

WORLD MIGRATION REPORT 2015

Cities Welcoming Immigrants: Local Strategies to Attract and Retain Immigrants in U.S. Metropolitan Areas

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Introduction

In absolute numbers, the United States remains the top destination country for immigrants in the world, with over 40 million foreign-born individuals accounting for 13 percent of the total current U.S. population. The vast majority of these migrants live in metropolitan areas; 85 percent of foreign-born individuals counted in the 2010 U.S. Census were found in the top 100 metropolitan areas in the United States (Singer, 2013). There are a few core metropolitan areas that receive a disproportionate share of the country's immigrants. In 2010 the top five immigrant metropolitan areas were New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago and San Francisco, and combined they accounted for just over 40 percent of the nation's foreign-born population¹. Yet the last 20 years have witnessed the growth of new urban destinations in the United States, especially in the southeast and central plains. The movement of immigrants into established and new metropolitan settings continues to transform urban areas demographically, culturally, politically and economically (AS/COA, 2013). In many of these cities, officials are actively encouraging immigrants to join their communities.

The legacy of immigration is deeply embedded in the national identity of the United States. Census data report that the vast majority of Americans identify with an ancestry group from a country outside the United States. And yet exactly who is allowed to enter the country and under what circumstances has always been contested. Even today when, on average, 1 million newcomers with legal permanent residence arrive in the United States each year (Department of Homeland Security (DHS), 2013), immigration policies and integration practices are mired in controversy. At the crux of current debates over immigration reform is the question of what to do with the country's estimated 11 million unauthorized residents and how to secure national borders from future unauthorized arrivals. With regards to immigrant integration, the United States has never had an explicit immigrant integration policy but has relied upon the immigrants themselves, as well as state and local institutions, to foster integration and inclusion. There is also evidence of growing nativism by those eager to reduce immigrant numbers (Schrag, 2010), coupled with the perception held by some that certain immigrant groups are not integrating into US society (Huntington, 2004). Moreover, domestic migrants are disproportionately leaving some of the largest immigrant gateways. From 2000 to 2009 all five of the largest immigrant gateways lost more people due to internal migration than they gained. Demographic growth occurred nonetheless in these metropolitan areas due to an increase in the foreign-born and natural increase.

Metropolitan areas are the settings within which economic and social integration of immigrants occurs; the policies of local governments, especially cities, are critical to ensuring that immigrants integrate and contribute to the overall development of localities. The aim of *Cities Welcoming Immigrants* is to examine the policies and tactics used by cities that have successfully attracted immigrants, especially the established and continuous gateways of New York City, Chicago and San Francisco. This work also highlights localities that are adopting immigrant-friendly policies to increase immigration to their cities in an effort to improve competitiveness and economic well-being in these places. Initiatives in Baltimore, Detroit and Pittsburgh are illuminating in that they are actively seeking immigrants to settle in their jurisdictions. Cities, however, do not act alone. They are part of a complex hierarchy of decision-processes made at the federal and state levels.

It can be argued that the most forward-thinking U.S. cities are viewing immigrant retention and inclusion as a path to creating successful and sustainable places. As sociologist Audrey Singer notes, such cities "are putting out the welcome mat for immigrant newcomers" (Cities of Migration, 2012a: 10). There are several reasons for this depending upon the urban context. Local governments develop innovative practices to improve local competitiveness, reverse demographic decline, stimulate entrepreneurship, reduce poverty, and respond to the failure of the federal government to institute immigration reform.

1 In this paper the term *immigrant* and *foreign-born* are synonymous.

Perhaps the most common rationale for cities seeking immigrants is the belief that immigrants are catalysts for entrepreneurship and economic growth. *New York Times* columnist, Tom Friedman, a proponent of this view has written, “We need to attack this financial crisis with green cards not just greenbacks, and with start-ups not just bailouts” (Friedman, 2009). Similarly, a report by the Center for an Urban Future argues that ‘immigrant entrepreneurs have emerged as key engines of growth for cities from New York to Los Angeles, and with a little planning and support, they could provide an even bigger economic boost in the future’ (Bowles and Colton, 2007: 3). The same report stresses that since the 1880 census, immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than the native-born population. Interestingly, many cities across America have taken this neoliberal view that attracting immigrants, especially highly skilled ones, is a smart development strategy to address short-term and long-term goals.

Immigrants certainly bring greater ethnic and cultural diversity to cities. Whether such diversity is a benefit to embrace or a challenge to overcome is contested. Scholars who highlight the *diversity advantage*, such as Richard Florida (2003), Anna Lee Saxenian (2006) and Phil Wood and Charles Landry (2008), underscore that today’s competitive and creative cities are places that are open to diverse peoples, including immigrants. Their arguments tend to focus on the contributions of highly-skilled migrants as well as the transnational economic and business connections immigrants establish with their places of origin. There are critics of this viewpoint who contend that immigrant influx alone does not yield economically competitive cities, suggesting that it does may neglect the need for investment in public institutions such as schools or social welfare programs (Peck, 2005). Diverse cities, especially leading gateways such as New York or Los Angeles are also denoted as localities of displacement, where immigration has contributed to heightened racial and ethnic polarization (Lin, 1998; Sassen, 1999). In the U.S. context, political scientist Robert Putnam’s research shows that in more ethnically diverse settings there is a greater erosion of social capital or ‘trust’. He warns that, in the short to medium term immigrant-driven diversity “challenges social solidarity and inhibits social capital” (Putnam, 2007: 138). In short, integration of diverse groups is not easy, and cities need to purposefully develop inclusive policies if they are to function well.

At the level of the individual, outreach is required if immigrants are to become actors and partners for cities in urban development. This often happens at the local scale through city programmes or non-profit institutions. Cities that have been continuous immigrant destinations, such as New York City or Chicago, often have the most developed formal outreach centers. Examples are New York Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs (MOIA) and Chicago’s Office of New Americans, both providing information and services to foster integration and assist in establishing businesses. Cities also create immigrant councils, publish critical materials in multiple languages, develop innovative after-school programmes, and work with immigrant-established business associations and chambers of commerce.

Cities are also nested in a hierarchy of relations that extend down to immigrant-led businesses and neighbourhood initiatives, and extend up to state and federal laws that influence what actions can be taken regarding immigrants. In particular, immigrant integration is influenced through several important federal laws such as birthright citizenship, mandatory access to education through age 18, and, since the 1960s, strong anti-discrimination and civil rights legislation. Yet, the United States is without an explicit national immigrant integration policy, which is distinct today from other major immigrant destinations in the world (Martin, 2014). To foster immigrant inclusion, city leaders often look to other cities to borrow ideas for best practices.

This paper is structured into four sections. The first section briefly outlines major immigration flows, especially to U.S. cities since 1990. Section two addresses the various layers of governance (federal, state and local) that impact the role immigrants may have regarding urban growth and development. The third section offers case studies from three types of U.S. immigrant gateways: Continuous, (Re-)Emerging, and Former.² The final section will highlight the lessons learned from U.S. gateway cities as they attract, seek and retain immigrant populations.

2 This is a modified version of an immigrant gateway typology developed by Audrey Singer (2004).

While this study focuses on the experiences in the United States, the findings should be relevant for cities across the globe, in countries as diverse as Argentina, South Africa, United Arab Emirates and Germany. The impact of immigrants on the places in which they settle merits global attention in this age of migration as more diverse and mobile urban populations bring about new challenges and opportunities (Price and Benton-Short, 2008). In the developed cities of Europe and North America, immigration is one of the main sources of diversity and demographic growth. For cities in the developing world, internal migration as well as international migration flows from other developing states are increasingly the norm. Migration scholars Stephen Castles and Mark Miller have noted, ‘while movements of people across borders have shaped states and society since time immemorial, what is distinctive in recent years is their global scope, their centrality to domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences’ (Castles and Miller, 2009:3). Heightened urban mobility does not automatically lead to the beneficial inclusion of immigrant newcomers. Inclusion happens at multiple levels but is often the result of international cooperation, federal laws and local policies that promote integration. Improving the socio-economic outcomes for immigrants, as well as for the urban places in which they settle, should be a goal that unites the various stakeholders.

I. Immigrants and U.S. Metropolitan Areas:

Immigration to the United States in the early 21st century is dominated by people from Latin America and Asia, with the vast majority settling in cities. The most recent estimates of the foreign-born and their regions of origin show that over half of all immigrants are from Latin America (Table 1). Of the Latin American group, 53 percent of the foreign-born are from Mexico, or 11.5 million people. The dominance of Mexico is clear; nearly 1 out of every 4 immigrants in the United States is from Mexico. Other top Latin American sending countries include El Salvador, Cuba, Dominican Republic and Guatemala, although all Latin American states are represented in the data.

Table 1: Foreign-born Stock Population by Region of Birth, 2013

Region of Origin	Number	Share
Latin America	21,473,266	51.9%
Asia	12,176,983	29.5%
Europe	4,803,059	11.6%
Africa	1,825,326	4.4%
Northern America	846,921	2.0%
Oceania	222,390	0.5%
Total	41,347,945	

Source: American Community Survey, 1-year estimates for 2013, DP02, Selected Social Characteristics in the United States.

The presence of Asian immigrants has grown dramatically in the last 25 years, accounting for nearly 30 percent of the foreign-born stock in 2013. Among Asian immigrants there is no dominant sending country. Five states account for 70 percent of the Asian immigrant stock in 2013: China³ (2.4 million), India (2.0 million), Philippines (1.8 million), Vietnam (1.3 million) and Korea (1.1 million). In addition, contemporary African migration to the U.S. is small but growing. Immigrants from this region total 1.8 million with the top sending countries being Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

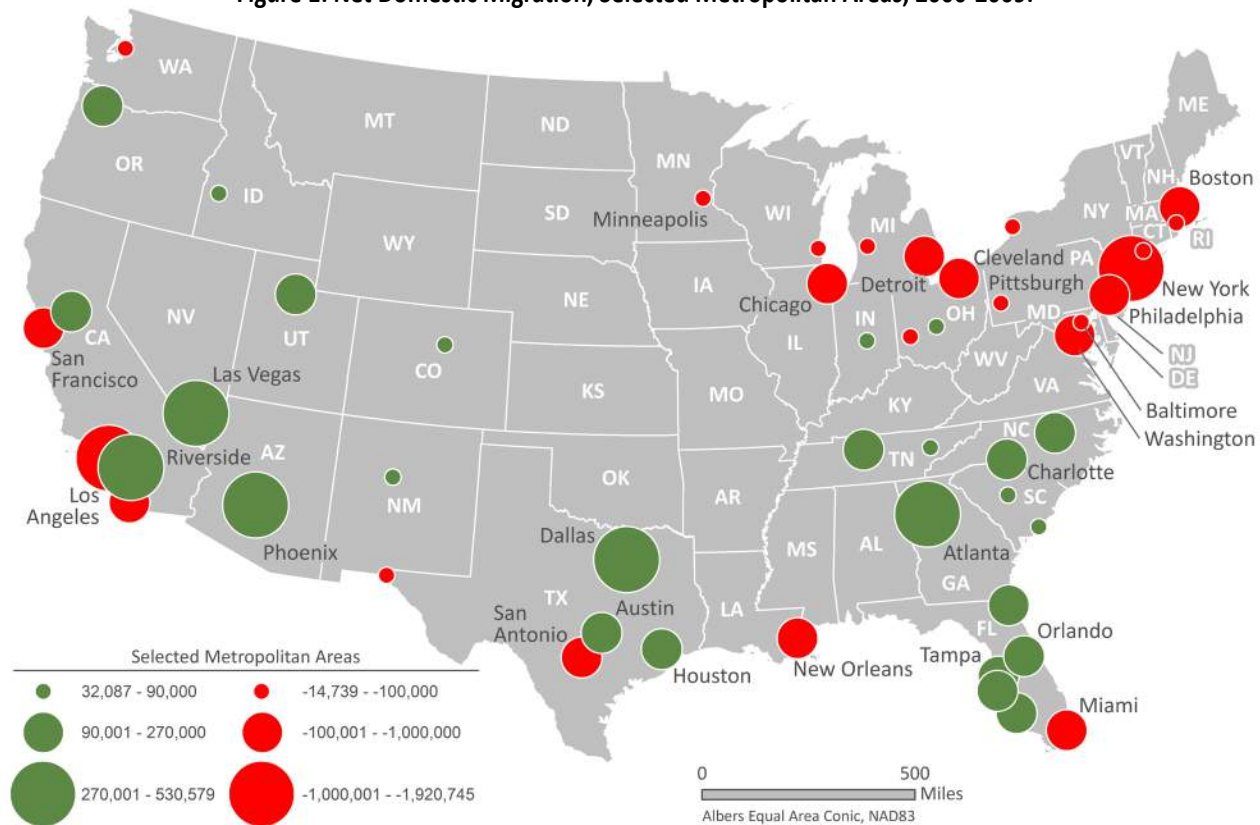
Historically Europe was the most significant sending region for the United States. In 1900 Europe accounted for 86 percent of the foreign-born population (Singer, 2013: 81). Today, its share of the foreign-born stock is only 11.6 percent, although that still accounts for 4.8 million people. The current top origin countries of European migrant stock are the United Kingdom (0.7 million), Germany (0.6 million) and Poland, Russia and Italy with approximately 400,000 immigrants each.

3 China includes Hong Kong and Taiwan as well as the People’s Republic of China. Excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan the total for the PRC is 1.8 million, making India the largest sending country from Asia to the United States.

Immigrants have long been drawn to cities in the U.S., but the pull of cities has intensified. Historically immigrant newcomers were more clustered in the northeastern industrial core of the country extending from Boston to Baltimore, and west to Chicago and St. Louis. Today immigrants are more broadly distributed, but they are overwhelmingly residing in cities. In 2010, eighty-five percent of the foreign-born were found in the 100 largest metropolitan areas. By comparison, just 62 percent of the native-born population was found in these same 100 metropolitan areas (Singer, 2013:81).

As immigrants are concentrating in major gateway cities, the 2000s also witnessed a decline in internal migrants to these same cities. As Figure 1 shows, between 2000 and 2009 all of the top-five immigrant gateways experienced a net loss in internal migration. Metropolitan New York lost 1.9 million people due to internal migration, followed by Los Angeles (1.3 million), Chicago (0.5 million), Miami (0.3 million) and San Francisco (0.2 million). These cities grew in this time period, but the growth was mostly a result of immigrants settling in these localities. Other immigrant destinations, however, experienced gains due to internal migrant flows. Most notably are the gains by the metropolitan areas of Phoenix, Arizona; Atlanta, Georgia; Riverside-San Bernardino, California as well as three metropolitan areas in Texas: Dallas-Fort Worth, Austin, and Houston. In the case of Florida, Miami had a net loss of internal migrants but the metropolitan areas of Tampa-St. Petersburg, Orlando, and Jacksonville all gained. Figure 1 demonstrates the demographic shift of internal migrants away from major gateway cities, especially in the northeast, and towards warmer southern cities where immigrants are also settling.

Figure 1: Net Domestic Migration, Selected Metropolitan Areas, 2000-2009.



Source: Brookings Institution, State of Metropolitan America, 2010.
Map by Richard A. Hinton, Dept. of Geography, GWU.

Note: Many of the major immigrant gateways are losing more population through domestic migration to other urban areas. Especially noted is the movement from the northeast to warmer areas in the southeast, especially Florida and Texas.

Much like the native-born, immigrants today are more likely to live in the suburbs of metropolitan areas than in the urban cores (Singer et. al., 2008). In the early 20th century, immigrants clustered more in the urban cores, but by the 1970s the suburbs beckoned with the new employment opportunities, better schools and single-family homes. According to Audrey Singer, in 1990, 41 percent of all immigrants were living in the cities, but 46 percent were in the surrounding suburbs. By 2010 the proportion in the suburbs had climbed to 51 percent, and those residing in cities declined to 33 percent (Singer, 2013: 87).⁴ The metropolitan areas with the highest proportion of immigrants residing in the suburbs include Atlanta, Miami, Orlando, Detroit and Washington DC, all with over 86 percent of their foreign-born population outside of the primary city.

Figure 2 shows net international migration from 2000-09, demonstrating the continued allure of established gateway cities. Metropolitan New York, Los Angeles and Miami received the most foreign-born residents in this period but other established destinations were also attractive. The 2000 census signaled important shifts in immigrant settlement, especially metropolitan areas in the southeastern states such as Atlanta, Charlotte and Nashville. The 2000 census also identified a higher percentage of more skilled immigrants (Massey, 2008). The mix of skill levels and the dispersion of immigrants into new localities has driven diverse policy reactions, from localities adopting strict crackdowns on undocumented immigrants to others actively courting immigrants to settle in their jurisdictions. Mathew Hall argues that this new metropolitan settlement of immigrants “is largely a market-driven algorithm of immigrant supply and demand based on a number of factors including employer recruitment, hiring practices, visa availability and immigrant networks” (2011: 2). The rise in high-skilled immigrants is especially striking, representing 30 percent of the foreign-born population in 2010 (up from 19 percent in 1980). In terms of the skill level of immigrants in the 100 largest metropolitan destinations, southwestern cities tend to have more low-skilled immigrant populations whereas northeastern cities tend to have immigrant populations with high skills (Hall, 2011: 8).

Figure 2: Net International Migration, Selected Metropolitan Areas, 2000-2009



Source: Brookings Institution, State of Metropolitan America, 2010. Map by Richard A. Hinton, Dept. of Geography, GWU.

Note: In terms of absolute numbers of the major gateways of New York, Los Angeles and Miami had the largest net increase of immigrants in the 2000s. During that decade, new destinations, especially southeastern cities such as Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth and Charlotte experienced significant net increases in the foreign born.

4 Cities and suburbs in the cities are defined as the 95 largest metropolitan areas based on the 2010 population. Primary cities are those that are names in the metropolitan area title. The residual of the metropolitan area is defined as suburban. The rest of the foreign-born are found in small metro areas or non-metro areas.

II. Federal, State and Local Governance that affect Immigrant Inclusion

Even though most immigrants live in cities, federal laws and agencies are responsible for key decisions about who enters the U.S. and under what conditions. The Department of Homeland Security, through U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), is the principal agency that determines who is allowed to enter the country as a legal permanent resident, temporary migrant or refugee, as well as the pathways to citizenship. The U.S. immigration system privileges entry through family-reunification and employment-based sponsorship. Immigrants may enter through other means, as evidenced by the large unauthorized population, but many of the formal channels of entry do not direct immigrants to particular localities.

There are exceptions involving refugee resettlement which are handled through the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR). The ORR works with several federal agencies as well as state partners and sponsors. When a refugee is relocated to the U.S., he or she enters as a legal permanent resident and is settled in a particular city or town, often with other co-ethnics. State and city leaders frequently support refugee resettlement in an attempt to boost sagging population figures or labor shortages. Refugees can be resettled in the major immigrant gateways, but they are more often found in smaller cities and emerging or re-emerging immigrant gateways. Such policies explain the growth of Somalis in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota or Bosnians in St. Louis, Missouri. In 2013, the ceiling for refugee admissions was set at 70,000, whereas the ceiling in 2011 was 80,000 (Martin and Yankay, 2014). Refugees, on average, account for 5 to 6 percent of the annual flow of immigrant newcomers.

Certain non-immigrant visa classes are also tied to placement in particular locations. A non-immigrant is an individual authorized with temporary status for a particular purpose, the most common being a visitor for business or pleasure. Yet there are two important classes of non-immigrants, temporary workers and university students, who are directed to particular settings. For example, the popular H1B visa is for highly skilled workers sponsored by employers for up to six years as temporary migrants. In most cases, the immigrant must work for the same company, which directs flows to places such as the Silicon Valley in California, Seattle, Washington or New York City. Many of these temporary H1B visa holders are eventually able to adjust their status and become legal permanent residents. Nearly half a million H1B visa holders entered the U.S. annually from 2011 to 2013 (Foreman and Mongar, 2014: 3). A disproportionate number of these visas are granted to immigrants from India in the high-tech sector, which helps to explain the rapid growth of immigrants from that country.

International students are an even larger non-immigrant class who enter the U.S. with a F visa. These visas are granted through the Department of State once a student is admitted to a recognized U.S. university and meets other qualifications. Thus international students are tied to the universities they enroll in, often in gateway cities. These temporary visas are valid as long as the student is enrolled full-time in his or her university. On average, 1.5 to 1.6 million student visas were granted annually from 2011 to 2013 (Foreman and Mongar, 2014: 4). The vast majority of these students do return to their countries of origin, but having trained in the U.S., a small percentage are eventually able to adjust their status to a permanent one. International students come from all over the world, and their numbers have grown dramatically in the last decade; the top sending countries are China, South Korea and India. Thus major cities or small towns with universities often have a diverse mix of foreign-born people living in them (as immigrants and non-immigrants). Some localities have lobbied Washington DC to change the laws so that more of these highly educated students can remain in the U.S. In Detroit, community organizations along with the city's Chamber of Commerce have sought to retain international students after graduation by helping them to adjust their immigrant status and remain in the city (Sumption, 2014: 6).

Changes in U.S. Immigration Laws

Major changes to national immigration laws in the last half of the 20th century have shaped today's current immigrant mix. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (which went into effect in 1968) ended the national quota system, which gave preference to European immigrants. Consequently, this seminal legislation opened up the way for arrivals from Latin America, Asia and Africa (which, combined, now make up the majority of the foreign-born). Twenty-one years later, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was passed; it enhanced border enforcement and imposed sanctions on employers who knowingly hired unauthorized immigrants. IRCA also gave the unauthorized the opportunity to become legal permanent residents if they had arrived before January 1, 1982. As a result, 2.7 million people eventually received legal residency, the majority of whom were Mexican. It was hoped at the time the IRCA was enacted that it would reduce the problem of illegal entry into the U.S., but that was not the case. Legislation in 1990 created the diversity visa (a lottery system open to immigrants from under-represented origin countries) and increased the immigration ceiling numbers. Six years later, the Illegal Immigration Act of 1996 directed more funds towards border enforcement and greatly reduced access to welfare benefits for unauthorized immigrants and recent arrivals. Finally the Real ID Act of 2005 required heightened document standards to obtain a driver's licence and federally approved identification to board airplanes, open bank accounts or access federal buildings. This had the exclusionary effect of limiting the mobility of undocumented people and driving them away from formal institutions, such as banks.

Since 2006 there have been numerous efforts to pass comprehensive immigration reform at the national level, but no progress has been made. This impasse looms over the fate of some 11 million unauthorized people (also referred to as illegal aliens or undocumented) (Passel et al, 2014).⁵ Many lawmakers do not want a repeat of the 1986 IRCA law that granted legal permanent residency to so many unauthorized immigrants without halting additional irregular arrivals. Due to the inability to come up with a legislative compromise, individual states and other smaller jurisdictions have taken action with regards to addressing the needs of immigrants as well as finding ways to deflect or remove unauthorized immigrants from various jurisdictions. Federal inaction has led to a wave of legislative acts by states aimed at creating both inclusionary and exclusionary policies.

Before considering various state-based strategies, especially the more inclusionary ones, it is important to be aware of the set of national laws that directly and indirectly influence the integration of immigrant newcomers into the U.S., regardless of the status under which they enter the country. Perhaps the most important integrative law is birthright citizenship. If an unauthorized immigrant or a legal permanent resident gives birth to a child in the United States, that child is automatically a citizen. According to the federal government, access to free public education until the age of 18 is mandatory, regardless of the legal status of the child. Thus public schools have always been places of immigrant integration for young arrivals. Finally, many immigrants who arrived post-1965, also benefitted from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that outlawed discrimination due to race, color, religion or country of origin. The civil rights movement arose to address the many injustices that African Americans and Native Americans had experienced throughout the nation's history. While created to address the prejudices imposed upon the native-born population, many aspects of these laws could be applied to immigrant newcomers from Latin America, Asia and Africa who are counted as racial minorities. For example, federal agencies that support minority entrepreneurship such as the Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) and the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) are used by native-born and foreign-born individuals.

⁵ 2007 marked the high point for undocumented estimates at 12.2 million. Since then, the combination of the economic recession, immigrants choosing to leave, and deportations, the current estimate of undocumented has stabilized to around 11.3 million (Passel et al., 2014)

State Laws that promote Immigrant Inclusion

States do not have the authority to decide who enters the country, but they do have a say in who leaves. California has the most immigrants of any state, and the most unauthorized immigrants - estimated at 2.7 million (Passel and Cohn, 2008). Yet Californian Governor Jerry Brown signed the Trust Act in late 2013 which limits California's cooperation with the federal immigration authorities and decouples local police from engaging in the deportation of non-criminal unauthorized migrants. From California's perspective, the cost in time and the loss of trust in local police undermined the state's ability to govern. The Trust Act was designed to protect civil rights, especially for the large California Latino population, and ensure public safety. By not having local police seek out or remove undocumented migrants, California has chosen to ignore federal directives. This puts California on the forefront of expanding immigrant rights and working towards inclusive policies at a time when the federal government seems incapable of reforming immigration laws.

As states cope with the limitations of having unauthorized people living inside their borders, many are deciding to adopt more inclusionary practices rather than exclusionary ones. The federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a branch of the Department of Homeland Security, is in charge of removing unauthorized migrants and immigrants who must be deported due to criminal offenses. ICE offers state and local law enforcement entities training and partnerships so that these entities can engage in immigration enforcement through its 287(g) programme. These 287(g) agreements have been signed by cities, counties, and states. Entering into a 287(g) agreement is a signal that a locality is eager to remove or keep out unauthorized immigrants. Since many of the undocumented are from Latin America, agreeing to this policy is often seen as anti-Latino because this is the group most likely to be questioned about its legal status. States such as Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Missouri, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Massachusetts have, at one time, entered into these agreements. Yet the vast majority of states have not. Not entering into a 287(g) agreement could reflect an inclusionary impulse. Yet it could also be indicative of states, suspicious of the transfer of responsibility for border enforcement from the federal to the state level (Ellis, 2006) thus not cooperating.

States have shown considerable independence in creating a variety of policies and laws, collectively referred to as Dream Acts. These laws allow qualified undocumented students who graduate from state high school to attend universities and colleges and be charged in-state tuition rates. A federal DREAM Act⁶ was first proposed in the U.S. Senate in 2001 to ensure that children who came into the country by no fault of their own as unauthorized, and graduated from high school, would have an opportunity to attend college, join the military, or legally work and eventually obtain legal residency. As the DREAM Act floundered in Congress, various Dream Acts have been created by states. Currently, 21 states have provisions allowing for in-state tuition rates for undocumented students. Sixteen states — California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Texas, Utah and Washington — extend in-state tuition rates to undocumented students through state legislation. Four states — Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Hawaii, and Michigan — allow in-state tuition rates to undocumented students through the Board of Regents. In April 2014, Virginia's attorney general granted in-state tuition to those students who have Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) status. In these states, many of which have large immigrant populations such as California, Texas and New York, such policies support higher education for undocumented students, the same students in whom these states have already invested through their primary and secondary schools. While the impulse to create such inclusionary policies is growing, there are some states holding back. Arizona, Georgia and Indiana specifically prohibit in-state tuition rates for undocumented students, and Alabama and South Carolina prohibit undocumented students from enrolling at any public post-secondary institution (NCSL, 2014).

6 The DREAM Act stands for Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors. It has yet to become federal law.

Education is an area where state and federal resources are often linked to ensure better educational outcomes for native-born and immigrant children. The No Child Left Behind Act in 2001 was a major piece of federal legislation that aimed to improve primary and secondary schools through increased accountability and regular standardized testing. Although the effectiveness of this legislation is debated, it did direct billions of dollars towards public schools with large numbers of limited English-proficient (LEP) children to help them develop their language skills. Adult education is also an area for collaboration across local, state and federal jurisdictions. A recent study by Jill Wilson estimated that there are 19.2 million limited English-proficient (LEP) adults in the U.S. workforce. The Workforce Investment Act (Title II) and the U.S. Department of Education budget USD 250 million annually for adult English language education. Added to this is the USD 700 million spent by states (Wilson, 2014: 2-3). Since English proficiency is a strong predictor for the socio-economic standing of immigrants, programmes that support access to English classes for adults are vital for immigrant integration.

As these examples show, states have some flexibility in addressing issues of immigrant inclusion. They also rely upon laws and institutions created at the federal level to assist in the complex processes of immigrant integration with regards to education and provision of health care. The federal government has been unwilling to let states select who can immigrate to this country. However, Governor Rick Snyder of Michigan recently asked the U.S. Government to grant 50,000 additional visas for targeted migration to Detroit (Sumption 2014). Local immigration responses, typically at the urban level, often compensate for or conflict with national policies. For example, scores of cities have adopted policies that prevent police agencies from asking law abiding community residents to prove their legal immigration status. Sometimes called sanctuary cities, these same localities do allow state and local police to report foreign-born criminals to federal authorities (Tramonte, 2011). Urban geographer Mark Ellis warns that the transfer of responsibility for immigrant social welfare and integration by the federal government to localities can produce resentment and frustration (Ellis, 2006). Clearly, the scales of governance do matter, and while federal and state laws structure immigration policy, it is local jurisdictions that shape the response to immigrant newcomers (Price and Singer, 2008).

III. Gateway Cities welcoming Immigrants

Many cities view the successful integration and retention of immigrants in their strategic interest. The Partnership for a New American Economy is a new bi-partisan organization that brings together civic and corporate leaders who seek immigration reform and more inclusionary practices (www.renewoureconomy.org/). Former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg is one of the founders and co-chairs along with mayors Julián Castro of San Antonio and Michael Nutter of Philadelphia. Steven Ballmer of Microsoft, Bob Iger of the Walt Disney Co. and Jim McNerney of Boeing are some of the corporate co-chairs. The Partnership consists of nearly 100 mayors and over 400 corporate leaders to promote immigration reform to help American cities and businesses. The mission of this organization is to secure borders, streamline immigrant hire and employer verification processes, create paths to citizenship, and partner with state, federal and employer-sponsored programmes to teach English and civic rights and duties to immigrant newcomers. Such a strategic partnership underscores the vital role that immigration plays in the U.S. economy in general, and cities and corporations in particular.

Immigrants in the U.S. settle in metropolitan areas because these are the places where the prospects for employment are better and immigrant social networks are more developed. Local governments often accommodate immigrants by responding to needs for housing, public transportation, healthcare and education. City officials may make public space available for festivals, work with immigrants to promote ethnic businesses, and refashion public libraries as outreach centers for newcomers (Figure 3). Yet American cities have had different experiences with immigration, some having decades of continuous flows and

others having only episodic periods of attractiveness. The following section uses a modified version of the immigrant gateway typology developed by Audrey Singer (2004). It groups U.S. gateways into three broad classes: Continuous Gateways; Emerging or Re-Emerging Gateways; and Former Gateways. Rather than discuss all gateway cities, this section will focus on three cities in each category. The experiences of these gateway-types with regards to the timing and flow of immigrants, as well as the skill sets of these newcomers, influences the kind of policies they develop to attract and retain foreign-born settlers.

Figure 3: Hyperdiverse Gateway Cities



Photo by: Rob Crandall.

Note: The multilingual welcome offered by a public library in the suburbs of Metropolitan Washington DC illustrates the many different languages spoken by newcomers in this setting. Public libraries are critical institutions to assist in immigrant incorporation in the U.S.

Continuous Gateways: New York, Chicago and San Francisco

Continuous gateways are metropolitan areas that have received above the national average percentage of foreign-born since 1900. These three metropolitan areas – New York, Chicago and San Francisco – currently far exceed the national average of 13 percent foreign-born (Table 2). These gateways, along with Los Angeles and Miami, were the top five metropolitan destinations for foreign-born stock in 2010. In fact, Metropolitan New York is the single largest immigrant destination in the world today and much has been written about the area’s robust and varied immigrant history (Price and Benton-Short, 2007; Foner, 2000). Accounting for nearly one-in-five of the foreign-born residing in the U.S., these three metropolitan areas have remained attractive destinations for over a century. They have nurtured governmental and non-governmental organizations to address the needs of diverse immigrant communities. It is the depth of their collective experience and locally driven institutional strategies linked with other levels of governance that support immigrant newcomers. Moreover, leaders of these cities recognize that successful integration of immigrants is critical to the overall health of these places.

Table 2 : Immigrant Population and Skills Levels for Three Continuous Gateways, 2009

Metropolitan Area	Immigrant Population	Percent Immigrant	Low Skill	Mid Skill	High Skill	Skill Type
New York, Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	5,271,238	27.6	1,200,047	2,029,319	1,378,929	Balanced
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	1,645,920	17.2	437,833	590,265	386,882	Balanced
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont	1,273,780	29.5	289,406	433,327	415,036	High

Source: Hall, 2011, Appendix Table 1

The Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs (MOIA) in New York City has one of the most extensive series of city-based programmes and initiatives to serve immigrants in the country (www.nyc.gov/html/imm). Unquestionably, Metropolitan New York also has an enormous and diverse immigrant population to serve. The mission of the Office is to promote policies and programmes that facilitate successful integration of immigrant newcomers and the protection of their rights. A cornerstone of their outreach effort is a robust website that can be translated into 34 languages. Some of their initiatives are targeted to educating immigrants about their rights, providing legal services for obtaining DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) or citizenship, expanding access to healthcare, and offering English language training for adult residents. MOIA also supports a New York Police Department outreach programme in which police department liaisons (speaking various languages) meet with new immigrant communities to explain policies, programmes and services. In 2014 Mayor Bill de Blasio signed a bill to create a Municipal ID for those who did not have access to a government-issued identification (typically unauthorized migrants) but need identification for access to various services and to open bank accounts. The comprehensive one-stop model established in New York City has been used by three other U.S. cities, Chicago, Seattle and Houston. The leaders of these cities sought guidance and technical support from MOIA.

In the last few years, MOIA introduced three initiatives aimed to encourage small immigrant businesses in the city. One is Project Thrive - a business plan competition for innovative strategies to assist immigrant entrepreneurs - in which winning plans receive USD 25,000 to begin a pilot programme. The second is a partnership with the Department of Small Business Services to provide free courses to assist small businesses launch, operate and expand. The training is provided in English, but an innovative aspect of the programme is in providing instruction in Spanish, Russian and Mandarin. Lastly, MOIA helps in the creation of a business expo to feature manufactured immigrant foods produced locally but desiring broader distribution.

In a global age, the desire to support small businesses transcends the Mayor’s Office in New York City. For example a pilot project called ProMicro was created by the Colombian Consulate in New York to support small businesses run by Colombians living in New York and New Jersey. The programme has three components: provision of technical and legal assistances to those starting businesses, availability of on-line training through the U.S. based National Service for Training (SENA), and provision of microcredit for microenterprises (Aguinas and Newland, 2012: 141). In this case, the Colombian Government has a transnational perspective on the economic integration of migrants, believing that Colombians who succeed in New York may eventually contribute to the development of their country of origin.

Chicago has been a continuous immigrant gateway since the 19th century, although the foreign-born represent just 17.2 percent of the metropolitan area’s population, which is just 4% above the national average. Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel launched the Office of New Americans (ONA) in 2011 and *The*

Chicago New Americans Plan in 2012 to “recognize the importance of immigrants to our city’s future” and to “bolster Chicago’s status as a vibrant and welcoming international city” (Office of the Mayor, Chicago, 2012: 1). The Office of New Americans is much like MOIA, in that it is a one-stop website for services that immigrants might need. The site is translated into Spanish, Chinese, Polish and Arabic, reflecting some of the city’s largest immigrant groups.

The *Chicago New Americans Plan* has a strong business and jobs focus, such as partnering with World Business Chicago to assist immigrant-owned businesses increase exports by providing access to resources needed for this purpose. The Plan also creates small business incubators tied to commercial kitchens and pop-up city services in immigrant neighbourhoods to answer newcomers’ questions about how to launch and grow a business. Other initiatives include promoting tourism in some 15 immigrant neighbourhoods with dense retail concentrations and creating a “Chamber University” to train leaders of the chambers of commerce to reach out and support immigrant businesses (Office of the Mayor, Chicago, 2012). Like other gateways, Chicago’s leaders want their city to become more attractive for high-skilled immigrants. Chicago hopes to do this by helping newcomers trained as professionals abroad to get credit for that training through a City Colleges of Chicago programme that will initially focus on foreign-born healthcare workers. Offers of adult English language training and other skills training will involve partnerships with employers and the city.

Chicago has had a long-standing commitment of providing basic services to immigrants regardless of their legal status, going back to Mayor Harold Washington in the 1980s (Office of the Mayor, Chicago, 2012: 33). Mayor Emanuel signed a Welcoming City Ordinance in 2012 that affirmed the city’s refusal to detain or deport law-abiding undocumented residents in Chicago. More recently the Office of New Americans has reached out to Chicago’s Dreamers (undocumented youth who graduated high school) by offering internships, jobs and volunteer opportunities organized and funded by the city.

Cultural and religious sensitivity is also key to being a global immigrant gateway. The Chicago Federal Reserve created an Islam friendly lending programme to allow Muslims access to funds to purchase a home without violating religious prohibitions against paying or receiving interest. Using an *Ijara* loan the bank buys the house and leases it to the buyer, who pays off the loan, plus market-based rent for living there (Cities of Migration, 2008). Such an arrangement is sanctioned by Islamic scholars and has the added benefit of turning Muslim renters into Chicago homeowners.

Of the continuous gateways San Francisco has the smallest number of immigrants (1.3 million) but they represent nearly 30 percent of the metropolitan area’s population. San Francisco also attracts proportionally more highly skilled immigrants compared to New York City and Chicago, in part due to the city’s proximity to the Silicon Valley. A review of San Francisco’s outreach programmes shows an emphasis on serving vulnerable populations rather than appealing for more newcomers. San Francisco maintains the Office of Civic Engagement and Immigrant Affairs (OCEIA) website in English but provides some language support in Chinese, Spanish and Tagalog. Its mission is to promote “civic participation and inclusive policies to improve the lives of San Francisco’s residents, particularly immigrants, newcomers, underserved and vulnerable communities” (OCEIA, 2014). Beginning in 2009, a San Francisco photo ID card was made available to all residents of the city, but was especially valuable to those who had no other formal identification.

San Francisco city leaders learned in 2005 that 20 percent of the adult population (and half of the city’s Blacks and Latinos) did not have bank accounts. Thus in 2006 the city launched Bank On San Francisco to introduce these individuals to mainstream financial services (Cities of Migration, 2012b: 9). The goal was to reach 10,000 families, but by 2012 some 70,000 families had been helped. The Bank On San Francisco programme (<http://bankonsanfrancisco.com/>) works with participating banks and credit unions

to allow individuals with no or poor banking history to open low-fee accounts and gain access to financial counselling. Accounts may be opened with a passport, California ID or a consular ID from Mexico or Guatemala. Having access to formal banking is considered an important step in the economic integration of immigrants.

The *San Francisco Immigrant Legal & Education Network (SFILEN)* was founded in 2007 to promote full access to social services, direct legal services and civic engagement for all immigrants and their families regardless of their immigration status (<http://sfilen.org/>). This umbrella organization brings together over a dozen non-governmental organizations representing the needs of different immigrant groups. SFILEN is funded by the Mayor's Office of Housing, Community Development Division. Much of the group's concern is linked to access of services, English language training and increased civic engagement. In 2014, SFILEN published findings from *The San Francisco Immigrant Integration Project* on its website in six languages (English, Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, Tagalog and Tigrinya). This report indicates that immigrants feel welcome in San Francisco but most still have trouble accessing basic services, especially information regarding jobs and housing. On a positive note, most immigrants reported that their health care needs were met and they wished to be more active in civic participation. SFILEN is an example of a public partnership with immigrant organizations that fosters better communication and response to the needs of San Francisco immigrants. The two largest origin groups represented in this survey were immigrants from China and Mexico.

A Legacy of Sanctuary in U.S. Gateways

The term 'sanctuary city' is commonly applied to cities and states in the US that offer some form of protection for undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers, typically by not permitting local officials or police to enquire into an individual's immigration status. In the past 20 years, dozens of cities have used this label as a symbol of a more inclusionary attitude towards newcomers. Most of the gateway cities discussed in this report have either formal or de facto sanctuary policies.

San Francisco was one of the first continuous gateways to formally pass a municipal sanctuary policy in the 1980s. At that time, the city was experiencing an influx of Central American refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala fleeing civil war. In trying to serve this group who were not recognized as refugees, the Board of Supervisors passed San Francisco's City of Refuge Ordinance in 1985. Initially it was passed to recognize people from El Salvador and Guatemala, yet it evolved into protection for all immigrants' rights in the city (Ridgley, 2008: 55).

Today most people associate sanctuary cities with efforts in the late 1990s to counter restrictions on immigrants' access to services with the passing of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. More cities adopted sanctuary policies in the 2000s as a counter to the Department of Homeland Security's 287(g) agreements that engage local police in immigration control. Now with California's Trust Act, the entire state has become a sanctuary. The sanctuary city movement is another example of how local jurisdictions and activists have challenged enforcement of federal immigration laws that are perceived as unfair or unjust in an effort to reform immigration policies.

Cities for Citizenship (C4C) is a major national initiative aimed at increasing citizenship among eligible U.S. permanent residents and encouraging cities across the country to invest in citizenship programmes (<http://citiesforcitizenship.org/>). It is chaired by New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio, Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel, and Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti, with support from the Center for Popular Democracy and the National Partnership for New Americans. Citi Community Development is the founding corporate partner.

A recent report by C4C, titled *Citizenship, A Wise Investment for Cities (2014)* underscores the economic benefits of naturalization in three cities: Metropolitan New York with the most immigrants, followed by Los Angeles, and Chicago with the fourth largest immigrant population (Miami is third). The study reports that naturalization increased income by 8% percent nationally, even when taking into account industry and occupation. For the three specific cities, annual income increases between USD 2,000 and USD 3,600 with naturalization. If more residents became naturalized in these cities several billion dollars would be added to their urban economies over the next ten years. To encourage naturalization, city officials are working with existing immigrant organizations as well as through public libraries to hold workshops and ensure that information reaches eligible immigrants. Cities are also working with the federal government to lower the cost of naturalization.

Another national organization working at the urban scale is Welcoming America. Welcoming America is a national grassroots organization that was formed in the last few years to promote mutual respect and cooperation among native-born and foreign-born populations in the U.S. (www.welcomingamerica.org). They created the Welcoming Cities and Counties Initiative to help local governments share new tools and best practices to improve the quality of life and economic potential of all residents. Currently there are 40 affiliate cities and municipalities, who have committed to “ongoing inclusion and long-term economic and social integration of newcomers.” (www.welcomingamerica.org/get-involved/cities/). All but one of the gateways discussed in this report are part of the Welcoming Cities and Counties Initiative.

As shown, continuous gateway cities have robust institutions in place to communicate with and serve diverse immigrant groups. They are also leaders in building networks between other cities, such as Citizens for Citizenship, and with mayors and corporate leaders, as seen in The Partnership for the New American Economy. Since 2006, as immigration reform as floundered nationally, city leaders have taken steps to make their cities more welcoming, especially with regard to unauthorized migrants. The breadth of outreach and activity of continuous gateways is in stark contrast with that of former gateways. Yet several former gateways are building institutional support in the hope of making their cities attractive once more.

Former Gateways: Detroit, Baltimore and Pittsburgh

Former gateways are those cities that had large numbers of foreign-born residents arriving in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but since 1930 their percentage of foreign-born population has dropped below the national average. This section examines the cities of Detroit, Baltimore and Pittsburgh, although other former gateways include Buffalo, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and St. Louis (Singer, 2004)⁷. Leaders in these former destinations have developed programmes with the intention of attracting and retaining immigrants. Their motivations are to stem population loss and to stimulate economic activity, especially immigrant-led businesses. Newcomers are also seen as agents to revitalize the housing market in these post-industrial cities. The share of immigrants in Detroit and Baltimore currently hovers around 8-9% of the total population, whereas Pittsburgh immigrant population is only 3% (Table 3). Although the cities are far below the national average of 13% foreign-born, those who do settle in these localities tend to be high-skill workers (with a university degree) or mid-skill workers (with some college education). In general, the low-skill workers (with only a high school degree or less) have not settled in these cities. Moreover, the leadership in these gateways aspires to attract more skilled workers in the future.

⁷ These typologies are fluid as cities gain new immigrants. For example a recent Brookings Institution report reclassified Philadelphia from a former gateway to a re-emerging gateway. Washington DC was reclassified from emerging gateway to a post-World War II gateway (Hall et. al., 2011).

Table 3 : Immigrant Population and Skills Levels for Three Former Gateways, 2009

Metropolitan Area	Immigrant Population	Percent Immigrant	Low Skill	Mid Skill	High Skill	Skill Type
Detroit-Warren Livonia, MI	393,499	8.9	83,226	124,954	119,657	High
Baltimore-Towson, MD	222,678	8.3	31,546	66,729	87,965	High
Pittsburgh, PA	70,918	3.0	7,806	18,596	30,542	High

Source: Hall, 2011, Appendix Table 1.

Metropolitan Detroit in 2013 had 4.3 million people, which is about the same population it had in 1970. As a metropolitan area, it is the 14th largest in the country. Yet the city of Detroit has steadily lost population since 1960. From its peak population in 1950 at 1.8 million, the city has seen a decline of more than 1 million residents. In the process, the city lost much of its manufacturing base and went from a majority white population to a majority black one. Facing many serious challenges such as abandoned housing, lost jobs, debt and a reduced tax base, the city was in search of a rebirth.

In 2010 the Global Detroit initiative was launched premised on the belief that Detroit was in crisis. The remedy for Detroit's rebirth is an "affirmative immigrant-welcoming and global-connection building effort" (Global Detroit, 2010: 102). To produce its vision, the Global Detroit team visited other former or re-emerging gateways such as Cleveland, Philadelphia, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Pittsburgh to learn about best practices and connect with other immigrant communities. They raised philanthropic funds and worked with local governments in the metropolitan area and with the state of Michigan. The initial Global Detroit plan included an overly ambitious 11 strategies. The unifying objective was to develop ways to attract and retain immigrants who would bring entrepreneurship, jobs, and revitalize Detroit neighbourhoods. The metropolitan area does have a diverse immigrant base to work from; the top sending countries in order of importance are India, Iraq, Mexico, Canada, China and Lebanon (Cruz, 2014).

Detroit developed Welcome Mat Detroit, a website and office that integrates immigrant services (www.welcomematdetroit.org/). Services can be accessed using a drop-down menu and key pages are available in multiple languages. The most innovative initiative has focused on retaining international students trained in Michigan universities to build the city's skills base. Global Detroit assisted in the launching of the Global Talent Retention Initiative of Southeast Michigan. This initiative targets some 16,000 international students studying in southeast Michigan, many of them in science and technology fields. The project shows that international students who study in public universities in Michigan are almost as likely to stay in Michigan as the native-born.

Global Detroit has also promoted the federal EB-5 visa programme that allows foreign investors with their dependents into the country as legal residents if they bring financial resources (from USD 1 million to USD 500,000) and start a company that employs at least ten people. These visas are tied to designated regional centers throughout the country, of which there are six in Michigan. The EB-5 visa was first created in 1992, but it was seldom used until the economic recession began in 2007. Chinese nationals are the top recipients of EB-5 but on average roughly 4,000 are given out annually (Singer and Glades, 2014). Taking advantage of its proximity to the Canadian city of Windsor on the other side of the Detroit River, Global Detroit developed the Detroit-Windsor near-shoring programme. The intention is to partner with the Canadian city to recruit firms who want to expand operations in the U.S. but are restrained by the caps on high-tech workers. By setting up operations on the 'near-shore' of Windsor, the trans-boundary partnership has the potential to increase investment in both cities.

Global Detroit works with community organizations and the city's chamber of commerce (Sumption, 2014: 6). It is also anchored by the support of towns and counties in the metropolitan area as well as the state of Michigan. Governor Rick Snyder created the Michigan Office for New Americans in 2014 to coordinate recruitment of international students, refugees, and investors into the state. In addition, many jurisdictions in Michigan have joined the Welcoming Cities and Counties initiative, a national grassroots organization that shares best practices of inclusion.

By comparison, the former gateways of Baltimore and Pittsburgh are still developing strategies to recruit immigrant newcomers but the mayors in both cities affirm their intention to grow and prosper with the help of immigrants. A major rationale for both cities is to address population decline and to revitalize the housing sector in older neighbourhoods, a concern that many post-industrial cities face. Data show that immigrants have stanching the decline of housing prices in Rust Belt cities (AS/COA, 2013: 3). Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake has stated that she hopes to add 10,000 families over the next decade, many of whom will be Latino and Asian immigrants (Morello and Lazo, 2012). In order to demonstrate support for the Latino community, the mayor signed a sanctuary-type ordinance in March 2012 that prohibited police and social agencies from asking the immigration status of people living within the city's boundaries. Also, with its lower housing costs, Baltimore's relative proximity to Metropolitan Washington makes it an appealing alternative for those seeking affordable housing.

In 2014 Pittsburgh's Mayor Bill Peduto formally announced the Welcoming Pittsburgh campaign to bring in 20,000 new residents to the city over the next decade, with immigrants being a large part of that growth (Balingit, 2014). In addressing the decline in population, especially the younger working age group, he stressed that immigration is desirable and necessary to sustain the region. Welcoming Pittsburgh created a Civic Leadership Academy and actively recruits immigrant business owners and community leaders (<http://pittsburghpa.gov/servepgh/cla/participate>). The free ten-week long programme has a competitive application process; those selected get an in-depth view of local services and departments.

Welcoming Pittsburgh builds on earlier initiatives, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh is the county seat) began an Immigrant and International Advisory Council in 2007 to create a more coordinated and responsive outreach to newcomers, especially refugees. The Advisory Council confers with the Director and Executive Staff of the Department of Human Services. The Council is made up of immigrants and refugees as well as service providers for these groups. In a recent report from the Advisory Council, a Nigerian-born council member observed:

The Council has made internationals feel they are valued...We feel we are part of the system and that the county is sensitive to our values. This has helped to attract people here. When people call me (about coming to Pittsburgh,) I can say this is a good place to live because immigrants have a voice and there is a program to help them survive (Allegheny County, 2013, 3).

In addition, Vibrant Pittsburgh (<http://vibrantpittsburgh.org/>) is a non-profit organization founded in 2010 that brings together local leaders in business and civil society. The organization is premised on the belief that a diverse workforce is essential for the economic vitality of Metropolitan Pittsburgh. Its mission is to attract, retain, elevate and educate people of all backgrounds, including new Americans, and create an environment that is inclusive and welcoming. They support a network of diverse community groups and regularly host job fairs.

As these case studies show, such welcoming initiatives are relatively new in former gateways and it is too early to evaluate their overall effectiveness. What is notable is a significant change in tone, in which immigrants are viewed as positive drivers of change. An Americas Society/Council of the Americas report (AS/COA, 2013) underscores how immigrants make cities more competitive by contributing to a dynamic

labour force, starting new businesses, counteracting population decline, raising housing values, and improving levels of education. Today's leaders of many former gateways believe that these trends are real and can help their cities revitalize.

(Re-)Emerging Gateways: Washington DC, Atlanta, Minneapolis-St. Paul

Metropolitan areas that have experienced rapid growth in foreign-born since 1980 can be Emerging or Re-Emerging gateways. Emerging Gateways such as Washington DC and Atlanta had very few immigrants through the 1970s but have seen rapid growth since 1980. For example, Metropolitan Atlanta's immigrant population was only 46,000 in 1980 but rose to over 700,000 by 2009 (Table 4). Similarly in 1970 fewer than one in twenty people in Metropolitan Washington DC were foreign-born, today one-in-five people are foreign-born. Re-Emerging gateways such as Minneapolis-St. Paul had significant immigrant populations up until 1930 but were well below the national average for most of the 20th century. Yet Minneapolis saw its immigrant population begin to grow in the 1990s, especially with the resettlement of refugees. In 1980 immigrants were less than 3% of the total population for Metropolitan Minneapolis-St. Paul, by 2009 they were 9% of the total population, approaching nearly 300,000 people.

Table 4 : Immigrant Population and Skills Levels for Three (Re-)Emerging Gateways, 2009

Metropolitan Area	Immigrant Population	Percent Immigrant	Low Skill	Mid Skill	High Skill	Skill Type
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria DC-VA-MD-WV	1,103,271	20.1	198,944	349,705	375,164	High
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	713,333	13.0	152,799	238,983	182,534	Balanced
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington MN-WI	296,932	9.1	61,813	89,425	77,103	High

Source: Hall, 2011, Appendix Table 1.

With sudden influxes of immigrants, the organizational structures needed to support them are not always there. Continuous gateways had many institutional services in place, but (Re-)Emerging gateways were less prepared. Unlike former gateways, most of these localities have not developed explicit strategies to attract and settle new foreign-born arrivals, with the exception of refugee resettlement institutions. The sudden demographic changes in these areas also provoke backlash, especially regarding concerns over the numbers of unauthorized immigrants. The counties and/or states where these three metropolitan areas are located all participated in the 287(g) programme which gave local police the authority to detain and arrest unauthorized migrants, as if they were officials of Immigrant and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The states of Georgia (where Atlanta is located) and Minnesota (where Minneapolis-St Paul are located) signed 287(g) agreements in 2007 and 2008 respectively. In addition several counties that make up Metropolitan Atlanta (including Cobb, Gwinnett and Hall Counties) also entered into 287(g) agreements (Rodríguez, 2010). For Metropolitan Washington, several suburban counties and/or towns implemented 287(g) agreements including Frederick County, Maryland, and the counties of Loudoun and Prince William in Virginia as well as the towns of Herndon and Manassas Park, Virginia. Adoptions of such policies are not viewed as welcoming, especially for Latino immigrants who are most often stopped and asked to prove their legal status.

Yet, as these Emerging and Re-Emerging gateways matured, they have created purposeful outreach programmes and many jurisdictions in these metropolitan areas view immigrants as a force for positive

change, especially regarding the revitalization of neighbourhoods, improving the skill set of the labor force, and immigrant entrepreneurship. As a result these metropolitan areas and their surrounding states exhibit both inclusionary and exclusionary impulses as they learn to live with greater diversity.

Metropolitan Washington is the nation's capital and is anchored by the District of Columbia. The vast majority of the region's residents, however, live in the surrounding suburbs of Virginia and Maryland. The top sending countries are El Salvador, India, Korea, Mexico, Vietnam, Philippines and China and the overall skill level is high. The region supports a hyper-diverse mix of immigrants, some arriving through family reunification, others as resettled refugees and still more as international students and H1B visa holders. There is no one-stop location (virtual or otherwise) for information to assist immigrants but many jurisdictions have developed their own in-take centers. There are also many immigrant-run organizations such as Casa de Maryland which focuses on organizing communities, welcome centres, and immigrant rights, especially for low-income Latino immigrants (<http://casademaryland.org/>). The Latino Economic Development Corporation (LEDC) assists entrepreneurs in the metropolitan area. LEDC operates the Community Asset Fund for Entrepreneurs, a lending subsidiary that offers business loans to qualified startups and existing businesses that have difficulty in obtaining credit from mainstream financial institutions. The fund helps entrepreneurs obtain loans ranging from USD 5,000 to USD 50,000. In 2012 alone, LEDC's lending programme made 80 loans to businesses in the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia, totalling more than USD 1 million, supporting businesses that ranged from restaurants to cleaning services and hair salons (www.ledcmetro.org/). Many religious institutions are also active in providing services and promoting civic engagement, from running daycare centers or day labour sites to distributing food or teaching English classes (Foley and Hoge, 2007).

Most jurisdictions, especially the four counties where most of the metropolitan area's immigrants have settled (Fairfax, Arlington, Montgomery and Prince George's) make key documents available in multiple languages, create in-take centres, and work with distinct immigrant and refugee communities. Due to a significant flow of African immigrants and refugees into the region, especially from Ethiopia, the District of Columbia created the Office of African Affairs (<http://oaa.dc.gov/>) in 2006 which supports capacity building for local African small businesses and African immigrant community groups. A few jurisdictions have even experimented with municipal voting rights for non-citizens. Non-U.S. citizen residents are permitted to vote in municipal elections in the city of Takoma Park and the towns of Barnesville, Garrett Park and Somerset in Maryland's Montgomery County in suburban Washington. Takoma Park, in particular, has a history of political and civic activism and proclaims itself a sanctuary city on its website. The Arlington County Board in Virginia passed a resolution in September 2007 calling for elected officials in Northern Virginia to "promote the integration of immigrants" instead of enacting laws that are divisive, such as the 287(g) agreements, in the outer suburbs (Downey, 2007).

Metropolitan Atlanta's experience with a sudden influx of immigrants was contentious. As the regional economy boomed in the 1980s and 1990s, a mix of low-skill and high-skill immigrants poured in. The foreign-born population doubled between 1980 and 1990 and nearly quadrupled between 1990 and 2000 as the city prepared for hosting the Olympic Games in 1996 (Odem, 2008: 112). Like many southeastern states, Georgia has had very little experience with immigration but it had a long history of racial segregation between whites and blacks. Roughly half of the foreign-born are from Latin America, and half of that group is from Mexico. One-quarter of the newcomers are from Asia, particularly China, India, Korea and Vietnam, and, nearly one-in-ten come from Africa. Thus most of the new arrivals are racial minorities. Unlike Washington DC, Atlanta had a more balanced mix of high-skill and low-skill workers. As for immigrant integration, the large number of low-skill Mexican and Central American immigrants is seen as problematic.

In general, the southern counties of Fulton, Clayton and DeKalb have higher concentrations of native-born Blacks, while the northern counties of Cobb, Fulton and Gwinnett are majority White. It was in these northern counties where many of the new immigrants settled and where they also faced the most resistance. In general, DeKalb County, due east of the city of Atlanta, responded to immigrants in the most welcoming manner. This area has had the longest history of immigrant inclusion and ethnic diversity. The official website of DeKalb, claimed it was the most culturally diverse county in Georgia and county officials worked closely with schools and translated important information into other languages (especially Spanish). Chamblee, a suburb in northern DeKalb County, embraced its diversity. According to Emory Professor Mary Odem, “the city council developed new zoning for the creation of an International Village, a mixed-use development district (one of the first in Metro Atlanta) that features offices, retail shops, restaurants, a bank, hotel, international trade center, performing arts facilities and pedestrian plazas. The plan...is meant to address the needs of its Asian, Latino and other ethnic residents and entrepreneurs and also to attract visitors and tourists to the area” (2008: 122).

Yet, other jurisdictions have been far less accommodating. Northern counties passed English only ordinances, anti-congregating laws in an effort to eliminate day labour sites, and zoning regulations that limited occupancy in single family homes. In addition to adopting a 287(g), the state of Georgia passed in 2007 Senate Bill 529, the Georgia Security and Immigration Compliance Act which denies services to unauthorized adults, requires police to check for legal residency, and requires contractors and subcontractors to ensure all labourers are authorized to work (Odem, 2008). Latinos who came to the Atlanta metropolitan area readily found work and integrated economically, yet their social and political integration was complicated.

There are signs that attitudes are changing. In the summer of 2014, Mayor Kasim Reed of Atlanta announced the formation of the Welcoming Atlanta Working Group. Its goal is to reduce barriers to civic participation and foster positive relationships between the receiving communities and new arrivals. The city of Atlanta is just a small section of the metropolitan area but its commitment to inclusion is a positive development given some of the exclusionary practices of the last decade.

Minneapolis-St. Paul is a Re-Emerging Gateway. It has a far smaller immigrant population than Washington DC and Atlanta, and its proportion of the foreign-born is still below the national average. Yet from 1990 to 2000, Metropolitan Minneapolis-St. Paul doubled its immigrant population, and more than doubled it again from 2000 to 2010. Much of this growth is attributed to the region’s proactive stance as a refugee resettlement site, especially for refugees from East Africa and Southeast Asia. The metro area is currently home to the country’s largest Somali population. As that community became established, Somalis in other areas of the U.S. relocated there. Yet there are also immigrants from every region of the world and no one group dominates. African immigrants make up 20% of the metro area’s immigrant population. To serve this community, the African Development Center (ADC) was created in 2003 as a philanthropic organization to offer micro-loans, business start-ups and training for African immigrants (www.adcminnesota.org/). Hussein Samatar, founder of the ADC, remarked that a sign of the acceptance of Somalis in Minnesota was the long queue for roasted ‘camel on a stick’ at the state fair (The Economist, 2011). Similarly, city resources have gone to globalizing public libraries with materials available in multiple languages (Spanish, Hmong and Somali). The challenges of integrating and educating so many immigrant minorities with limited English proficiency are significant. There are strong patterns of racial segregation in public schools with foreign-born students in failing schools and neighbourhoods in the inner city while in the suburbs’ better middle class schools are mostly white (Fennelly and Orfield, 2008).

In the last few years, the state of Minnesota has taken a more proactive stance towards welcoming immigrants. In a recent report by the Minnesota Business Immigration Coalition (MNBIC, 2013), it is

estimated that immigrants accounted for 29% of Minnesota's population growth between 2000 and 2013. Immigrant contributions to the labour force are significant, as they represent 23.5% of Minnesotans employed in education and health services and 20.5% of labour employed in manufacturing (MNBIC, 2013). Also a number of the state's Fortune 500 companies were originally founded by immigrants or the children of immigrants.

As shown in these three cases, Emerging and Re-Emerging gateways have discrepant records with regard to immigrant reception and incorporation. Complex metropolitan areas with multiple jurisdictions can simultaneously show both inclusionary and exclusionary impulses. According to geographers Kyle Walker and Helga Leitner both the size of the immigrant population and its rate of growth are strongly associated with the implementation of local immigration policies in the United States (2011: 169). Urban (as opposed to suburban) localities, with a more educated population and more marginalized groups (based on household income and lower rates of owner-occupied housing), are more likely to implement local inclusionary policies (Walker and Leitner, 2011: 168-169). In contrast, exclusionary policies are most often found in municipalities in the U.S. South that have rapidly-growing foreign-born populations, lower levels of education and a higher proportion of citizens voting for the Republican party.

Religious institutions with sizeable immigrant populations usually perform multiple services that help promote inclusion (Foner and Alba, 2008). These range from information about jobs, housing and business opportunities to language classes and practical assistance. Moreover, such institutions also help build civic skills among immigrants and provide avenues for civic engagement, a precursor of political engagement. Other immigrant-serving institutions and agencies, ethno-cultural organizations, and the immigrants themselves can also be compelling advocates for immigrant inclusion, particularly if local governments assist them by providing a friendly regulatory environment, technical and financial assistance and ready access to public officials (Bloemraad, 2006). All these factors are very much at work in (Re-)Emerging Gateways.

IV. U.S. Gateway Strategies for Immigrant Inclusion

In the United States today, coalitions of cities, states, businesses and civil society are leading the way to make their cities more welcoming and to assert pressure for meaningful immigration reform at the federal level. Some of the welcoming strategies outlined in this paper, especially in continuous gateways, have existed for decades. Yet many are rather new. The economic recession of 2008 certainly strained resources at every level of governance. As cities and counties struggled to regain financial equilibrium, many leaders focused on immigrant newcomers as a means to revitalize and globalize local economies.

Immigrants alone will not solve a metropolitan area's financial troubles but they can be part of a solution, especially in former gateways. Cities that court newcomers out of self-interest are usually hoping to attract skilled talent, arrest population decline, create new business, re-vitalize neighbourhoods and boost housing prices. Many of these things do happen when immigrants settle in cities but not without having purposeful inclusionary strategies and institutions to support the challenges that immigrants face.

The experience of the nine gateways presented shows that there are four common strategies used to welcome and retain immigrants. These fall under the categories of Outreach, Data, Leadership and Participation.

Outreach: city leaders and city institutions need to make an effort to communicate with immigrant groups through the use of multiple languages, multi-media programmes that include web sites, and coordination with community-based organizations.

Examples from New York and Chicago clearly demonstrate the value of active outreach, even going into immigrant neighbourhoods with mobile programmes that share vital information and foster inclusion. Public schools are key institutions that ensure interaction with immigrant children and or their immigrant parents. Many cities use school facilities for after school programmes, adult language instruction and intake centres. Extremely diverse communities rely upon dial-up translation services to communicate with family members who speak uncommon foreign languages. Since all children are entitled to an education regardless of their immigrant status, schools often are the best contact point to assist undocumented immigrants. Public libraries can also be vital meeting centres between local governments and newcomers providing access to information in multiple languages, government services and the Internet. Outreach often means coordination with other service providers, such as police and fire departments as well as health services to make sure these groups are aware of the distinct communities they are serving and the resources available to them. In order to foster entrepreneurship, creating linkages with chambers of commerce and immigrant associations is also helpful.

Successful outreach also means collaborating with similar organizations in other cities to share best practices. New York City's Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs (MOIA) has been a national leader in working with other cities to improve immigrant outreach and services. Umbrella organizations such as Cities for Citizenship or Partnership for a New American Economy bring city leaders and the business community together in innovative ways to promote integration and immigration reform. Outreach is not only the right policy to pursue in terms immigrant incorporation but is also an economically smart move to harness the economic and social capital of the foreign-born.

Data: know your immigrant populations, where they reside, how they are organized and develop benchmarks for measuring their levels of social and economic integration.

With the annual data published through the American Community Survey (ACS) by the U.S. Census, there are more data available about the foreign-born and ancestry groups than ever before. Having an understanding of the immigrant groups in a community is essential for fostering inclusion. Beyond knowing the country of origin, a breakdown of the gender and demographic mix is helpful for service provision, especially school age groups. Languages spoken and abilities with English, although self-reported, are a basis for appreciating the language challenges certain groups may face. Also knowing where immigrants are settling is a first step in knowing how to reach out to them.

Data can also be used to establish benchmarks. This is especially helpful for public schools tracking the progress of the population for whom English is a second language. Noting how the foreign-born are fairing in terms of socio-economic attainment is also key; information about levels of poverty, employment, income and home ownership can all be tracked and strategies can be developed to address particular deficits. For example, San Francisco noted that many immigrants did not use formal banks and created an outreach programme for banking literacy.

Qualitative reports or feedback from religious institutions, immigrant organizations and charitable foundations can be used to understand obstacles that immigrants face and, more importantly, suggestions on how to address them.

Leadership: local leaders need to make immigrant inclusion a priority, with mayors often setting the tone as to whether a city will be welcoming or not. The corollary is also true, if local leaders actively deflect immigrant groups from particular areas, they will either not be inclined to settle there or will leave.

Immigrant integration, especially of large or diverse groups, is not easy. Localities that succeed tend to create purposeful policies that foster economic, social, and political inclusion at the local scale. Problems of immigrant backlash by the native-born, especially in settings that experience sudden demographic changes, are almost inevitable as witnessed in Metropolitan Atlanta and Washington. Yet proactive leadership by local governments and school districts can make a huge difference.

On the proactive end of the inclusionary spectrum has been New York City, which is not totally surprising given its storied history as an immigrant destination. Under Mayor Bloomberg's leadership, MOIA became a symbol of an integrated and pragmatic agency that tries to address the distinct needs of immigrants. Moreover, such agencies reflect an attitude that successful immigrant inclusion is in the interest of all residents. As the various case studies show, from continuous to former gateways, the leadership of mayors, and in some cases governors, has been fundamental in fostering a welcoming and inclusionary environment.

National and international networks of cities exist and urban leaders are regularly sharing their experimental policies and best practices. In the United States, the Partnership for the New American Economy and the Welcoming Cities and Counties initiative are relatively new organizations that are collaborating with city leaders, corporations and civil society to make immigrant inclusion a priority. This has certainly been a positive development for cities seeking to attract more immigrants. Internationally, the Cities of Migration programme led by the Maytree Foundation continues to promote best practices for successful incorporation of immigrants in cities all over the world. It is evident from the examples in this paper that U.S. cities are constantly learning from each other.

Participation: development of immigrant advisory boards, exposure to local governance, contacts with immigrant organizations and the promotion of naturalization all enhance civic participation of immigrants.

Today's immigrants come from all over the world, with very different experiences of political participation and government capacity. Many immigrant groups, especially those from war-torn or dysfunctional states, are reluctant to engage local government institutions. They may be unaware of the government services that exist and how to access them; at the same time they may not know how they can participate in local governance from joining a Parent Teacher Association (PTA) to advocating for basic rights.

Programmes that engage immigrants in the process of local governance, from advisory boards to ones that introduce newcomers to local institutions, are critical first steps to encourage greater civic understanding and participation. Ironically, it is the exclusion that many U.S. immigrants have faced, especially undocumented ones, that has led to heightened political activism in support of state-wide Dream Acts or city-wide sanctuary ordinances. Finally, local efforts to encourage legal permanent residents to naturalize, such as the Cities 4 Citizenship programme, exist to ensure that more immigrants are eligible to vote.

Living with diversity is not easy, as witnessed by the scores of xenophobic and anti-immigrant measures occurring in immigrant destinations around the world. As political scientist Robert Putnam reminds us, "the central challenge for modern, diversifying societies is to create a new broader sense of *we*" (2007: 139). Inclusion does not happen naturally but requires thoughtful effort. The potential for immigrant backlash is real, especially in localities that feel overly burdened with the responsibilities of immigrant

welfare. The discriminatory and anti-immigrant practices occurring in places as diverse as the state of Arizona with its SB1070 law or Hazelton, Pennsylvania, with its Illegal Immigration Relief Act are reminders of how polarizing immigrant-led demographic change can be.

Yet immigrant gateways are also innovative centres as they construct policies and institutions to make urban spaces diverse, inclusive and socially and economically sustainable for all their residents. Immigrant inclusion succeeds in a variety of gateway types in the United States but it relies upon state and federal legal structures that secure access to primary education, basic civil rights and birthright citizenship. Thus immigrant inclusion may begin in neighbourhoods and in-take centers but it is linked to state and national policies as well. Cities such as Detroit or San Francisco may seek immigrants, but in the end that broader sense of 'we' comes from political, economic and social incorporation at multiple levels of governance.

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