralized, and creates a wide variety of integration policies.

Of the roughly 200,000-250,000 immigrants who arrive each year from more than 100 countries, one-third (about 84,000) are under the age of 19 and therefore within the K-12 school years. More than half are unable to speak either of Canada's official languages. Those under the age of 15 are least likely to speak either official language, but no real attention is being paid to this age group. Their needs, whether they arrive as young children or as adolescents, have not been documented systematically, nor have services for them been systematically identified.

According to Statistics Canada's analysis of the 2001 census, nearly one in five school-age children in Toronto and Vancouver are new arrivals and 17 percent of the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived during the 1990s were school children aged between five and sixteen.⁵ One-half of school-age children in Toronto spoke a language other than English or French at home, as did 61 percent in Vancouver and 43 percent in Montreal. This presents obvious challenges to local schools. Statistics Canada also found, however, that children from immigrant families started school with less developed skills in reading, writing and mathematics, but with the passage of years they caught up with and sometimes surpassed the academic performance of their classmates with Canadian-born parents.

Canadian Strategies for Education and Integration of Immigrant Children and Youth

In spite of the high number of newcomers to Canada, there are only a few federal K-12 initiatives in place. That has generated the following recent developments.

Four of the Metropolis centers are establishing a database of school board policies that impact immigrant and refugee students' integration, including policies concerning enrollment, location and provision of services for immigrant and refugee students (English as a Second Language [ESL] instruction, translation, orientation, community liaison), learning resource materials selection, student evaluation and progress, communication with parents/guardians, special programming, and purchasing of goods and services.

The data will be utilized to determine best practices for policy deliberations and needs.⁶

Recently, the Canadian Coalition for Immigrant Children and Youth was established to advocate a national strategy for the education and integration of immigrant children and youth. The national coalition will focus on two areas of policy: resettlement and integration services for immigrant children and youth, and national benchmarks and standards for identification, assessment, language instruction and tracking of ESL learners. The Coalition plans immediate establishment of a network of regional committees that will provide input and direction to the development of the national strategy.

In addition, various school boards have implemented their own policies for the education and integration of immigrant children and youth. The Vancouver school board, for example, recently initiated a campaign to raise ESL issues at the federal level. Alberta Learning has developed an ESL policy that stresses the transitional nature of ESL programs.⁷

There are difficulties within ESL programs. The placement of youth into academically appropriate grades and levels of course work is a challenge. Language difficulties, racism, and discrimination against immigrants are often identified as additional barriers.

Ontario/Toronto

Ontario has 72 district school boards, including 31 English-language public boards, 29 English-language Catholic boards, four French-language public boards, and eight French-language Catholic boards. The Toronto District School Board is the most multilingual and multicultural school board in the world, with more than 50 percent of its students speaking a language other than English at home. Some of the ESL/ELD (English Literacy Development) students are immigrants; others are born in Canada but begin learning English in school. The programs and services provided to support these students include:

- English as a Second Language (ESL)
- English Literacy Development programs (ELD) are designed for students who have recently arrived from countries where they did not have consistent access to education.
- Literacy Enrichment Academic Programs (LEAP) in selected schools provide an opportunity for accelerated literacy and numeracy development for students 11-16 with gaps in their earlier schooling.
- Newcomer Reception Centres at the West End Reception Centre and Greenwood Reception Centre provide an in-depth assessment of the English language and mathematics proficiency of recently arrived students and offer information and advice about the school system. All stu-

dents eligible for secondary school (ages 14–20) visit one of these two Centres before registration at their local secondary school. During their full day at the Centre, their English language proficiency and mathematics skills are assessed.

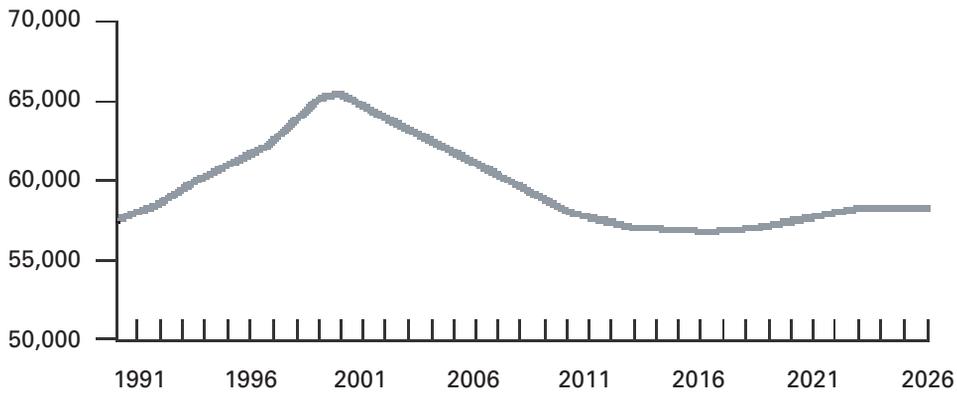
- Translation and Interpretation Services help schools and teachers communicate with families.
- Multilingual Education Services provide first language assessments in a variety of languages for students who may be at risk or who may have learning difficulties.
- International Student Services provide counseling and placement services for international students.

Alberta/Calgary

Alberta is growing and has the strongest economy of any Canadian province. While this leads to the expectation that it will have a growing number of students, projections indicate that between 2000 and 2016, lower birth rates actually will result in the school-aged population declining by close to 80,000 students (over 12 percent). Trends in other provinces, as well as in most Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries, are similar. The table below shows the historical and projected school-age (4–18) population in Alberta between 1990 and 2026.

FIGURE 1

Alberta School-Age Population



Source: Demographic Division, Statistics Canada. Projections are based on medium growth assumption of fertility, mortality and migration.

Declines are expected to be quite severe in some parts of the province. According to Statistics Canada and the Government of Alberta, the population is also aging, which results in fewer parents with children in school. In 2000, the number of Albertans aged 45 and over accounted for just over 31 percent of the population. By 2016, that figure will be almost 43 percent. At the same time, the percentage of people aged 25 to 44, the prime working years, is projected to drop from 33 percent in 2000 to just over 28 percent in 2016.

Alberta is the fourth largest immigrant-receiving province. Most of its immigrants come from China, the Philippines, India, Korea and Pakistan. The majority are working age; more than half are skilled workers. They are also well-educated. Over 42 percent have a university degree. Most are destined for Calgary (60 percent) or Edmonton (30 percent). Approximately 3,800 (26 percent) of the newcomers to Alberta in 2002 were school-aged children and youth.

The increased numbers result in increasing challenges to help children learn English, adapt to the new community, and keep up with the curriculum. There is, however, no special requirement for ESL teachers in Alberta. Students are coded for ESL and deemed eligible for one-time support of between one to three years, after which they are placed into the mainstream and expected to compete with native English-speaking students. The support they receive is not ongoing and does not correspond to the curriculum taught in school. Grades 4, 7 and 10 are “leap” grades during which the curriculum becomes harder, and so those grades present particular problems for many immigrant students.

Other Factors

Language barriers are only one factor to be taken into account when dealing with the education of K-12 immigrant students. Identity issues and cross-cultural communication can influence their overall success rate. Teachers are not currently trained to deal sensitively with cultural issues and what may be culturally-related behavioral issues. Minority cultures should be incorporated into the K-12 curriculum, permitting students cultural identification.

The young immigrant faces many educational challenges. Economic hardship, which impacts the well-being of the entire family, is one of them. Another is the difficulty of living between what are at least two worlds, with different cultures. Then there are the complexities of second language learning processes, parents’ unfamiliarity with the Canadian school system, and the institutional impact on literacy development. Finally, the country lacks the political will for institutional change that will address the realities of immigrant children.

Our school system is now failing young immigrants aged 16 to 19. Immigrant children at the elementary school level have the capacity to learn

language and culture much more quickly than do adolescents, and those who arrive at a young age have more time to make the necessary adjustments. Older immigrant children rarely acquire sufficient fluency in the English language and familiarity with the culture to successfully complete high school by age 19, when they lose eligibility to attend school. Some research suggests that almost 70 percent of the young people who arrive in the school system when they are 16 to 18 drop out or fail to graduate.

Solutions

We must address these issues in a holistic way if we are to achieve tangible change. We must work in the area of prevention, improving academic achievement and intervening to enhance personal, social, family, and community conditions. We need transition strategies for immigrant students 16 to 18 years of age as well as enhanced early childhood development support. Unfortunately, however, over the last 30 years, the school system and policy-makers have failed to pay adequate attention to the integration needs of immigrant children and youth in the educational system. As a result, appropriate policies have not been formulated or implemented and, in the era of balanced budgets, those with special learning needs, such as immigrant and refugee children, have been neglected. Integration policies and the needed institutional changes have not occurred because immigrants lack a political voice. It takes roughly five to six years for an immigrant to Canada to be able to vote and without the voices of immigrants, the unhealthy trend of the past 30 years will continue. Some first steps have been taken but the nation must pay more attention in the immediate future to the development of national strategies for the education and integration of immigrant children and youth.

Commentary: Policies in the United States

MARGARET MCHUGH

The New York Immigration Coalition is an umbrella organization for about 150 groups in New York that work with immigrants and refugees, and about eight years ago we began to focus on immigrant education issues. There are some one million children in the New York City public schools, making the district the largest in the country. More than 50 percent of our students come from immigrant families. At the high school level, more than 25 percent of our students are in either bilingual or English as a Second Language programs, trying both to learn English and to pass all of the newly mandated exams. Before the enactment of No Child Left Behind, New York was already on

track towards high stakes testing and the utilization of high stakes examinations as the mechanism for graduation, so both the pluses and minuses of such systems and an attempt to adapt a school district to those systems had begun a year or two earlier.

One set of statistics indicates the strengths and the weaknesses both of the system and of the students who are coming into it. English Language Learner students (ELLs) in the New York City schools have the highest drop-out rate of any group of high school students, but at the same time, those who successfully complete ELL programs have the highest graduation rate of any group of students. That tells us a lot about what we need to be doing and what we are not doing. Our biggest challenge is how to impart literacy skills to the students who are arriving in our schools. We focus much more of our political fire power on what is happening to students at the middle and high school levels, because elementary school children from immigrant families tend to fare better. While the very young children and their families face a whole host of challenges, things are even harder for older students. Students who must pass standardized tests before they can graduate from high school are expected to have had seven to eleven years of education in our system. If they have been in the system for only a year or two, failure is obviously more likely.

As we look at the challenges they confront, we should remember as well the additional problem of poverty. Transience is an issue, as immigrant families move more frequently than do other families. That creates a whole new set of challenges each time a child must enter a new school environment and the parents attempt to understand and adapt to it. Knowledge of the U.S. education system presents another problem. We assume that people know what happens in these transitions, but that information is frequently lacking. Many talented students in our system have fought the odds and made it through ELL programs and through some of our better high schools. Then, we discover, they don't apply to college because they think that students are assigned to a college in the same way they are assigned to a high school. The knowledge that one must apply to college seems so basic to us but information about it simply is not generally available. Parents may receive monthly mailings from the schools about PTA meetings and so on but there is no comprehensive information about the school systems available to immigrant parents.

We should also remember that immigrant families must deal with the inversion of parent-child relationships when it is only the children who speak English. This constitutes a serious challenge to traditional family structures, and many families are left reeling by the burden of having to negotiate family business with major institutions. Immigrant girls have the additional problem that immigrant families may be reluctant to let them participate in after-school programs, enhancement programs, and sports programs.

The issue of imparting literacy skills is a complicated one. Alec Gershberg has indicated the highly politicized nature of the debate about bilingual education. We in New York have said for about the last ten years that that's the old war rather than the one we face now. Fewer than 50 percent of the students in ELL programs in our schools are even in bilingual programs, because the law requires that in order to create a bilingual program, there must be something like 15 children at the same grade level speaking the same non-English language. We now have so many classrooms with children speaking dozens of different languages that you could not set up a bilingual program even if you wanted to do so. In less than ten years, virtually overnight, we have gone from doing an insufficient job using bilingual educational methodologies to having to deal with multi-lingual classrooms.

There is, in addition, the problem of teacher recruitment and retention or teacher training and credentialing. While we are fortunate in having so many committed professionals who still are willing to teach in the schools, by and large we no longer have the captive workforce of talented women that we did 20 or 30 years ago. There is the additional problem that people who can teach ELL properly must take the time and money to get a second credential. There is usually no financial support for them to do that. It is double work for teachers to prepare class plans and manage an additional licensing requirement, and it is simply unrealistic to expect teachers going into these areas to get that additional training on their own. We are continuing to fight for financial incentives and bonuses as part of the New York City teachers' contract, in order to help recruit and retain qualified ESL and bilingual education teachers. The city's Department of Education (DOE) has increased professional development efforts through the ELL Teacher Academy and has recently hired instructional support specialists or coaches. DOE has also begun to standardize the curriculum and the amount of English and native language instruction ELLs receive, based on each student's proficiency and program type (ESL, bilingual or dual language program).

When we assess No Child Left Behind, we should realize that either we have the wrong exam for children who have been in our system for eleven and twelve years, or we have the wrong exam for children who have been here for only a year or two. How can we expect children who are newcomers from other countries to make the transition magically within a year or two and pass the same exam as children who have been here eleven and twelve years? One of the only ways we have right now to try to help these children gain literacy skills sufficient to pass the exams is very heavy-duty bilingual education. Perhaps we should consider letting such children take a year or two off. That's what total immersion English used to mean: taking off a year or two in which to focus only on English language acquisition and training. This is not as radi-

cal an idea as it may sound, because in effect, we already give some young people extra time when we don't promote or graduate them but keep them in school well past the age of 18.

As Fariborz Birjandian noted in referring to the immigrants' lack of political voice, these things cost a lot of money. Alec mentioned that about 50 percent of what New York City spends on schools comes from local tax-levied dollars. Fortunately, immigrants are now the largest group of new voters in the city, constituting about two-thirds of all new voters, which has made it more politically feasible for large amounts of money to go into these services. In anticipation of the new budget, immigrants have been calling the mayor's office, saying that they expect to see 50 million new dollars put into ELL programs.⁸

Finally, let us be aware of the push-out problem. We have learned that places like Houston and Florida as well as New York have found a way to make their numbers look good under No Child Left Behind. They have found ways to push students out of the system so they do not show up in the statistics as drop-outs. Technically, these students are referred to a Graduation Equivalency Degree program or to a different school system. Shockingly, we are now seeing as much as 50 to 60 percent of some schools' population disappearing before graduation through this push-out phenomenon. This may be the most important ELL story: schools see such students, know that under the current system they will not make it through successfully, and simply cancel them out of school rather than trying to educate them.

Commentary: Policies in Canada

CHARLES UNGERLEIDER

I have heard much today with which I agree but there are also comments with which I disagree. I do not agree with Alec, for example, about taking politics out of the issue of immigration and education. As someone who has had the good fortune to be both an academic and a deputy minister, I certainly do not want to substitute research for the democratic policy-making process, because educational and social policy reflects the kind of society that we want to live in. While research certainly can inform the debate and elevate the discourse, I would be loath to replace politics and the democratic political process with the technicist approach to decision making.

There are two trends in post-war America that are interesting to me as an observer of the differences between Canada and the United States. I recently completed a paper about the attitudinal differences of Canadians and Americans and the structural differences between our education systems that

have an impact on policy. There are two that merit discussion here. First is the strong belief in education, especially in post-war United States and Canada. I am part of the generation whose parents told us to stay in school and who believe that more education results in more human capital and more social progress. That certainly has benefited me and many of my colleagues of the same generation.

But there is another, equally strong tendency in the post-war United States, though not in post-war Canada, to view any domestic or international problem as evidence of the failure of American public schooling. Some of you will recall Sputnik and the space race, and the belief that the reason the Soviet Union was so successful was the failure of the American high school to provide enough mathematicians and scientists. The fact that the Russians were ahead of the United States in space, it was believed, could not possibly have been the failure of the people in policy positions at the time. It was much easier to blame secondary school students and the teachers for the failure. That is still the case. We see in the works of Charles Silberman and Jonathan Kozol, and in a report like *A Nation at Risk* and its contemporary manifestation, *No Child Left Behind*, the tendency to view many of the United States' domestic and international problems as evidence of the failure of the school system.⁹ That is wrongheaded. The kind of high stakes testing mandated by *No Child Left Behind* will not improve the United States' schools but it will work to continue to obfuscate the state's responsibility for immigration, education and social policy.

Only 30 percent of the variation in student achievement is explained by school-related factors. The remaining 70 percent is attributable to factors beyond the walls of the school. It is important to remember that the most robust interventions in education have the effect of giving a .2 or .3 effect size difference in student achievement. That means the interventions have the effect of moving a youngster at the 50th percentile to about the 57th or 60th percentile. That is certainly a significant improvement of seven to ten percentage points—usually, it amounts to two or three items on a standardized test and is not to be ignored—but we must keep in mind that 70 percent of the variation in student achievement occurs outside the walls of the school. And, incidentally, most of the variation in student achievement that is explainable occurs within schools, not between schools, so that attempts to compare schools with one another as *No Child Left Behind* does, by pitting schools against one another in a competition, is fatuous.

Education is significant for immigrant success, but educational success itself depends upon a wide range of complementary social policies. At a minimum, education would be much more successful if it were accompanied by complementary social policies of the following sort: decent

minimum wages, regulation of the hours of work (including vacation and over-time), decent parental leave benefits, equal pay for work of equal value, adequate health benefits for children and their parents, social assistance and so on—some of the things that Alec alluded to in his comments about the challenges that face not only children but their families with respect to immigrant integration.

I will turn briefly to Canada's immigration in the post-1967 period when it moved from an overtly discriminatory policy of immigration to an increasingly meritocratic system in which favor is given to persons with significant social, economic and cultural capital. As Fariborz points out, Canada has given complementary attention to settlement policy which, while not perfect, provides some level of support during the initial period of adaptation to Canadian society. It is also the case that by pursuing an official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework and giving prominence to human rights, charter rights, official languages and the like, Canada has also recognized the importance of adapting as a society to immigrants in the same way that immigrants are expected to adapt to the host society. There has, in short, been some accommodation. The system is by no means perfect but it is an interesting system that bears closer examination.

Discussion

QUESTION: What support systems exist in schools and what policies are there to help parents be the role models for their children, in order to prevent the situation of parent-child relationship inversion?

FARIBORZ BIRJANDIAN: One of the indicators of how well students do in Canadian schools is the level of involvement of parents. Unfortunately, there has been little institutional change in our school councils. In the city of La Calve, for example, 70 percent of the students are ESL students but the parents are absent from the school council. Calgary is a city of a million people where 30 percent of the students are ESL students, but there is not a single school council with immigrant parents. My organization has created a parallel school council that consists only of immigrant parents, as a new pilot program. Our hope is to get them involved, use the immigrant-only parents' council to influence the official school council, and prepare the immigrant parents for election to the school council.

ALEC IAN GERSHBERG: That is a fascinating experiment, particularly because one of the things newcomer schools can do for parents from cultures where

parents do not make demands on the school system is get them involved in the school council.

On the issue of inversion: Many middle school and high school immigrant students have more absences from school because whenever parents have to deal with child/family services or take a younger child to a doctor, they need the one person in the family who speaks English. The child's role as translator can lead to strange situations. In one California school, officials told me about suspending a Lao child. The parents, who did not speak English, were brought in, with their child translating. The officials somehow realized later that the child had told his parents during the meeting that he was doing so well in school that he was being given a little time off. Translation and communication difficulties can turn the family power dynamic on its head.

MARGARET MCHUGH: There is now a several million dollar family literacy initiative in New York that we hope will fund such programs as Saturday classes that both parents and students can attend. Many schools are now using Saturdays to get immigrant parents in. Family literacy can include remediation for students, or using an ESL methodology to have parents and their children learn English together or about what to expect from the school. This helps the parents have a better understanding about the expectations for the child. The ESL methodology means that the parents are picking up English at the same time that they are learning about the school system.

CHARLES UNGERLEIDER: Canada has a bimodal immigrant parental population. Many immigrant parents have significant education and cultural capital and are literate in their own language; in fact, they are so literate in their own language that they possess advanced degrees at a higher rate than the native Canadian population. At the same time, there are parents who are not even literate in their own languages. This places a special burden not only on the youngsters but also upon the schools because translation doesn't work, no matter how good your intentions and how sufficient your resources, if the recipient of the message is not literate.

In many jurisdictions, immigrant support workers play an important brokering role with parents and their offspring, and also help mediate some of the conflicts that occur between children and their parents. Children who have the burden of translating for their parents and interpreting the wider culture for their parents have a great deal of autonomy in that context and yet parents may have very different expectations about their behavior. Children don't compartmentalize the different situations in the same way that the parents might, and that leads to conflict. Immigrant support workers have played a very important if not perfect part in brokering those relationships.

QUESTION: Organizations such as the Ethiopian Community Development Council, which serves African immigrants, has great difficulty getting information about the number of African immigrants in this country. Younger African newcomers frequently tell us that they prefer to be called African Americans rather than African immigrants. Are demographers taking this part of the population into consideration?

JOSEPH CHAMIE: The question involves census classifications. I think it is a disservice for the census to classify people by race, ethnicity, religion or language so that we can make decisions about assistance on that basis. Instead, assistance should be going to people who are disadvantaged by income. Why should we care if a person is Greek or Lebanese or Ethiopian? If he is wealthy, he doesn't need assistance. My view is that ethnic groups want these demographic categories perpetuated in order to create powerful groups that influence the political system. The United States now allocates resources by race, and I consider that a mistake. It is possible, however, to collect data about Ethiopians or Greeks or Brazilians through voluntary self-identification.

To me, integration means becoming citizens in a society and functioning within a cultural, political or economic system. That does not mean giving up one's home language or culture, but it does mean abiding by the practices and the laws of the United States or of Canada. This affects every demographic component. The law says, for example, that a child cannot start school without immunization. That is an issue of health and mortality, and should not be treated as a cultural issue.

There was recently an outcry in New York with people complaining, "The doctors and nurses don't speak Spanish; we can't understand what they're doing." I sympathize, and think people should be able to understand what the doctors are saying—but they should pay for it. Why should other New Yorkers pay for translation into all the languages—Swedish and Vietnamese and Japanese and Zulu—that immigrants bring?

What I am raising is the question of resources, which has become a global question and not one only in Canada and the United States. The majority of Ph.D.s in engineering and mathematics are now held by immigrants or their offspring.

ALEC IAN GERSHBERG: We had to deal with the issue of African immigrants and found that our data from San Diego referred to African students as African-American. We made the decision to use the less politically correct term "black" in *Beyond "Bilingual" Education*, because we were unable to separate out what the data were actually telling us. We felt it would be deceptive to use the term African American, and it is a big issue.

On the issue of who should pay for translation, I consider it dangerous to pick out one particular social service and say that those receiving it should pay for it. Perhaps the reason all of us should pay for the costs of translation in hospitals is that we all benefit because our tomatoes cost less. Every tomato, every orange, every piece of fruit we put in our mouths passes through the hands of an undocumented immigrant who isn't paid as much as his or her native counterpart would be, and without whom we would be facing the kind of high food prices that exist in Europe.

QUESTION: A large part of immigration into the United States is undocumented immigration. Almost all Mexicans coming into this country, for example, are coming in undocumented, and there are 1.7 million undocumented minors in this country. Many of them drop out of school, but about 65,000 of them a year are able to graduate. The numbers are very hazy but of those 65,000, only around five to ten percent go on to college. It is not because they are not prepared but because of the huge barriers presented by their immigration status, in addition to all the problems already mentioned. Might the panelists address that issue, commenting as well on the promise of the DREAM Act?¹⁰

ALEC IAN GERSBERG: The impact of undocumented status on education is a huge issue. One of the most dramatic impacts on schools comes from the large population that is simply trying to fly under the radar screen. Issues of parental participation loom large when the reaction of an immigrant family to seeing a school guard is very different from the reaction of someone born in the United States.

QUESTION: Do we have any reliable information on what impact Proposition 227 and the change in the default mechanism has had on the kind of instruction that is provided to children in California? Do we know anything about any changes in outcomes that may have resulted?

ALEC IAN GERSHBERG: We do have evidence that Proposition 227 had a substantial impact on the number of students who were in bilingual education programs before it was enacted and who are in them now. The shift has been dramatic. Social scientists disagree, however, about the impact on test scores, and the answer you get depends on whether you ask Ron Unz or Eugene Garcia. Mark Lopez found no impact, while Christine Rossell, who has testified before Congress against all forms of bilingual education, found a very large impact.¹¹ The most cautious interpretation of the data would be simply to say that we do not know what the impact is. At the same time, implemen-

tation has been messy and the time involved has been relatively short, so assessment is difficult.

MARGARET MCHUGH: We might return to the issue of the DREAM Act. It is likelier that we will have legislation that will fix problems with the undocumented than it is that we will have legislation that will fix problems related to immigrants under No Child Left Behind, or that we will get the funding that we need to educate these children. There is a great deal of conversation about legal status and virtually none about the integration issues.

Joseph Chamie may be referring to the civil rights complaints my organization filed against hospitals because we found that people had amputations and sterilizations and had even died because of lack of translation at private hospitals. We have been working for many years with all the hospitals in the city, both private and public, and there are a number that have refused to do even the most common sense things. Where they have staff personnel who speak languages other than English, the hospitals have failed to get that information in an organized way that would permit them to utilize those people so as to prevent such problems from happening.

Even in New York City, where we pride ourselves on being progressive and on putting tens of millions of dollars into ESL classes for adults, we still meet only five percent of the need for English language classes. We are long overdue for a more serious look at integration issues in the United States. We need a more comprehensive policy that at a minimum would make more free and low cost English language classes available. That would go a long way toward solving some of our problems with parent involvement and with access to hospitals and other public services. At the same time, if current immigration rates continue in places like New York, we can expect the arrival of 100,000 people a year, and most of them will not have had a chance to learn English. We are going to have to make some common sense adaptations simply to keep governmental systems functioning. English language instruction and acquisition issues have to be given attention, as do linguistic and cultural access issues. That is all part of running a multicultural society where we believe the benefits of immigration far out-weigh the costs of such services.

NOTES

1. Alec Ian Gershberg, Anne Danenberg, and Patricia Sánchez, *Beyond “Bilingual” Education: New Immigrants and Public School Policies in California* (Urban Institute Press, 2004).

2. Peter Drucker, “Survey: The Near Future,” *Economist.com*, November 1, 2001, at http://www.economist.com/surveys/displayStory.cfm?story_id=770839.

3. John Boehner, “Committee on Education and the Workforce, H.R. 1, Conference Report Highlights: Bilingual Education Reform,” December 10, 2001, available at

<http://edworkforce.house.gov/issues/107th/education/nclb/bilingualfactsheet.htm>.

4. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, PL 107-110, 20 U.S.C. 6961-6968, 115 Stat. 1723-1728, Subpart 4.

5. Statistics Canada, "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic, 2001 Census" p. 8; available at <http://www.statcan.ca:8096/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=96F0030X2001008>.

6. The International Metropolis Project, which is active in over twenty countries, coordinates activities by its membership of research, policy and non-governmental organizations. Its purpose is to aid research and policy-making in the areas of immigration and integration. Metropolis Canada is built upon partnerships between all levels of government, academic researchers and community organization in five Centres of Excellence.

7. Alberta Learning, "Policy 1.5.1. – English as a Second Language," available at <http://www.education.gov.ab.ca/EducationGuide/pol-plan/polregs/151.asp>.

8. The Mayor's Executive Budget did include additional funds. These, with other additional funds from the Department of Education, means there will be \$4.6 million in increased funds for ELL libraries, \$3.2 million for 46 schools that serve students with interrupted formal educations, and \$7.5 million more for translation services designed to improve communication with immigrant and limited-English-speaking parents.

9. See, e.g., Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (Random House, 1970); Jonathan Kozol, *Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools* (Houghton Mifflin, 1967); The National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), available at <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/index.html>.

10. The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, introduced in the Senate in 2003 (S. 1545), would apply to immigrant students who have grown up in the United States, graduated from high school here, and can demonstrate good moral character. They would initially qualify for "conditional lawful permanent resident" status, which normally would last for six years. During the conditional period, the immigrant would be required to go to college or join the military. At the end of the conditional period, those who meet at least one of these requirements would be eligible for regular lawful permanent resident status. Similar legislation, called the Student Adjustment Act, was introduced at the same time in the House of Representatives (H.R. 1684). Both bills would also facilitate state efforts to offer in-state college tuition rates to immigrant students.

11. Ron Unz, the chairman of Wall Street Analytics, Inc., was the architect of Proposition 227. He created the organization English for the Children to advocate replacing bilingual education around the country with English immersion classes. Eugene Garcia is the former dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California-Berkeley and former director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs at the U.S. Department of Education. Mark. H. Lopez, of the University of Maryland, has done extensive work on the labor market impacts of bilingual education and the impact of Proposition 227. Christine H. Rossell, a Boston University political scientist, is the author of numerous works on bilingual education, including "Dismantling Bilingual Education, Implementing English Immersion: The California Initiative," <http://www.bu.edu/polisci/CROSSELL/Dismantling%20Bilingual%20Education,%20July%202002.pdf>.

Panel 2

Adult Literacy and Workforce Training

Adult Literacy and Workforce Training in the United States

HEIDE SPRUCK WRIGLEY

I work on both youth literacy in Canada and on second language acquisition for adults and immigrant education in the United States. I was an adult ESL student myself, when I arrived in the United States in my twenties and enrolled in a community college. When I became a university student I was almost put into ESL classes again because I couldn't hear the difference between "He makes his money raising horses," and "He makes his money racing horses."

For many immigrants, English is the key to the golden door that opens paradise. If you learn English, your landlord will listen to you and fix the bathroom, your children will give you respect instead of talking back to you, and when the police stop you, you will be able to explain that those beer cans in the back really aren't yours. Immigrants therefore go into ESL with very high expectations and our system is able to meet some of them, but not a great many.

The adult education system in the United States is federally funded, with the states expected to match the federal funding. Some do a fine job; others do not. California puts in five times as much as the federal money while Texas puts in the minimum, but we lack data indicating the extent to which that affects the quality of the programs.

Both adult education and training fall under the Workforce Investment Act, which is supposed to be a seamless system in which programs can draw money from either the training or the adult education side.¹ Classes for people designated as limited English proficient are free. In practice, however, the Act does not work very well.

ESL is part of the adult basic education system (ABE) in the United States; that is, the system of ABE for native speakers subsumes the English as Second Language program for non-English-speaking immigrants. That creates difficulties because many policymakers view ESL as ABE with an accent. In reality, as some of the earlier speakers mentioned, ESL is really about communication, cross-cultural skills and integration issues. Only 10 percent of the

American population is considered limited English proficient but 42 percent of the participants in the adult education system are ESL learners. As a significant number of students in GED classes (general education development classes, designed to provide students with the equivalent of a high school education) have advanced through ESL, it is clear that immigrants who speak a language other than English make up the majority of the participants in the adult education system.

Access to the system is an issue. New York and Boston, for example, have huge waiting lists. California “solved” the problem by putting something like 30 to 35 students into one classroom. Of course it is impossible to teach that many people very well, especially with part time and under-trained staff, and many students drop out. The system is not worried because when students drop out, there is always a new batch of students coming in. I asked one teacher how many students she has in her class on any given day and she replied, “About 15, but they are never the same 15.” We have an open entry system where people just go through the system on a rolling basis.

The United States has a national reporting system. We hold states and programs responsible, not so much for the quality of the education but for whether they are able to pre- and post-test students who come through the system, and we pay them on the basis of the number of students for whom they have test scores. An anecdote illustrates that. Massachusetts uses popular theater to problematize issues around education and has developed a little skit in which the teacher talks to a student who says, “Teacher, I don’t know what to do. My husband has lost his job, he’s started drinking, I’ve just been diagnosed with breast cancer, my children are really in bad shape. I don’t know if I can go on.” The question to the audience is, as a teacher, what should you do? The group in the audience yells out in unison, “Quick, test her before she disappears.”

The perverse consequence of the reporting system is that teachers are more concerned about testing the students than they are about quality education. We know that our need to test students does not correspond to student needs for being tested. In addition, the accountability system lacks money for program improvement. Just as in No Child Left Behind, it is driven by the testing requirements, and there is a saying that you don’t fatten the pig by weighing it.

If we were really to test what students should know and be able to do and what immigrants really need in order to make changes in their lives and to contribute to their communities, that would be one thing. But the accountability system is driven by what we can test, by the kinds of standardized tests that we have available, and they tend to be small units: the ability to use the past tense or to carry on a simple conversation. That does not test whether you can navigate systems or whether you can advocate for your children in school.

The perverse consequence of the [United States] reporting system is that teachers are more concerned about testing the students than they are about quality education.

The largest numbers of people in the program are Spanish speakers, from Mexico or Central America. The second largest group speaks Asian languages. There is a sprinkling of Haitian and Creole-speaking immigrants and, more and more, refugees from West Africa. The participants in the American adult education system on the ESL side are much more varied than are the native English-speaking adult students. Again, those who are new to English need communication and cross-cultural skills, and the vast majority of them are at the beginning levels. Of course, the goals differ by individuals and by sub-groups. We have a tendency to use a one-size-fits-all system for our immigrants, and unfortunately, that means it fits only some.

We have a bimodal distribution of immigrants. More than one-third lack a high school education, which is twice as high as the numbers in the United States of native-born. In Mexico, more than two-thirds don't have a high school education. That means we have the challenge not only of teaching English as a second language but of raising the literacy skills of people who are not literate in their native language and who lack the schooling skills that are necessary to be able to transition to work, or to training or higher education. One quarter of today's immigrants have a B.A. or higher degree, and we are trying to serve both groups, professionals who arrive with no English and people who have never gone to school, with the same system. It does not serve either group well.

The students' goals differ. For many of the refugees, older people, and many of the women, the system provides an opportunity to acculturate, to get to know other people, and to decrease social isolation. That is particularly true of the elderly, who are being left at home while their children and grandchildren go to work. For them, the classes provide a reason to get up in the morning. In fact, we know that a lot of elderly immigrants are misdiagnosed with Alzheimer's, when in fact they are actually suffering from loneliness and depression, and we lack the cultural sensitivity to identify their needs.

Some people come into the family literacy programs because they want to be able to talk with their children. The children learn English so much faster. They come home and want to stay with English, particularly if one parent speaks English, so that there's a real cultural and linguistic mismatch. I spoke with one grandparent who said that she was learning how to order at McDonald's. She was from Bosnia. I said, "McDonald's? Really? You like the food at McDonald's?" She answered, "No, I hate it, but my grandchild says, 'You have to order for me, Grandma,'" and so the grandmother has learned to say, "One Happy Meal, please." For her, that is a cultural survival skill.

For many, the adult system means getting a first chance at education. These are people who were not able to go to school, and so I frequently hear people say in interviews that they go to school "to be somebody." Other Spanish-

speaking people say that they need “*Inglés para defenderme*” (“English to defend myself”), which is another way of saying they need it to get by and to be able to advocate. Professionals come in to get their credentials recognized and to be able to transition to higher education. The number one reason people say they want English classes in the United States, however, is in order to get a job and then to be able to get a better job; for upward mobility.

That means there are a number of issues in program design. The ESL system is like a black hole for too many of our immigrants: you disappear into it and you never get out. There are a variety of levels in ESL and we keep telling our immigrants, “You’re doing so well!” “You’re doing better!” “Oh, your thing is just so great!” and when they ask, “Oh good, now I’m finished?” we reply, “No, you need to go now to the next level, the next level, next level.” People love the opportunities that are available but they do not have the time and the resources to spend many years. Immigrants tell us that one year seems about fair. We have to be able to articulate what the various levels accomplish, so people can understand what they will get by investing for a year or two or three. We know from K-12 education that it takes five to seven years to achieve full proficiency, but people stay in adult ESL classes for an average of only 100 hours. That means we must find a system that allows people to learn on their own and to work with others through a kind of system that can be used anytime and anywhere, and we must teach the strategies for learning how to learn.

Among the additional policy issues we face at the moment is the administration’s proposed budget cut, which could result in a 60 percent decrease in the federal money available to education. Some people wonder if the administration is seeking to dismantle the entire ESL and ABE program, concentrating only on those who are on a straight workforce, training and education track, and turning the rest over to the volunteer sector. Family literacy has been zeroed out in the president’s budget. There is also concern that research and evaluation are being used to justify cutting back the system. We argue that the system ought to be evidence-based and research-based, but we lack the kind of funded research that will permit us to say that one type of program works better than another.

What research we do have indicates that if you combine basic skills and training in a model that provides family support, people will get jobs that pay a living wage. Unfortunately, we are making it extremely difficult to create and fund such programs. There is a real mismatch between what the policy says and what is actually in place, so there is not a great deal of policy accountability.

We do have a system of free education here, and our very lack of standards allows for a great deal of flexibility. We frequently find an aggressive eclecticism, in which many teachers close their classroom doors and do whatever

they want. In some cases that is a good thing; in others, it is not. And we are giving immigrants a jumpstart. We need a language policy in the United States, perhaps a different system for immigrants, that is better articulated and has a clearer focus.

The Role of Colleges in Integrating Internationally Trained Immigrants*

SABRA DESAI

As is the case for other nations, literacy is critical for Canada's continued economic and social growth. Technological innovation and economic globalization have increased the need for a highly skilled workforce. These changes, together with low birth rates, have resulted in a greater reliance on immigration for skilled labor in Canada.

The following discussion of adult literacy and workforce training in Canada examines the role of colleges in the integration of internationally-trained immigrants. It explores the issue of adult literacy and integration as it pertains to challenges faced by internationally-trained immigrants, and the ways in which colleges can play a key role in the settlement and integration of internationally trained immigrants.

The history of Canada and the history of immigration in Canada are inextricably tied to the two major principles of self-interest and selectivity. Because of Canada's points-based immigration system, most immigrants arrive in Canada with advanced education and professional degrees. *The Toronto Star* of March 23, 2005 reported that by 2017, Canada's sesquicentennial year, the nation will have seen the largest wave of immigration since 1930. The difference between the earlier wave of immigrants and the current one is two-fold: first, the new Canadians are highly educated; second, non-European immigrant communities are expected to grow 23 times faster between 2001 and 2017 than the rest of the Canadian population.²

Each year Toronto, one of the three main destinations for immigrants in Canada, becomes the home of highly educated and experienced workers from all over the world, eager to continue in the professions or fields in which they have been trained. Many of them are nonetheless unable to find employment in their professions, in spite of the widespread recognition that the workforce

*The term "colleges" in this article refers to what in the United States would be called "community colleges."

needs to be diversified and that the immigrants' global education and exposure to different societies adds an important component to the workplace. A recent article in *Canadian Business* (March 2005) stated that every year, highly educated and credentialed professionals who cannot work in their fields suffer a collective wage loss of C\$3.4 to C\$5 billion.³ Internationally trained immigrants who do get work in their chosen fields often earn 30 percent less than Canadian-born workers with equivalent credentials.⁴ The reasons frequently given for not hiring foreign-trained professionals are the lack of Canadian experience, lack of English language proficiency, and the fear that their professional training is not equivalent to that offered by Canadian institutions.

One of the first issues that arises, in examining adult literacy and the integration of immigrants into the workforce, is how adult literacy is to be defined in the context of highly educated immigrants. Earlier panelists have made clear that adult literacy is a complex issue. Canada's current immigration policy criteria require immigrants to have some proficiency in either English or French, and research shows that recent immigrants have more tertiary education than do native-born Canadians. Therefore, is literacy as traditionally defined really the issue for highly educated immigrants, or is it something else? According to the Literacy Research Council of Canada, a very modest increase in adult literacy of only one percent a year would increase Canada's gross national product (GNP) by C\$18.4 billion, which suggests that Canada's GNP would be increased further if we tapped into the skills brought by immigrants who arrive in Canada with basic or advanced literacy. There is an obvious and serious consequence of not utilizing the knowledge and skills of internationally trained immigrants.

Researchers in the field of immigration and settlement tell us that there are three stages in the settlement process. The initial stage involves the fulfillment of the needs in Maslow's hierarchy: food, clothing, shelter, information, and orientation.⁵ During the intermediate stage, immigrants learn how to gain access to a number of Canadian systems including language (through ESL classes, for example); health, housing and legal systems; and systems that will enable them to upgrade their training and education. The third and final stage is an ongoing process, involving long-term participation in the society.

Four levels of service enable this process. At the first level, there are both mainstream public agencies such as Ontario Works, which deals with social assistance, and government-funded grassroots organizations, such as Skills For Change which, like the public agencies, help individuals integrate and access jobs in their professions. The second level is that of ethno-racial agencies, such as those Fariborz mentioned in the Calgary context. Ontario has, for example, the Jamaican Canadian Association, Caribbean Youth and Family Services,

One of the first issues that arises, in examining adult literacy and the integration of immigrants into the workforce, is how adult literacy is to be defined in the context of highly educated immigrants.

and Chinese Family Services of Ontario. These organizations were created with mandates to provide settlement services to specific ethno-racial-linguistic groups. Changes in government funding policies, however, now require them to move towards providing these services to anyone, regardless of ethno-racial-linguistic background.

The third level consists of independent professionals from specific ethno-cultural backgrounds. These include immigration lawyers, physicians, nurses, and therapists, all of whom help provide services for immigrants. Finally, there are the professional bridging organizations, which are set up specifically to help with the integration of the internationally-trained professionals in their respective fields. CARE works with nurses, ESL Pharma deals with immigrant pharmacists, Pathways aids engineers, and Teach in Ontario targets newly arrived teachers. These are examples of more recent initiatives to help with settlement and integration.

The goals of any comprehensive settlement policy should be to facilitate integration in a manner that avoids exclusion, ghettoization, isolation, marginalization, or segregation within Canadian society. Colleges which were originally established to keep up with the human resource demands of the Canadian workplace can once again take a lead in retooling immigrants to help them integrate. Colleges are in fact addressing English language training but their role in addressing employers' fears of gaps in the education of immigrants could be more vigorous. Colleges with a history of providing applied skills and hands-on work experience through job/field placements or internships can provide more bridging courses. The colleges themselves face several barriers, however, especially in terms of funding.

Some of the barriers and challenges faced by internationally-trained immigrants when it comes to enrolling in colleges include:

- Lack of timely access to information
- A reluctance to recognize their work experience
- Inconsistent and delayed assessment of their skills
- Lack of funding for part-time students
- A focus on youth at the cost of neglecting the needs of adult learners such as internationally trained professionals, who need more flexible and modular programming
- No opportunity for job placements.

For their part, the colleges face challenges or barriers that include:

- Inadequate funding
- The tying of funding to enrollment

- No common benchmarks for language
- Inadequate resources for assessing international credentials
- Little or no funding for more flexible or modular programming.

The need for comprehensive information packages that are system-wide, whether specific to Ontario or to the greater Toronto area, is very clear. This of course requires more funding and changes in the current formula for colleges, which is determined by the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. The formula is based on enrollment rather than need. If the province had more resources, for example, for the Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition programs (PLAR), as some other provinces do, it would be able to address some of the problems of policy, programming, and implementation, and would save time and money while improving services. The problem of inconsistent delays in assessment is substantial. Colleges lack adequate resources, and assessing all immigrants entering the college system is impractical. The current system needs restructuring; some have even suggested a centralized system. The current inconsistent and costly credential assessment system should be made accessible and transparent and should include benchmarks for credit recognition. Having an accessible centralized and transparent system with consistent standards for assessing international credentials would raise the confidence not only of internationally-trained immigrants but also of the people working within the college system.

Not only is it financially burdensome for internationally-trained immigrants to go through a costly assessment process, but they also frequently end up in courses that are not really what they need. With more funding, colleges could provide more flexible modular programs to help internationally-trained immigrants. Work experience gained outside of Canada is often not recognized and, often, years of education are not given due recognition. Colleges with programs that are applied in nature and that have job placement components would help immigrants gain Canadian work experience and acculturate to the Canadian workplace. The provision of flexible modular bridging courses with job placement components would help address the current “Catch-22” situation in which internationally-trained immigrants cannot get a job because of a lack of Canadian experience and cannot get Canadian experience without a job. It would also save immigrants substantial time, enable them to integrate into their professions more quickly, and keep their confidence and self-esteem from being eroded.

As a result of extensive lobbying by groups such as the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council, which comprises members from the business sector, government, and non-governmental organizations in Ontario, there are now new initiatives to address issues related to the workplace integration of internationally-trained immigrants. Canada is also shifting from a system in

which the sole responsibility for immigration and settlement is in the hands of the federal government to one in which the provinces are demanding more of a role in determining funding priorities and in making settlement programs more specific to the needs of the immigrants arriving in each province. The services currently available through government funding include student job placement, government–community relations, and help with settlement and integration issues such as getting into the workplace. ACCESS, Career Bridge, and Skills for Change sponsor internship programs that help internationally-trained professionals gain Canadian experience by placing them with local employers.⁶ Career Bridge’s internship program has enabled 85 percent of participants to find full-time employment in their fields.⁷ Colleges, with their experience of internships and placing students in jobs, would be strategically positioned to work on integrating internationally-trained professionals into the workplace.

Adult literacy as we traditionally know it is not the issue when it comes to settlement and integration of internationally-trained professionals. Instead, the issue is access, equity, and the opportunity for professionals to work in their chosen fields. Many professional organizations have instituted their own programs, but for the integration of internationally-trained immigrants to be successful, there must be immigration, social, and educational policies that are transparent, comprehensive, and integrated, and all three levels of government must act as collaborative stakeholders for social and economic sustainability and success.

Commentary: Policies in the United States

B. LINDSAY LOWELL

Several points in the previous presentations are worth noting.

The first is that in the United States there is a huge unmet demand for adult education among immigrants. Funding at the levels that would be necessary even to begin meeting the demand is not forthcoming. There is a tension between local level control and funding from the federal government. On the one hand, this is a very good way to encourage local experimentation and variety; on the other, it leads to tension and the creation of what appear to be too many silly pedagogical loops.

Canada appears to have a well-defined integration policy. That, as we all know, does not exist in the United States, where our integration policies are embedded in our educational and economic institutions. Our policies are based in institutions that serve everybody. While that has distinct advantages in upholding a universalistic ethic, it does not permit us to target immigrants in potentially beneficial ways.

The presentations point up the differences between tertiary educated and lower educated migrants. I had been thinking about this topic in terms of those with lesser education, high school and below, with the greatest need being literacy training and job training at those levels. That, however, may be a uniquely U.S. perspective. It may be that the U.S. employment-based admission system mainlines high-skilled workers into the system where they do very well. Canada's point system, on the other hand, creates more of a sink or swim situation in which well-educated migrants are not assured a job at entry and are often underemployed. The fact that employment-based immigrants have jobs at entry, however, does not necessarily mean that we do better in the United States. Limited research from the late 1980s suggests that employment-based migration in the United States frequently leads to underemployment, but we lack adequate information and we simply presume that jobs at entry means better employment outcomes.

The last ten years of increased immigration have brought challenges for identifying what kind of training needs exist. At the same time, there is the question of how we gauge policy outcomes. Should we look at the number of admissions, or at economic outcomes and training in the United States? When you compare Canada and the United States, the difference in skills at entry, which becomes an important factor in outcomes, is apparent.

The bottom line is that the United States does not attract or admit people with a high level of literacy when compared to other countries, Canada in particular. The U.S. Department of Education's Adult Education Unit documents the nature of immigrant literacy skills. Only 25 percent of the United States population is assumed to be at Level 1, out of four levels of literacy. About 25 percent of those at Level 1 are immigrants. At the same time, the United States native-born population ranked tenth out of 17 countries for overall literacy, whereas our immigrants ranked only sixteenth out of those 17 advanced economies in terms of literacy.

At the same time, during the 1990s, funding for ESL grew from about a third to well over a half of the dollars for all adult education. That means there is an enormous shift toward ESL training in community colleges, which is essentially where all the U.S. training action outside of the job site takes place. A survey in the late 1990s found that 42 percent of adults who did not speak English at home had taken an ESL class during the previous 12 months. There is a lot of latent demand.

It is important to know why this shift has occurred. In many ways, immigration has been changing in nature. There has been a change in the structure of both job market assimilation and non-economic integration since the 1970s. There has been a drop in what one economist has called quality, by which he meant essentially that natives have a greater and ever-increasing level

of education relative to immigrants. At the same time, in both Canada and the United States, succeeding cohorts of immigrants—those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s rather than in earlier decades—start off at very low income levels but experience rapid growth thereafter. Some analysts in the United States concluded a few years ago that we need to focus on retention, not first time job-getting. The assumption was that we should concentrate on keeping people in jobs so they can improve employment experience, do better, get on-the-job training. What is happening in the immigrant job market, however, suggests just the opposite: rapid job change that results in increased income. There is still a sizeable gap at the end of 10 to 15 years, but the rapid growth means there is a different kind of job trajectory that we do not yet understand.

There has also been a change in the structure of discrimination. There no longer seem to be differential pay levels for immigrants with the same level of education as native-born workers. To make a very complex set of subjects brief, discrimination seems to be taking place more at hiring than in wages. That too is a change that is of interest.

During the 1990s we saw an enormous increase in the scale of immigration, both in concentration, so that there are now 1.5 million Mexicans in Los Angeles alone and, at the same time, increasing dispersion that results in very small numbers of immigrants in many different places. In short, the economy and job training and literacy needs have changed, as have the geographic concentration and dispersion of immigrants.

English remains all-important in this context. About 20 percent of the immigrant earning differential is due to language capacity alone. My research shows that English remains extremely important and that the immigrant enclave offers no protection. You have to know English, whether you work in an enclave or not. On average, bilingual capacity does not command any greater earnings in the labor market. Many of the things that we assume about the new modality of immigrants' bilingual capacity in enclaves do not play out. English remains dominant as the key to job mobility, and education remains key to the issue of what happens long term.

If Latinos are taken out of the equation, immigrants do about equally well in Canada and the United States. I mention that because two-thirds of Mexicans have less than a high school education. Those with low levels of education also have very low usage of ESL classes. There is what we might call a double whammy effect: entering with a lower level of education is correlated with less of a pursuit of more education, training and ESL. My research suggests further that the cross-generational outcomes—the outcomes across the first, second, and third generations—are not particularly good, although there is some disagreement about that in the research literature. But it is clear that we are experiencing a new situation in terms of scale and in terms of the

nature and the dynamic of labor market incorporation, which are quite different than they were 10 to 15 years ago.

The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform made a number of recommendations in the mid-1990s that approached this problem in two ways.⁸ One was to increase the level of skilled immigration, not in the Canadian manner or through a point system, but by pruning the number of categories of people eligible to immigrate, keeping them focused on immediate family members. The Commission recommended income requirements for sponsoring new immigrants, which it thought would raise the overall level of education for those in the family-based stream over time.

At the same time, the Commission highly recommended adult education, both training and literacy, as part of a new Americanization movement. It recommended more funding for adult education. It also strongly recommended that the private sector be brought in and, in fact, most training in the United States is done on the job site. The question is what incentives should be created in order to get employers to do more of it. Since most job training of immigrants takes place in small-to-medium-sized businesses, one question is how to get big businesses to join this effort. Some, like the Marriott hotel chain, have done this, but most other big businesses have not made an effort to educate immigrants. What kind of incentive structures can be put in place to complement the efforts of community colleges, the federal government and the tax system?

There is an ongoing tension in the discussion about the need for training and immigrant mobility and the idea that we should be more selective in admissions as the Canadians are. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects that well over two-thirds of jobs in the next decade will be for those who require some on-the-job training, which suggests that there is a latent demand for low-skilled migrants and the need is not merely for immigrants with high levels of skills. The problem then is how to meet this demand with on-the-job training while creating more mobility for immigrants—and doing so with the awareness that the skill of an immigrant at admission sets the trajectory for income growth in the future, so there is the question of how much training can overcome that.

Commentary: Policies in Canada

HOWARD DUNCAN

I would like to situate the adult literacy question within a context of integration, discussing both the link integration in Canada has to the nation's immigrant selection and educational systems and the question of who can most effectively deliver associated services.

It should be stressed that Canada values the integration of immigrants and refugees because immigration is considered part of nation-building. Canada is still a relatively young and a relatively small country of 30 million people. We do not have nearly as many undocumented migrants as does the United States, and our refugee flows are roughly ten percent of those who arrive. That means that for us, migration flows are almost entirely discretionary, and we maintain an immigration program for the purposes of building and strengthening the Canadian nation.

The first step in the integration piece of this discretionary immigration program is the selection system itself. To understand integration, we must understand who it is whom we decide to bring into the country. (While I will discuss only the people whom we bring in as skilled workers, we also have both a fairly large family class and a refugee class.) Skilled workers are selected on the basis of a point system that emphasizes human capital. The way the system identifies the required human capital changes over the years as the program evolves. Until recently, selection and the identification of human capital were made on the basis of occupational needs in the Canadian economy. We now select on the basis of assumptions about a knowledge-based economy. Consequently, the emphasis has become education, in any and all fields, and language skills. Canada seeks people who will hit the ground running, able to move directly into jobs because they have the kind of human capital, including language skills, that our economy requires. We believe that people who come to the country with these skills will integrate well and will soon become citizens. Canada requires an immigrant to be in the country for only three years before qualifying for citizenship. The central idea of Canada's skilled worker immigration program is that if we bring in people with certain kinds of human capital, they will quickly serve the needs of the nation-building process.

Unfortunately, it does not always work that way. As Sabra Desai and Lindsay Lowell have noted, the fit between the human capital that has come in over the last 15 years and the needs of the Canadian economy has not been a nicely tailored one. The result is a disappointing number of people who are under-employed. The catch-up rate in the United States to which Lindsay referred has not been the experience of Canada in the last 15 years, where in recent years the catch-up rate has been lengthening. We are still trying to understand why the economic outcomes for migrants have declined as we have brought in people with increasingly high levels of the kind of human capital we believe the country needs.

One thing we have noticed is that although the people who come into the country have high language skills on paper (and this is where I might disagree with Sabra), adult literacy remains a very serious issue. Because of limited resources, we no longer interview all of the people who come to the country

and therefore do not necessarily know how well they communicate in English or French. They will in most cases read extremely well, they will write extremely well, but they frequently speak English or French poorly and understand it poorly when somebody is speaking to them. The problem is often with daily communications issues, and could come down to something as subtle as accents. When an immigrant who is or wants to be a lawyer, engineer, physician, or teacher interviews with an employer and speaks with an accent that is difficult for the employer to understand, there is a problem.

We do have a system within which literacy and language training takes place and within which credentials upgrading takes place. In the education stream, the federal government provides money to provincial governments, which then provide money to local school boards. There is also the training stream, whereby both levels of government independently provide money to non-governmental organizations, many of which are ethnically-based and many of which are run by immigrants. In fact, COSTI Immigrant Services in Ontario, one of the earliest such organizations, was funded by the government of Italy for Italian immigrants.

I will highlight non-government organizations for a moment. What is particularly important about the role of non-governmental organizations that are ethnically-based or managed by immigrants is that in the process of delivering services, they are increasing the levels of social capital within Canadian society. We face a choice in Canada about who delivers literacy services or integration services. The federal government could do it; it has a mandate to do so. The provincial governments could do it; they also have a mandate to do so because of the system of shared jurisdiction. However, what we in fact do is provide funding on a competitive basis to non-governmental organizations, which are clearly closer to the immigrants than either level of government. The fact that governments trust and try to enable the immigrants and their organizations to deliver their own integration services is profoundly important to the success of integration and to the development of social capital or, to put it somewhat differently, to the development of relations of trust between the immigrants and their organizations on the one side, and the native-born Canadians and their organizations, including government bodies, on the other.

A system which involves immigrants in their own integration should, in principle, work better than one in which governments deliver services directly in all cases, as they do in a European welfare state. The system, in principle, enjoys the double advantage of delivering high-quality services and creating social capital bonds between the immigrants and their newly adopted communities. The difficulty in Canada now is that over the last ten or fifteen years, the struggle to maintain our budgets has meant cost-cutting for governments

at all levels, and one of the sectors of our society that has borne the brunt of the budget balancing exercises has been the non-governmental sector.

Discussion

QUESTION: I would like to hear Ms. Wrigley's view of how the civics piece of the Workforce Investment Act, the statute that provides federal funding for adult education, fits with the other pieces of the Act. How is the civics piece working? Is it effective?

HEIDE SPRUCK WRIGLEY: The United States government has a separate funding stream, within its program for ESL and civics, which goes to community-based organizations. It was added after pressure from the Hispanic Congressional caucus to allow ethnically-based organizations to develop language and citizenship training. It includes both civics and life skills, such as preparing people for the citizenship test.

It is difficult to say how well it is working because there is no research about that and the program is very broad-based. What we do know, from our experience with people who are just beginning to learn English and do not have high proficiency, is that working with people on the community level and giving them a sense of how the community functions and how to negotiate systems and advocate for themselves seems to be working well. That is easier for newcomers to understand than are attempts to teach the official history from government textbooks, beginning with abstract notions of the executive branch and the judicial branch and inalienable rights. To the extent that such programs make the connection between where the students are and what they need to know about the community, they are working well. At the moment we are looking at a program that uses the proposed DREAM Act, which establishes a way for undocumented students who complete high school to go on to college, as an example of how legislation might work.⁹ Projects that begin with what matters to immigrants and move out from there seem to work better than the top down ones.

ALEC IAN GERSHBERG: I wonder if the speakers might provide a bridge between the first and second panels. Many things that look like adult training take place in schools, and of course students frequently leave public school without the skills they need and so fall into the adult literacy/workforce training systems. How well, if at all, are the school-to-work transition and issues of adult basic literacy linked and working together?

SABRA DESAI: We are not doing well in aiding the transition from high schools, and the Ontario school system has moved away from technical training. Some programs do help students move towards the more academic streams entering universities or into another stream moving into the community colleges, but they do not specifically train high school students for technical jobs. Community colleges do have a role to play there.

Perhaps I should clarify one of my earlier remarks. I do not think that adult literacy is not a problem but that we need to examine it more closely and define exactly what we mean by it. The population with which I have been working makes me wonder whether we need adult literacy as it is traditionally defined or whether the real need is for occupational literacy. In addition, there is Lindsay's point about discrimination. We do find that accents—as well as skin color—make a difference in employment. We have to keep struggling with the question of what we should be teaching.

HEIDE SPRUCK WRIGLEY: The school-to-work transition is not working well at all. Our current sequential system expects an immigrant to build up literacy and English skills until they are good enough for a training program, which has those skills as a pre-requisite. In fact, people burn out before they get to that level. Programs that provide adult literacy, English as a Second Language and vocational or technical skills at the same time are much more successful. They also lead to jobs that pay a living wage because the applicant has a technical skill.

B. LINDSAY LOWELL: Research with refugees has found that training on the job is much more effective than pre-job training. For many young immigrants, especially first generation Latinos, there is no problem of school to work transition, because they simply do not enroll in school at all. They go straight into the work force. That is perhaps the biggest challenge in the United States.

At the same time, the attendance rate at community college for Latinos and other immigrant group members who go beyond high school is phenomenal: anywhere from 50 to 70 percent, depending on the group being studied. The transition provided by community colleges, which specialize in vocational training, can be a good job route. What is odd here is that such students frequently do not complete the course. That suggests both a strong demand for education and a number of challenges.

QUESTION: While I have heard that this nation is eager to use human capital and upper level manpower, I am an immigrant and my immigration status is still pending. I am an infectious disease specialist, an immunologist and a molecular biologist. I was working at the National Institutes of Health but had

to leave because I don't have a green card or citizenship. Many of my immigrant friends here are physicians who face the same problem. Can you address that? My second question is what is this country doing to stop the brain drain from developing countries?

B. LINDSAY LOWELL: One of the themes that ran through my comments was that we make a distinction between immigrant policy, or integration, and immigration policy, or admission policy. Admission policy has substantial consequences for integration. If we admit low-skilled immigrants, training can accomplish only so much in improving their economic outcomes. At the same time, in the United States we have an adjustment limbo which leaves people waiting for years before they find out what their status is. That is obviously wrong and it is obviously a waste of talent.

HOWARD DUNCAN: It is not just an immigrant's capacities that can be wasted; it is the native-born's capacities that can be wasted as well when there is an oversupply of labor in a specific sector. This is also the case when an immigration program brings in people who compete directly with the native-born coming out of the universities. The kind of complaint you have is legitimate, and we hear it in Canada as well. We face the problem that immigrants can have unrealistic expectations, often based on misinformation received in the countries of origin, about what Canadian society is going to offer. The misinforming is in many cases malicious, and comes from immigration consultants and firms who see their job as transporting migrants rather than telling them the truth about conditions in their chosen country of destination. Governments, however, could do a better job explaining to prospective immigrants what life in Canada will be like. Australia's solution to this problem, while not perfect, is instructive and leads to better outcomes in placing people. Before an immigrant can set foot on Australian soil as a skilled immigrant, he or she must already have demonstrated a minimum capacity in English and must already have worked out any issues around credentials or foreign experience. In Canada, you deal with those problems after you arrive.

Next, we should be extremely careful in what we say about the brain drain because a great deal of misinformation exists. There is a lot of research being done on the actual nature of the flow out of some countries and into other countries and the situation is more subtle than some believe. The research indicates that the net losses are nowhere near as dramatic or even of the same nature as are frequently presented.

JOSEPH CHAMIE: When we discuss the brain drain, we should remember that under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, people have a right to

leave their country and we would not want to abridge that right. We should also remember that some countries are benefiting greatly by remittances being sent back.

QUESTION: We know that our market system is not the most efficient and neutral system and that there are situations of discrimination based on a variety of characteristics. What have the Canadians or the Americans done to modify that?

HOWARD DUNCAN: At the federal level, Canada has a number of pieces of legislation running from the most general—the constitution’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms—down to provisions in statutes such as the Multiculturalism Act and the Employment Equity Act, which bind federally regulated employers to behave in certain non-discriminatory ways.¹⁰

SABRA DESAI: In 1993, Ontario passed the Employment Equity Act, which was informed to some degree by affirmative action but tried to avoid some of the errors of affirmative action and emphasized employment equity. When the Conservative government returned to power, that legislation was repealed.¹¹

NOTES

1. Workforce Investment Act of 1998, PL 105-220.

2. Joseph Hall, “Weaving a New Canada: Canada in 2017: Immigration Creates a Cultural Kaleidoscope,” *The Toronto Star*, March 23, 2005.

3. John Gray, “The credentials conundrum,” *Canadian Business*, March 14, 2005, available at http://www.canadianbusiness.com/managing/article.jsp?content=20050314_65977_65977.

4. Op. cit.

5. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (Harper, 1954).

6. <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/general/postsec/openingdoors/apt/>;
<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/general/postsec/openingdoors/careerBridge.html>;
<http://www.skillsforchange.org/>.

7. Gray, op. cit.

8. The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform was created by the Immigration Act of 1990 and dissolved at the end of 1997. Its reports—*U.S. Immigration Policy: Restoring Credibility* (1994), *Legal Immigration: Setting Priorities* (1995), *Becoming an American: Immigration and Immigrant Policy* (1997), *U.S. Refugee Policy: Taking Leadership* (1997)—all of which were published by the Government Printing Office, are available in their entirety or as executive summaries at <http://www.utexas.edu/lbj/uscir/reports.html>.

9. See note 10, p. 39.

10. Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, available at <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/>; Canadian Multiculturalism Act (R.S. 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.)), available at <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/C-18.7/32217.html>; Employment

Equity Act (1995, c. 44), available at <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/E-5.401/50293.html>.

11. The Ontario Employment Equity Act of 1993 (S.O. 1993, Chapter 35) was repealed by the Job Quotas Repeal Act of 1995 (S.O. 1995, c.4, s.1(1)).
http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/DBLaws/RepealedStatutes/English/93e35_e.htm.

Keynote Address

Immigration and Diversity in Ontario

Marie Bountrogianni

Eighty-six years ago this week, in April 1919, President Woodrow Wilson was in Paris for the last few days of negotiations on the covenant of the League of Nations. He gave the world a noble vision of countries working together—rich and poor, big and small, from every part of the globe. Woodrow Wilson believed with the very fiber of his being that the deepest truth is that all people in all nations share our common humanity, and we must find ways to make that precept flourish.

Eighty-six years later, we still have a way to go in implementing President Wilson's profound vision. Now more than ever, we know how important it is that we continue the effort, no matter how hard, no matter how long. The goal of recognizing our common humanity is a paramount goal within nations as well as among nations. There is no doubt that immigration is of vital importance to the economic, creative and cultural flourishing of both the United States and Canada. There is also no doubt that immigration can and should help extend bonds of friendship around the globe. The United States of America—the melting pot of the world, the home of the Statue of Liberty, the world's only super power—is built on immigration. Professor Richard Florida, one of the seminal liberal thinkers of our era and a relatively new resident of this District of Columbia, recently stated, “What made America great was not that it has raw materials or a big market, or even that its factories were better than everyone else's. From the inception of this country, we attracted the best and the brightest and most entrepreneurial people of the world.”¹

In Canada today, immigration is even more important proportionately than in the United States. Our country now has twice the per capita immigration rate of the United States. Immigration to Canada today outpaces the natural birth rate. Nearly 17 percent of our population is foreign-born, which compares to just over 11 percent in the United States. The number of visible minority Canadians has quadrupled in the last two decades, and barely more than three decades ago, Canada became the first officially multicultural country in the world. During that short span, multiculturalism has become deeply embedded in the Canadian psyche, and diversity is very much cherished as a Canadian value.

What is true about immigration and multiculturalism and diversity for Canada is even truer for my home province. An extraordinary 57 percent of newcomers to Canada settle in Ontario. Ontario has a higher percentage of immigrants than any of the fifty states; only California and New York come close to that figure. Consider Ontario's neighboring states: immigrants account for three percent of Ohio's population, four percent of Pennsylvania's population, five percent of Michigan's population, and 20 percent of New York's population, while immigrants make up 27 percent of Ontario's population. If we look at the largest cities in those bordering states, we find that in Detroit, five percent are immigrants; Philadelphia, nine percent; Cleveland, 12 percent; and New York City, 36 percent. By contrast, in Toronto, Ontario's and Canada's largest city, more than 50 percent of residents are immigrants. Toronto is now the most multicultural city in the world. One in five Torontonians arrived in Canada during the last decade. Is it any wonder that Toronto and Ontario are becoming ever more diverse?

Thanks to our multicultural make-up, many newcomers can find other members of their community, which allows individuals an easier transition. The research in Canada shows that, quite understandably, people will go where there are family and friends before they move to another location for a job. My hometown of Hamilton, Ontario has projects that have brought complete communities to our city, with housing and education ready and available, so integration happens relatively quickly. There is, for example, a community from Somalia. The education of the young people is progressing well. Some of them already have jobs, even though they are just in their second year in Canada, and I am amazed at how quickly they have learned English. The result demonstrates what can be done with sufficient resources and the right community attitudes.

In Toronto and, increasingly, in Ontario, minorities are now the majority. Our immigrants do not come from one country or language or ethnic group. Instead, we have growth from Asia, Latin America, Africa and Oceania. As a first-generation Canadian myself, born in Canada of immigrant parents, I am personally as well as philosophically aware of why immigrants come to urban centers and why immigrants seek a place that espouses the value of diversity. The McGuinty government is fundamentally committed to the principle that immigration is our province's greatest advantage, and that fact is reflected in the change in the name of my ministry.² It used to be Culture and Citizenship but it is now Citizenship and Immigration. The change is largely symbolic, but it is an important symbol. It shows how important immigration is in Ontario; our realization that it has been neglected, with negative consequences for our economy; and our determination to improve things.

The developed world is experiencing a time of declining birth rates and rapidly aging populations. Workforces are shrinking. Many countries in

Europe are struggling to develop immigration policies that will allow their economies to grow and support an increasing number of retirees, without straining their social fabric. That is why Ontarians are pleased that in Toronto alone, elementary school students come from some 175 countries and speak more than 80 languages. Schools are our greatest sources of cohesion, of unity, of understanding. We understand the math for the new millennium: People plus skills equal prosperity. That is why countries are competing to attract the best, the brightest, and the most highly skilled people to their shores. The best and the brightest are looking for a safe, secure home where they can live in peace and prosperity, where they are free to be themselves without persecution, where respect for differences is the order of the day, and where opportunities are there for all, not just for a privileged few.

We recognize in Ontario that we have a lead in attracting hardworking talented knowledgeable people, but we also realize that our lead is not insurmountable. We want to insure that Ontario is the place to be for decades to come. We want immigrants to feel proud of their heritage and their identity. We want them to become proud Ontarians and proud Canadians as well as full partners in the building of our province and our country. This will serve to advance our Canadian values and principles, but it is also completely pragmatic. Ontario is built on international trade. After Canada itself and Mexico, Ontario is the largest exporter to the United States. We are building Ontario's economic future by building a reputation as the most open and welcoming of societies for all people of all races. By 2011, immigration will account for all the net labor growth in the province.

As we have moved away from European countries as our primary source of newcomers, we have faced and continue to face different needs and challenges. China, India, Pakistan and the Philippines are now the leading sources of Canadian immigrants. Today's newcomers not only have different places of origin; they also arrive in Canada already highly educated. In 2000, for example, more than half of all working-age immigrants held a post-secondary degree at landing. This compares to 43 percent of all Canadians in the labor force. Each new culture brings energy and new life to our communities and contributes to our country's stature and influence on the world's stage, but even with the manifold advantages of immigration, obstacles, including systemic barriers, exist and prevent some Canadians from gaining full access to essential services and programs. We are determined to knock down those barriers based on ethnicity, culture or race.

We will continue to embrace diversity and make the necessary investments in our people, which means investments in helping immigrants integrate easily into our province. To this day, I am grateful that my mother benefited from English language training when she arrived in Ontario more than 48 years

ago. My mother can remember my late father coming home from sitting in classes, a 25-year-old grown man sitting in school with ten- and twelve-year-olds, in order to get the equivalent of the auto mechanic's certificate he had back in Greece. We are doing a little bit better now. We have succeeded in employing hundreds of people over their working years, enabling them to contribute to their community.

In our first 17 months in office, the Ontario government has moved quickly to leverage the potential of the 120,000 immigrants who choose our province annually. We have significantly increased funding for English as a Second Language in our schools. This was one of my research areas when I was a professor. My research shows that children can learn to speak but it takes many more years for their actual acquisition of language to catch up with that of native-born Canadians. We have therefore reinstated funding that was cut by the previous government, so that ESL is now offered to children for a longer period of time, and we have invested major new money in ESL classes for adults.

We are working to expand access to trades and professions for new immigrants to Ontario, and that is proving much more difficult than when we promised it during the campaign. We are committing considerable money over the next three years to smooth the transition for international professionals. More than 3,000 internationally-trained professionals are participating in 40 different training projects to bridge potential gaps. These projects cut across a wide range of professions and skilled trades: tool and dye makers, electricians, millwrights, general machinists and welders. The program for nurses has more than doubled the success rate for internationally-trained nurses with the Ontario licensing exam. More than 80 percent of foreign-trained pharmacists now pass their exam on the first try, compared to 20 percent before we began this program. We have established a one-stop point for foreign-trained doctors to apply for assessment and training. We have doubled the number of residencies for foreign trained physicians, although that is still not enough. In addition, we have launched a review of the current licensing procedures of all 38 bodies in Ontario that make occupational regulatory decisions.

I could not agree more with earlier comments that we have done a disservice to people coming into our country by failing to provide them with appropriate information. We are enthusiastically collaborating on an immigration web portal that will provide access to information and services for the municipal, provincial, and federal governments and a broad range of community partners. We fund a program so language interpreters can help victims of domestic violence and we have a training program that helps new immigrants with entry into the information technology sector. I underscore the fact that this is a team effort, which is why we fund community agencies

to provide help for newcomers. These services include one-on-one needs assessment; information on topics such as Canadian law, our education system and how to find a job; even things such as help on how to apply for an Ontario driver's license.

In our federal system, immigration is a responsibility shared by the two levels of government. Ontario is the only province that does not have an immigration agreement with our federal government, and we get less money per immigrant than any other province in the country. That makes no sense, and we are currently negotiating with the federal government on an immigration agreement that would substantially increase the amount of money available for immigrant integration in Ontario. In the spirit of cooperation, we also want an agreement that would pave the way for municipal involvement in immigration issues. The reality is that our cities and towns are a vital part of the front line in helping immigrants. We recently had the first Canadian roundtable ever that brought provincial and municipal governments to the table, pre-negotiating for an immigration agreement, because the front line is not at Queen's Park, our legislative building, or Parliament Hill in Ottawa, but in the cities to which immigrants go. In Ontario alone, for example, we spend \$70 million a year on social services for people whose family sponsorships have failed and who are left without housing. The federal minister just announced that he will increase the number of family sponsorships six-fold. We very much like the idea of increasing family sponsorship but unless the federal government and the provincial government can cooperate to insure that those sponsorships work, the increase in social services will not only be a burden but could lead to the kind of backlash that would make the reaction to September 11 look small. Canada is just recovering from the discrimination caused by September 11. We need a federal-provincial agreement to avoid a repeat of that kind of situation.

Federal-provincial agreement is important for many reasons. We know both that cities and towns are a vital part of the frontline in helping immigrants when they come to Ontario and that people are leaving our small towns and our rural areas. We need incentives to attract immigrants to those areas. We are pleased that the federal government has recently taken our advice and announced that it will extend the work visas for university graduates so they can stay for two years past graduation rather than one, but the second year must be spent outside of the three major cities of Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto. We are not telling people where they must go but providing them with an incentive to go outside the large urban centers. We will see how that works.

Even though municipalities are jurisdictionally the creations of the province and have no constitutional role in immigration, our government is more interested in good results for newcomers to our province rather than in

asserting our constitutional authority. The bottom line is that we want to work harmoniously and continuously on improving the ways in which we welcome immigrants as full partners in all aspects of life in Ontario. The community agencies that do such an amazing job in Ontario are an important element in that work, and they have been stressed by the lack of funding. Ontario now provides the same amount of money for settlement as the federal government, about \$109 million each, which is simply not enough. We must do better.

We are taking these actions because the hallmark of our province is our profound respect for diversity. The people of Ontario want to build bridges instead of walls. We want to live in a province, a country, in a world where there's no "us" and "them"—there's just us. Some political parties have tried to manipulate the situation by misusing the plight of immigrants. I am proud of our province and our country for knowing what is right.

As Woodrow Wilson said, at the conclusion of his second inaugural address as president of the United States, "We shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted."³

Discussion

QUESTION: I am a Canadian citizen who earned a Ph.D. in American public policy at an American university and I have been thinking about what Canada can learn from the United States about immigration and integration and multiculturalism, and vice versa. Might you comment on that?

HON. DR. MARIE BOUNTROGIANNI: I agree that we can learn from each other, which is why I came to New York about three months ago and met with people such as the city council member in charge of the Department of Immigration for New York City. It is an excellent idea for a large municipality to have a department of immigration and I took that idea back to David Miller, the mayor of Toronto. The city council member told me he is impressed with the Somalia project in Hamilton that, as I mentioned, brings in a complete community and then studies and evaluates that experiment. He will be watching that.

Much that is being said in the United States about immigration right now can also be heard in Canada. There is, for example, a danger in both our countries, indeed internationally, to use vulnerable people as scapegoats for political purposes. We can talk together about such problems.

QUESTION: You mentioned that the province of Ontario spends about \$109 million on resettlement of immigrants and refugees each year. How is that spent?

HON. DR. MARIE BOUNTROGIANNI: The money goes toward such things as ESL instruction, the kind of bridge training done by community agencies, and settlement. Housing is handled by a ministry but information about accessing housing is done through the settlement organizations, which also provide services such as interpreters in cases of domestic violence and for medical procedures. We certainly can use more funds, and funds that are more equitably distributed. Right now, the federal government gives Ontario \$800 per immigrant while Quebec gets \$3,800 per immigrant. If an immigrant goes to Quebec and then moves to Ontario, we get nothing and Quebec keeps the \$3,800. There are probably good reasons involving national unity for Quebec having gotten that arrangement in the past but it now affects Ontario negatively and we need to work on it. We spend about \$180 million a year on social services for refugee claimants, which is again a direct consequence of a federal process. Because it takes a couple of years to process the claimants, not only are these people who want to work not doing so, but we are spending tens of millions of dollars in social services. We would like that process streamlined not only for financial reasons but also because in human rights terms it is simply not fair. Refugee children of course go to our schools, and everyone can access our universal medical system.

QUESTION: Can you elaborate about the current negative reaction to immigration? Why do you think it exists and why do you think it is increasing? Is it a regional split, since Ontario has so many immigrants? And how would you compare that to the United States?

HON. DR. MARIE BOUNTROGIANNI: September 11 created a backlash all over the world but particularly in North America. In my own town, for example, a Hindu temple was burned, which demonstrates that the racists were not only racist but stupid: apparently they thought they were burning down a mosque. They did also deface a mosque. There were reports in the media about people feeling that they were not treated the same way for a while, even by their neighbors. I think we are just now getting out of that climate. It was not helpful to the Muslim community or the leadership in Canada for some American politicians to say things like, “The borders aren’t safe. Canada is sending our terrorists,” and in fact there is no proof that that happened. Some politicians, however, manipulated that kind of thinking, and placed immigration under “crime” rather than under “economic development” in their campaigns. I am proud that the majority of voters in Ontario did not fall for that kind of scapegoating.

Unfortunately, the potential for discrimination is always just beneath the surface. There is a saying that when the well runs dry, the animals look at each other differently. The human counterpart is that when things are tough, you look for scapegoats. I have had otherwise intelligent people say to me, “My child has such terrific grades and he can’t get into university and college. Why are we letting these foreign students in?” I have replied that my husband, who is a civil engineering professor at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, has told me that there are engineering departments in this country that would close if it were not for foreign students, and that many of the professors come from other countries. As a psychologist, I know that when you think that you or your child is getting less because someone else is coming in and competing, the potential for scapegoating is great.

QUESTION: Ontario has done quite well in attracting and integrating immigrants. Are there conditions peculiar to Ontario and to a greater Toronto that have enabled it to be such a multicultural welcoming place for immigrants?

HON. DR. MARIE BOUNTROGIANNI: Many people want to come to Toronto and Ontario because that is where their families or friends are. They also believe it is where there are good jobs and to some extent that is true, but there has been a good deal of misinformation about that. We are currently looking at the Australian model, even though immigration policy is under the federal government’s jurisdiction. That model has some problems but it has the advantage of being honest, so people know what they will face when they arrive. There are wives of members of parliament in Ontario who, because they are foreign-trained physicians, cannot get jobs in their field. We need to do a better job with information and we need to do a better job of providing incentives for moving to regions outside of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. And of course, people want to come to Ontario because it is a wonderful province, with excellent health and education systems.

QUESTION: Ontario gets almost 60 percent of the immigrants to Canada but you expressed a concern about competing for the best and brightest immigrants. Can you explain that?

HON. DR. MARIE BOUNTROGIANNI: We do have 1,000 foreign-trained physicians in Ontario. We just doubled residencies for them from 100 to 200, but that still leaves 800 who will have to wait years before they can obtain a residency and begin practicing. How long will they wait? How long will it be before the word goes out that talented physicians from abroad might think of

migrating to countries that make it easier for them to practice? We have a doctor shortage in Canada. We cannot afford to lose even a few.

DEMETRIOS PAPADEMETRIOU: That is the right note on which to conclude this discussion. When we compare immigrant policies in Canada and the United States, we see that Canadians believe that in order to make more of their immigrants' talents, in order to get the right people to move to Canada, Canada must make some investments. That means putting a relatively small amount of money into the kitty in order to get a multiple return in human capital. We talk repeatedly about how the most valuable resource is human capital. I consider it quite criminal, and I use that word carefully, to have doctors or lawyers or other professionals driving taxis or working in diners simply because no one wants to make the investment necessary to reap the benefits of their training and talents. All of us have to be much more careful about that and I am afraid the United States is far behind in this endeavor. That is what we have been discussing today, and what we must continue to discuss in the future: what immigration policies and immigrant policies will best serve these two great nations.

NOTES

1. Richard Florida, speaking on "Lou Dobbs Tonight," CNN, April 14, 2005.
2. The government of Premier Dalton McGuinty, a member of the Liberal Party, took office on October 23, 2003.
3. Woodrow Wilson, second inaugural address, March 5, 1917; available at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/inaug/wilson2.htm>

Participant Biographies

DAVID BIETTE, co-organizer and co-editor, is Director of the Canada Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center. He was formerly Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States; Political/Economic Officer, Canadian Consulate General, New York City; lecturer in French, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; and a teacher at Blair Academy (New Jersey) and the Université de Clermont-Ferrand (France). He is co-editor of “The Thomas O. Enders Issue on the State of the Canada-United States Relationship,” *The American Review of Canadian Studies* (Spring 2003).

FARIBORZ BIRJANDIAN has been the Executive Director of the Calgary Catholic Immigration Society for the last 12 years. At CCIS, he is responsible for more than 120 staff and 800 volunteers and oversees approximately 65 programs. His involvement with refugees, diversity and equal rights has resulted in numerous awards, including the Government of Canada’s Citation for Citizenship and the Queen’s Jubilee Commemorative Medal. He has represented Canada in speaking to the European Union about Canada’s experience with integration of immigrants and has represented Canadian NGOs on international migration on refugee resettlement issues in Sweden.

THE HONORABLE DR. MARIE BOUNTROGIANNI is Minister of Children and Youth Services and Minister of Citizenship and Immigration for Ontario, as well as Member of Provincial Parliament for Hamilton Mountain. She was earlier chief psychologist for the Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board as well as assistant professor in the Department of Psychiatry at McMaster University. She has also taught at Wilfrid Laurier University, Seneca College, and Ryerson Polytechnic University. She was named 2002 Woman of the Year in Politics by the Hamilton Status of Women Committee.

JOSEPH CHAMIE was Director of the United Nations’ Population Division, 1993-2004, and served as a population expert at the U.N. for 15 years before that. While his U.N. research is published anonymously, he is also the named author of many articles, including “Dying to Get In” (*World Migration Report*, 2005), “Coping with World Population Boom and Bust” (*Yale Global*),

“Demographic Issues of the 21st Century: The New International Population Order” (*Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft*). Dr. Chamie served in the Peace Corps in India and has taught at the American University of Beirut.

SABRA DESAI, a faculty member at the School for Social and Community Services at Humber College for Applied Arts and Technology, identifies herself as a nationalized Canadian woman of South African Asian Muslim lineal descent. The recipient of the South African Women for Women’s Human Rights Award in 2002, she has researched and worked in the field of equity, organizational change, and development from a race, class and gender perspective for several years. She is a founding member of the South Asian Women’s Center and of Toronto’s first shelter for battered women and children.

HOWARD DUNCAN is executive head of the Metropolis Project, which he served earlier as international project director and deputy head. He is also head of the Metropolis International Secretariat. Dr. Duncan, who formerly taught philosophy at the University of Ottawa and the University of Western Ontario, also worked in evaluation, planning and policy for the Department of Health and Welfare (later called Health Canada) in Ottawa. At the Metropolis Project, he has focused on creating direct and frank exchanges among researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, and on expanding the range of issues Metropolis confronts.

ALEC IAN GERSHBERG, senior education economist at the World Bank and associate professor at the Milano Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, New School University, is also a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. He was previously a visiting fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California and a visiting professor at the Stanford University School of Education. He has conducted extensive research and policy analysis on education reform in developing countries as well as in the United States, and is the author of numerous books and articles on immigrants and education.

B. LINDSAY LOWELL is director of policy studies at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University. He was previously director of research at the congressionally appointed Commission on Immigration Reform, where he was also assistant director of the Mexico/U.S. Binational Study on Migration. Dr. Lowell has taught at Princeton University and the University of Texas at Austin. He has published more than 100 articles and reports on immigration policy, labor force, economic development, and the global mobility of the highly skilled.

MARGARET MCHUGH is the executive director of the New York Immigration Coalition (NYIC). Before joining NYIC in 1990, Ms. McHugh worked in the New York City Mayor's Office as deputy director of the 1990 Census Project, and as executive assistant to Mayor Koch's chief of staff. Since 1992, she has served on the board of directors of the National Immigration Forum. She is also a member of the board of Working Today. Ms McHugh frequently speaks about immigration policy issues on national and local radio and television programs and testifies before governmental bodies on a wide range of community issues.

DEMETRIOS G. PAPADEMETRIOU, co-organizer, is president of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) as well as co-founder and international chair emeritus of Metropolis: An International Forum for Research and Policy on Migration and Cities. Dr. Papademetriou has taught at universities such as Maryland and Duke and has held a wide range of senior positions that include chair of the Migration Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and Director, Immigration Policy and Research, at the U.S. Department of Labor. He has published nearly 200 articles, monographs and research reports and regularly advises government officials on migration topics.

PHILIPPA STRUM, co-organizer and co-editor, is Director of the Division of U.S. Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center and Broeklundian Professor Emerita of Political Science at the City University of New York, as well as national secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union. Dr. Strum is the author of numerous books and articles in her fields of American constitutional law, civil liberties and civil rights, and women and politics, as well as the organizer of Wilson Center conferences and editor of Wilson Center publications on U.S. visa policy, women immigrants in the United States, Hispanic immigrants, Arab Americans, and Muslims in the United States.

CHARLES S. UNGERLEIDER is professor of education at the University of British Columbia and director of research and knowledge mobilization for the Canadian Council on Learning. He was deputy minister of education for the Province of British Columbia from November 1998 to June 2001. Dr. Ungerleider has published numerous articles in his fields of the sociology of education, educational policy, and education and media, in journals such as the *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research and Practice*; *Canadian Ethnic Studies*; the *Canadian Journal of Criminology* and the *McGill Journal of Education*.

HEIDE SPRUCK WRIGLEY is a senior researcher for Literacy Work International, which specializes in issues related to education and training for educationally disadvantaged youth and adults. She is currently the subject matter expert on language training and second language acquisition for the U.S. Department of Education’s five-year national study on ESL literacy, as well as a panelist for the National Academy of Sciences. Dr. Wrigley’s publications include a report for the Center for Law and Social Policy entitled “The Language of Opportunity” and, for the Southport Institute for Policy Analysis, “ESL and the American Dream.”

**THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL
CENTER FOR SCHOLARS**

One Woodrow Wilson Plaza
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-3027

www.wilsoncenter.org

ISBN 1-933549-01-7