



**Coming to America:  
The Economic Impact of Undocumented  
Workers in South Bend**



**2007-08  
Ganey Collaborative  
Community-Based Project**

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## Executive Summary

In the summer of 2007, we set out to examine the economic impact of undocumented workers on our local South Bend economy. This report presents our findings along with a discussion of the economic evidence on the impact of immigrant workers more generally. We hope this report will provide local policymakers, advocates and concerned citizens with useful evidence as they make decisions affecting the lives of local undocumented workers.

**Study Methods:** We recorded the contributions of undocumented workers to the South Bend economy in the form of a balance sheet which details all the transactions that would typically take place on a monthly basis by an individual in the community. This information was gathered through a survey administered to members of a local Catholic parish and then categorized into groups according to income.

**Basic Findings:** The average undocumented worker in South Bend contributes a net figure of over \$3,000 dollars per month to local and national economies. There may be some immigrants who place a net drain on the economy by consuming more resources than they can contribute, but our results suggest that this effect is not significant enough to cancel out those workers who contribute positively. According to our Census-based estimates of the number of undocumented workers in the area, we have found that these workers contribute a net total between \$2,124,097 and \$10,699,154 per month to the South Bend economy. Ultimately, if the undocumented population of South Bend was deported, the community would have much to lose.

**Extensions:** Contributions of the undocumented are not limited to traditional economics.

Undocumented immigrants could impact society through culture, crime rates, and native job displacements. Our analysis includes survey responses addressing the first two, which suggest a remaining net positive contribution. We discuss the issues of native job and wage loss in our review of other studies although our survey did not examine it directly.



## **I. Report Overview**

The current immigration debate raging in Congress is hardly contained to the rhetoric of lawmakers in Washington D.C. Instead, it is discussed during dinner conversations, is broadcast over radio talk shows, and prompts protestors to take to the streets. Many Americans wonder how millions of undocumented immigrants in the United States affect the national and local labor markets, local housing markets, and social, medical, and educational services. Moreover, they are trying to figure out how undocumented immigrants fit into the larger framework of the broad immigration debate.

We set out to quantify the economic impact of undocumented workers on our local economy: South Bend, Indiana. While foreigners who cross the borders into our country without the proper documentation are violating immigration law, the reality is that these same people continue to become integrated into our everyday lives. They participate in our economy, partake in our resources, and even send their children through our schools. This impact is particularly easy to see in a gateway city such as Miami, but it exists in every area of the country. By measuring the effect of undocumented workers on the South Bend economy, we hope to provide local policymakers with evidence to support a decision about our current situation regarding undocumented workers. Furthermore, we hope that this report can serve as a guide to cities similar to South Bend.

Undocumented immigrants—those who have crossed the borders without authorized documents or have simply overstayed their visas—are a complex reality that is not fully captured by the current literature on immigration. Recent research concerning the impact of unauthorized immigrants on the economy is still in its early stages of understanding the true economic costs and benefits, especially when it comes to looking at a single, non-gateway, and immigrant

receiving city like South Bend. We use current peer-reviewed economic research as a baseline for placing our research about South Bend in the context of the larger literature. Our contributions to the literature are two-fold: 1) we study illegal immigration in a non-metropolitan city and 2) we investigate the economic impact of a single undocumented immigrant on the South Bend community.

For the purposes of this study, we recorded the contributions of undocumented workers to the South Bend economy in the form of a balance sheet which details all the transactions that would typically take place on a monthly basis by an individual in the community. This information was gathered through a survey administered to members of a local Catholic parish and then categorized into groups according to income. While our particular results represent only a portion of the undocumented community in South Bend, the numbers should give us a good idea of the total economic contributions that this group offers.

Our research concludes that undocumented immigrants play an important role in fueling our local and national economies. We find that the average undocumented worker in South Bend contributes a net figure of over \$3,000 per month. In reality, there may be some immigrants who place a net drain on the economy by consuming more resources than they can contribute. Our results suggest, however, that this effect is not significant enough to cancel out those workers who contribute positively. In fact, our numbers show that even those individuals in the lower income quartile contribute positively overall. Based on our estimates of the number of undocumented workers in the area, we have found that the total contribution of these workers is between \$2,124,097 and \$10,699,154 per month. Our measurements do not support the conclusion that undocumented immigrants are a strain on the economy.

There are few widely available studies of the impact of immigrants on particular local communities, so it is difficult to compare our findings to a broad range of estimates, but our reading of the national level studies suggests that our findings are in line with these figures. Sources like the Internal Revenue Service reports that individuals who filed with an Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN) instead of a social security number paid almost \$50 billion in taxes from 1996 to 2003. Similarly, the Center for Immigration Studies claims that “illegals pay substantially more in Social Security and Medicare than they use, creating a net benefit for these two programs of over \$1,800 a year per illegal alien household.” Although it is impossible to know exactly how many undocumented workers are in the country at one time, the Pew Hispanic Center reports that in 2004, approximately 5.9 million of the estimated 10.3 million unauthorized migrants in the country were from Mexico. These uncertainties in the national data point to benefits of this particular study because it involves working with a smaller population and isolating the results to a small part of the country.

The contributions of undocumented workers are not isolated to economics, however. Undocumented immigrants impact society through such aspects as culture, crime rates, and native job displacements. As our analysis will show, these impacts can be both positive and negative; and while the numbers do not fit on a balance sheet, they must also be taken into account when discussing the issue of immigration. Ultimately, if the undocumented population of South Bend were deported, the community would have much to lose. As a *Time* article writes, “Often we don't see the faces of the 12 million undocumented immigrants who help harvest food from our farms and labor in janitorial and other service jobs.”<sup>1</sup> While we may not always take note of these individuals, this study will show that they are most certainly present and contributing to the community.

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<sup>1</sup> “Illegal in America: America’s Hidden Workforce” from *Time*, June 7<sup>th</sup>, 2007, p.1



## **II. Review of Existing Literature Concerning the Economic Contributions of Undocumented Workers**

In this section, we discuss several aspects of the economy which affect and are influenced by the immigration of undocumented workers. Through an exploration of previous research, we mean to provide context for our results in the next section.

### **EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES**

A common claim of those opposed to immigration is that immigrants depress the wages of lower-skilled U.S. born workers and compete for jobs with native-born high school drop-outs. According to economists, the effects of immigration on wages and employment depend on the types of skills being brought to the area. If the immigrants' skills are very similar to those of native-born workers, the wage is likely to go down as the two groups are forced to compete. On the other hand, however, if the skill sets are very different, the two groups could end up being complementary in the work force. Judith K. Gans, program manager for immigration policy at the University of Arizona, states that "in this case, the types of production possibilities expand and wages of complementary workers tend to rise."

Harvard economist George Borjas estimates that foreign born laborers can reduce the incomes of high school drop-outs by between 1.3 and 8 percent. According to Andrew Sum, a director at Northeastern University, "If you're young and male and a high school dropout, chances are you've been displaced by an undocumented immigrant."<sup>2</sup> Conversely, political economist Tamar Jacoby states, "Not even the most pessimistic economists think that the resulting downward pressure on wages affects more than ten percent of the U.S. labor force or

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<sup>2</sup> Cullen, Lisa and Daren Fonda, "What It Means for Your Wallet" from *Time*, Vol.167, Issue 15, 4/10/2006, p.1

that the drop in those American workers' earnings has been more than five percent over the last twenty years."<sup>3</sup>

Economist Giovanni Peri finds that immigrants actually increased the real wages of native-born workers by approximately 1 percent between 1990 and 2000.<sup>4</sup> These workers provide inexpensive labor to native small business owners, resulting in increased profits. Furthermore, the UIC Center for Urban Economic Development in Chicago found that undocumented immigrants in the Chicago metro area helped to create more than 31,000 jobs in the local economy and increase the gross regional product by \$5.45 billion per year.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, between 2002 and 2012, about 56 million new jobs will be generated by the U.S. economy with only half of those jobs commanding skills above a high school degree. At the same time, the number of native-born college graduates has soared to unprecedented levels. Jacoby puts it succinctly, "In 1960 half of all American men dropped out of high school to look for unskilled work, whereas less than ten percent do so now."<sup>6</sup> Griswold adds, "Immigrants are coming in and basically filling the vacuum being left by Americans moving up the skill ladder."<sup>7</sup> Additionally, the native-born work force is not keeping pace with the sheer size of the Baby Boom Generation. Consequently, a gap arises between supply and demand for unskilled labor that is ultimately filled by undocumented immigrants.

Take, for instance, the recent immigrant driven boom to North Carolina's economy. Immigrants have filled one-third of North Carolina's new jobs during the past ten years,

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<sup>3</sup> Jacoby, Tamar, "Immigration Nation," from *Foreign Affairs*, p.56.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, Stuart, "The debate over Immigration's Impact on U.S. Workers and the Economy," p.2

<sup>5</sup> Mehta, Chirag, Nik Theodore, Iliana Mora, Jennifer Wade, "Chicago's Undocumented Immigrants: An Analysis of Wages, Working Conditions, and Economic Contributions," p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Jacoby, Tamar, "Immigration Nation," from *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec2006, Vol.85 Issue6, p.52.

<sup>7</sup> "Immigration Debate" from NewsHour with Jim Lehrer Transcript, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006, available at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour>.

spending \$9.2 billion in consumer goods and saving \$1.9 billion.<sup>8</sup> Compare this \$11 billion gain with the \$61 million drain to the state from newcomers and the net effect is a landslide. Looking at the macro-economic picture, some estimate that all immigrants contribute \$700 billion or 5.4% of GDP to the U.S. economy.<sup>9</sup>

### LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

In addition to large numbers of immigrants coming to the country, we are seeing high rates of labor force participation among undocumented immigrants, making them an integral part of the labor market. Labor force participation rates for undocumented immigrant men are especially high, at 96%. This number exceeds that of native-born men and legal immigrants.

### TAXES

There is a widespread misconception that undocumented immigrants are free-riders, especially in terms of paying taxes. The reality is that undocumented immigrants receive little government aid, are loyal taxpayers, and stimulate job growth in the community. According to Karn, Olsen, and Raffel (1993), “The undocumented, in particular, live largely in the shadows, working hard, fueling the economy, paying taxes from which they cannot benefit, and fearing government intervention.”<sup>10</sup>

In terms of federal taxes, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service estimates that undocumented immigrants paid almost \$50 billion from 1996-2003.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, the Center for Urban Economic Development at the University of Illinois at Chicago found that “sixty-five percent of undocumented immigrants from whom taxes were collected said that they did not file their tax return last year and, of those who did not file returns, 55% did not because of their legal

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<sup>8</sup> Jacoby, Tamar, “Immigration Nation,” from *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec2006, Vol.85 Issue6, p.55.

<sup>9</sup> Jacoby, Tamar, “Immigration Nation,” from *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec2006, Vol.85 Issue6, p.56.

<sup>10</sup> Green, Paul E., “The Undocumented: Educating the Children of Migrant Workers in America,” p.60.

<sup>11</sup> “Paying their Way and Then Some: Facts about the Contributions of Immigrants to Economic Growth and Public Investment,” p.2.

status.”<sup>12</sup> The increase in undocumented immigrants adds to the cost per native household by only about a couple hundred dollars per year, but this cost is more than offset through their contributions in federal, local, and Social Security taxes.

### BUSINESS IMPLICATIONS

Instead of outsourcing, U.S. based companies find it attractive to employ low skilled workers, helping them remain fiscally competitive in the global market. Undocumented immigrants are eager to jump at this opportunity. According to a poll by the Pew Hispanic Centre, given the opportunity, 46% of Mexicans would be willing to relocate to the United States.<sup>13</sup> Scholar Philip Caputo says, “Five dollars an hour looks very good to a man or woman who was earning five dollars a day, and he or she is unlikely to start a union, or agitate for a fatter paycheck and better benefits.”<sup>14</sup> Immigrant labor produces cheap commodities causing prices for goods and services to be low, benefiting the American consumer. Furthermore, 80% of undocumented workers’ earnings remain in the U.S. economy.

Some companies simply cannot pay more to American workers if they plan to stay competitive in the global market. Griswold remarks that companies are “restrained ultimately by what customers are willing to pay on the other end. If wages go up, customers will turn away from the higher prices, and those industries will shrink.”<sup>15</sup> According to John Kasarda, co-author of a study done at the University of North Carolina, because immigrants take the least desirable jobs, “they have kept some industries competitive that would have gone to Mexico and China.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Mehta, Chirag, Nik Theodore, Iliana Mora, Jennifer Wade, “Chicago’s Undocumented Immigrants: An Analysis of Wages, Working Conditions, and Economic Contributions,” p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> “America’s Border Troubles, north and south; America’s borders from *The Economist*, Sept.6, 2005, p.1

<sup>14</sup> Caputo, Philip, “Life on the Line” from *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Spring 2007, Vol.83 issue2, p.15.

<sup>15</sup>“Immigration Debate” from NewsHour with Jim Lehrer Transcript, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006, p.1.

<sup>16</sup> Cullen, Lisa and Daren Fonda, “What It Means for Your Wallet” from *Time*, Vol.167, Issue 15, 4/10/2006, p.1

In essence, immigrants are saving the industries from contracting, thereby rescuing American jobs from being consolidated, dislocated, or simply eliminated.

### WELFARE, HEALTH CARE, AND BENEFITS

A study done on 1,653 documented and undocumented immigrants by the UIC Center for Urban Economic Development finds that only 25% of employed, undocumented immigrants have health insurance.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the study reports that only 12% of these immigrants said that an adult in their household received any benefits from the government such as Medicare, Medicaid, Food Stamps, Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, Welfare, and Supplemental Security Income.<sup>18</sup> Government safety-net programs are under-utilized by undocumented immigrants because they do not want to draw attention to themselves. “The actual use of welfare services by undocumented Latino immigrants is most likely less than 2%.”<sup>19</sup>

The other side of the coin is that undocumented immigrants may be a possible drain on governmental services such as education, health care, and social services. An article in the *Economist* states, “the federal government is probably a net winner, whereas states, which pay a bigger share of schooling and emergency health care, lose out.” Many state officials and hospital executives argue that the federal government should cover the cost of undocumented immigrant care because they are ultimately responsible for the lack of a proper immigration policy. Due to their proximity to Mexico, certain states like Texas, California, and Arizona carry the largest financial burden in terms of welfare, emergency hospital costs, and general benefits.

In order to relieve states and local governments of this expense, the federal government has promised \$1 billion in emergency care to undocumented immigrants. However, hospitals

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<sup>17</sup> Mehta, Chirag, Nik Theodore, Iliana Mora, Jennifer Wade, “Chicago’s Undocumented Immigrants: An Analysis of Wages, Working Conditions, and Economic Contributions,” p. v.

<sup>18</sup> Mehta, Chirag, “Chicago’s Undocumented Immigrants: An Analysis of Wages, Working Conditions, and Economic Contributions,” p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> Green, Paul E., “The Undocumented: Educating the Children of Migrant Workers in America,” p.61.

would have to inquire about resident status. The Hispanic Immigrant Health Care Access Survey found that “when asked if they were afraid they would not receive care because of their immigration status, 33% of the undocumented persons in Houston, 36% of those in Los Angeles, 47% of those in Fresno, and 50% of people in El Paso responded affirmatively.”<sup>20</sup> According to Marcela G. Urrutia, an analyst at the National Council of La Raza, “That could lead to serious public health problems, including the spread of communicable diseases.”<sup>21</sup>

### HOUSING: LONG TERM DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Immigrants and their native-born children are forecasted to be the future homeowners that will be the key in augmenting home ownership growth and ultimately re-balancing the currently slumping market. According to a recent analysis by Harvard University’s Joint Center for Housing Studies, “U.S. household growth from 2005 through 2015 is projected to reach about 14.6 million -- about 2 million greater than in 1995-2005 -- primarily because of greater numbers of immigrants.”<sup>22</sup> An earlier Harvard study claims that, “Most native-born children of immigrants are classified as minorities, and minorities' share of new U.S. households—a key driver of housing demand—is expected to rise from a little more than two-thirds now to more than three-quarters by 2020.”<sup>23</sup>

### EDUCATION

One of the largest costs associated with illegal immigration is public school education. The cost of educating any child in the South Bend school system is \$7,188 per year<sup>24</sup>, whether they are legal or illegal. However, educating undocumented children has long-term benefits

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<sup>20</sup> Berk, Marc L., “Health Care Use Among Undocumented Latino Immigrants,” p.59.

<sup>21</sup> Pear, Robert, “U.S. is Linking Status of Aliens to Hospital Aid,” from *The New York Times*, Vol.153 Issue52937, 8/10/2004, p.1.

<sup>22</sup> Jewell, Mark, “Immigrants play key role in housing,” *South Bend Tribune*, July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2007, p.1

<sup>23</sup> Jewell, Mark, “Immigrants play key role in housing,” *South Bend Tribune*, July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2007, p.1

<sup>24</sup> Sperling’s Best Places, Yahoo! Real Estate (realestate.yahoo.com)

which are outlined in an article by Berna Miller, an American Demographics researcher. First, education helps to keep children off the streets and away from drugs, as “officials fear that children with no education...will turn to gangs and violence as an alternative.” Second, immigrant children have the potential to be skilled, beneficial workers in the local and U.S. economy. Third, with a better education and higher wages, they will pay more taxes. “Ultimately,” Miller argues, “they more than make up for the school and other tax dollars spent on them.” Educating undocumented immigrant children in the short run may be expensive, but the long run benefits will far outweigh these short run costs

### INCARCERATION COSTS AND CRIME

Many Americans believe that the U.S. has become a haven for organized crime, gang violence, and drug smuggling by undocumented immigrants. They assume that there is an inherent link between poor labor outcomes by immigrants and their increased likelihood of participating in criminal activity. In 1995 the Urban Institute released a report that assessed the impact of undocumented immigrants in the states most populated by undocumented immigrants: Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas. The cost of incarceration for 21,395 undocumented immigrants as of March 1994 was assessed at a total of \$471 million.<sup>25</sup>

Despite this discouraging assessment, economists Kristen Butcher and Anne Piehl find that, “immigrants have much lower institutionalization rates than the native born on the order of one-fifth the rate of natives.”<sup>26</sup> Not only are they low, but incarceration rates have declined from

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<sup>25</sup> Zimmerman, Joseph, “Assessing the costs of illegal immigration” from *National Civic Review*, Spring/Summer95, Vol.84 Issue 2, p.151.

<sup>26</sup> Butcher, Kristen F. and Anne Morrison Piehl, “Why are Immigrants' Incarceration Rates so Low? Evidence on Selective Immigration, Deterrence, and Deportation” from NBER Working Paper No. 13229, July 2007, p.1.

1980 to 2000. In general, undocumented immigrants do not commit crimes simply because they come to the United States to contribute and provide for their families, not to disrupt society.

## CONCLUSION

The debate as to whether or not undocumented immigrants are beneficial to the economy or a strain on local and federal resources is controversial, nuanced, and seemingly unending. Policy makers are divided, but even among co-workers at the economically based Rand Corporation, there is disagreement over the quantitative end result. Some found that immigrants can run a “surplus” to the community of \$1,400 per immigrant. Others concluded that immigrant usage of public services can cause a “deficit” to the community of \$1,600.<sup>27</sup> At first glance, it appears that both sides have ample evidence to support their claims.

### **III. Survey Data Collection and Balance Sheet Construction**

In order to identify the total economic effect of undocumented workers in the South Bend economy, our approach was to put together a balance sheet detailing the transactions that residents have with local vendors, government organizations, employers, and all other organizations (a blank template of this balance sheet can be found in Table 2 of the Appendix). The goal was to identify both the costs to the economy from undocumented workers, including social programs and benefits received, and the amount that these workers put back into the economy with everyday consumption and taxes. With an exhaustive list of the transactions that take place in this community, a comparison was drawn between the costs and benefits of keeping undocumented workers in the community. This cost/benefit analysis yields the average cost of deporting a single undocumented worker from South Bend.

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<sup>27</sup> Cullen, Lisa and Daren Fonda, “What It Means for Your Wallet” from *Time*, Vol.167, Issue 15, 4/10/2006, p.2.



The figures for the balance sheet were obtained by conducting surveys of members from St. Adalbert's parish in South Bend. Our survey was based on the Consumer Expenditure Survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Survey of Income Program and Participation from the U.S. Census Bureau, allowing us to compile a survey designed to capture the transactions of a typical resident of the community as completely as possible.

The majority of the data came from an hour long survey that was distributed to a random sample of 60 different individuals, 40 of whom were undocumented. In discussing the survey with subjects we would inform them that we were working with St. Adalbert's, conducting a survey on immigration. We would then outline what we hoped to achieve with our survey. We also stated that the survey was entirely anonymous in order to increase participation and prevent bias. Once we confirmed that the subject would be willing to take the survey, we would outline the details of the survey logistics. Those whom we called to take the survey would meet us after Mass on Sunday and follow us to the church offices to take the survey. It lasted roughly an hour and was administered after the two Spanish language masses each Sunday for five weeks.

The project was initiated by Fr. Chris Cox, a priest at St. Adalbert's Parish in South Bend. It was logical to choose St. Adalbert's as our base in order to save time and maintain a large sample. Importantly, St. Adalbert's offers a window to the South Bend immigrant community as it is the local parish for the city's largest Hispanic neighborhood. In an effort to keep the results unbiased, all participants of this study were selected at random from a database of parish members. Because the participants all knew Fr. Cox, working directly from the parish gave us the advantage of gaining their trust. We felt more confident that participants would give honest and complete answers to our survey if they believed that their information would not be released to officials.

These individuals were asked general questions about their income level and their spending and saving habits in order to provide an income-based report of economic costs and benefits. They were also asked more detailed questions about specific goods and services they spend money on and specific government programs that they may receive benefits from. In addition to the balance sheet questions our participants answered, they were asked to answer personal questions about such things as their education level, their residence status, and that of their family members. These questions were designed to give a detailed profile of the typical residents in this community and allow for the comparison of consumption patterns across different groups of people. Participants in this study were assured that every effort was being taken to maintain confidentiality; and, as an extra incentive, individuals who filled out the questionnaire were given a five dollar gift card.

While the main objective was to create a balance sheet of costs and benefits of undocumented workers in the area, it is clear that not all contributions of the immigrant population are economic. There are benefits and costs such as cultural diversity or increased crime that are difficult to capture on a balance sheet. In order to address this, several open-ended questions were included on the survey and were taken into consideration. In Table 3 of the Appendix, we disclose the percentages of respondents who have been arrested and those who donate, to name a few of these other categories. By addressing these issues, a more complete understanding of the impact of illegal residents in the community is achieved.

Because of the time constraint of administering the long survey, the sample size was smaller than the original goal. In order to supplement the data received in the smaller sample size of the extended survey, a one-page version of this survey was created to add depth to the original sample. This short survey was given before Mass at two different services over three

weeks. In the end, we collected over 100 of these short, ten question surveys. The short surveys attempted to capture the same information as the long surveys but in less detail. This information provided a larger sample size than what could have been achieved with the original survey alone; and, thus, the results are likely to be more accurate than they otherwise would have been. The results of the long and short surveys are found in Table 3 and Table 4 of the Appendix, respectively.

Once this information was collected, it was assembled into a database and analyzed using a statistical analysis data package. Averages, as well as quartile stratifications of the figures collected, were used to obtain estimates of the financial transactions of undocumented workers in the South Bend economy. The survey data allowed us to estimate the income, consumption, taxes paid, and benefits received by members of a local South Bend parish each month. The numbers represent the impact of a single adult in the community, not an entire family. The data was divided into two groups. The first group, the Assets, represents the flow of money which indicates a benefit to the community. The other group, the Liabilities, covered the opposite case: those flows which have negative financial impacts on the community. Workers were then categorized into groups based on their monthly income level. Within each income-based quartile, mean figures were obtained in order to get a more complete picture of the range of effects undocumented immigrants have on the community. These figures were then put into a balance sheet so that informed inferences could be made regarding the total impact of undocumented workers in the local economy.

The major drawback of working out of St. Adalbert's parish is that the immigrant population being studied was almost entirely Hispanic. While the information gained is certainly

still beneficial to the community, further studies should be conducted comparing the different economic impacts of different immigrant communities.

While it might appear at first that drawing the sample from a single parish might skew the results, we have concluded that the results are valid because one of the central aspects of Hispanic culture is the focus on religious involvement. According to a study done by the Hispanic Churches in American Public Life project, 93% of Latinos identify as Christian, with 70% identifying as Roman Catholic. Furthermore, 53% of Latinos report that “religion provides a ‘great deal of guidance’ in their day-to-day living.” We also feel that the difference between South Bend and the gateway cities in the United States is that, in order to be drawn to South Bend, immigrants are more likely to have family or friends here. This would lead us to believe that there are stronger family ties because of this connection. Indeed, researchers at Ohio State report that the Hispanic family is traditionally “the most important social unit.” We believe that this stronger family connection leads to a higher attendance at Mass of the Hispanic population. Therefore, we are confident that gathering our data from St. Adalbert’s Parish does indeed provide a sample that is representative of the Hispanic immigrant community in South Bend.

The other possible downfall of our research is that the data is looked at from a single point in time, rather than monitoring the pool of people over multiple years. A longitudinal survey that captures the progress or impact of undocumented immigrants over time was not possible, given the time constraint we faced.

#### **IV. Results and Estimation of the Balance Sheet**

The first item we analyze is the income of undocumented workers. Measures of wage and salary income allow the researchers to assign a monetary value to the labor the

undocumented workers provide to the community. This labor is a benefit to the community; thus, the income earned by the laborers quantifies the economic benefit to the community. It should be noted that, more often than not, undocumented workers receive less than the market wage. The data shows that the undocumented workers, on average, received a labor income of \$933.07 per month with a 25<sup>th</sup> percentile value of \$7.77 and a 75<sup>th</sup> percentile value of \$1,723.79. We believe this data seems reasonable because these figures equate to \$5.83 per hour based on a forty hour week, which is approximately minimum wage. These numbers also include a group

Table 1: Balance Sheet

Undocumented Workers,  
South Bend, IN

Balance Sheet

<b>Assets</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Quartile</b>	<b>Middle 50%</b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> Quartile</b>
Observations		10	20	10
Income				
Labor Income	\$933.07	\$7.77	\$1108.18	\$1723.79
Property Income	\$12.50	\$0	\$22.22	\$0
Child Support or Alimony	\$30.00	\$0	\$50	\$0
Investments				
U.S. Investments	\$751.97	\$0	\$1009.26	\$439.25
Foreign Investments	-\$28.25	\$0	-\$45.45	-\$4.16
Remittances	-\$53.85	-\$50.38	-\$162.00	-\$95.83
<b>Total Family Income</b>	<b>\$1,645.44</b>	<b>-\$42.61</b>	<b>\$1,982.21</b>	<b>\$2,063.05</b>
Taxes				
Federal Income Taxes	\$172.68	\$221.98	\$110.42	\$122.22
State and Local Income Taxes	\$68.52	\$69.44	\$43.44	\$83.33
Social Security Tax	\$33.57	\$19.17	\$0	\$79.94
Other Taxes	\$20.37	\$16.67	\$33.33	\$0
<b>Total Taxes</b>	<b>\$295.14</b>	<b>\$327.26</b>	<b>\$187.19</b>	<b>\$285.49</b>
House Payments				
Rent/Mortgage	\$132.68	\$81.90	\$147.83	\$160.88
Property Taxes	\$190.50	\$126.72	\$251.35	\$181.24
Maintenance and Repairs	\$162.50	\$292.00	\$105.00	\$148.00
Utilities	\$392.82	\$457.78	\$381.14	\$340.25
<b>Total Payments</b>	<b>\$878.50</b>	<b>\$958.40</b>	<b>\$885.32</b>	<b>\$830.12</b>

Consumer Goods				
Housekeeping Supplies	\$26.67	\$31.11	\$25.00	\$25.83
Postage and Stationary Items	\$10.71	\$12.78	\$11.17	\$5.83
Small Appliances and Miscellaneous	\$23.51	\$41.67	\$17.88	\$0
House Wares				
Clothing	\$47.57	\$31.11	\$46.67	\$75.00
General Services	\$11.91	\$5.11	\$12.15	\$21.33
Cigarettes and Smoking Paraphernalia	\$0.76	\$0	\$1.28	\$0
Household Furnishing and Major Equipment	\$198.33	\$61.11	\$227.78	\$433.33
<b>Total Goods</b>	<b>\$319.46</b>	<b>\$182.89</b>	<b>\$341.93</b>	<b>\$561.32</b>
Food				
Grocery Store	\$301.93	\$212.50	\$349.41	\$286.67
Restaurants	\$54.24	\$39.05	\$58.67	\$66.67
Entertainment	\$36.59	\$33.33	\$36.53	\$41.33
Donations				
Charitable Cash Contributions	\$110.00	\$181.67	\$28.89	\$66.67
Other Donations	\$20.83	\$25.83	\$22.67	\$11.11
Gifts of Goods or Services	\$168.57	\$0	\$236.00	\$0
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>\$1,011.62</b>	<b>\$675.27</b>	<b>\$1,074.10</b>	<b>\$1,033.77</b>
Transportation Costs				
Monthly Car Expenses	\$176.43	\$212.50	\$175.26	\$143.13
Vehicle Insurance	\$91.62	\$99.57	\$86.94	\$94.83
<b>Total Payments</b>	<b>\$268.05</b>	<b>\$312.07</b>	<b>\$262.20</b>	<b>\$237.96</b>
Health Costs				
Health Insurance	\$42.24	\$7.50	\$46.88	\$62.60
Medical Services and Supplies	\$75.51	\$95.00	\$70.91	\$70.02
Prescription Drugs and Medicine	\$35.25	\$26.00	\$36.50	\$42.00
Life Insurance	\$29.00	\$0	\$18.00	\$40.00
Disability Insurance	\$64.00	\$0	\$0	\$64.00
<b>Total Payments</b>	<b>\$246.00</b>	<b>\$128.50</b>	<b>\$172.29</b>	<b>\$278.62</b>
<b>Total Assets</b>	<b>\$4,344.75</b>	<b>\$2,358.89</b>	<b>\$4,563.31</b>	<b>\$4,729.01</b>

## Liabilities

Benefits				
Educational Assistance				
<b>Total Benefits Received</b>	<b>\$53.75</b>	<b>\$50.00</b>	<b>\$70.45</b>	<b>\$0</b>
Education				
<b>Cost of Educating Children</b>	<b>\$1,144.19</b>	<b>\$1,144.19</b>	<b>\$1,144.19</b>	<b>\$1,144.19</b>
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>\$1,197.94</b>	<b>\$1,194.19</b>	<b>\$1,214.64</b>	<b>\$1,144.19</b>

<b>Balance</b>	<b>\$3,146.81</b>	<b>\$1,164.70</b>	<b>\$3,348.67</b>	<b>\$3,584.82</b>
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of immigrants who do not work, and, therefore, have labor income of \$0 per month, suggesting that the average wage among working immigrants is most likely higher than our numbers indicate.

The next lines of the balance sheet examine property income and child support/alimony. Property income refers to the average income an individual draws from property they own, mainly from rent charged to those living in the owned home. The data indicates that undocumented workers in South Bend, on average, make a property income of only \$12.50 per month; however, the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile has a value of \$0 indicating there are only a few high, outliers.<sup>28</sup> This is a reasonable number because it indicates that only a few immigrants are making an income on their property through such methods as renting out rooms or second properties.

The investment statistics are difficult to analyze because their corresponding questions may have been misunderstood. The goal of these questions was to determine how much an individual invested in the stock market and other investments on a monthly basis. The average value of \$751.97 appears to be slightly high for our population. The data has been sorted into quartiles based on labor income, so the investments section shows an atypical distribution of investments. The median investment value is \$1,009.26, while the upper quartile has an investment of \$439.25 per month. This may be due to the higher income individuals spending more of their money instead of investing as the median group appears to have done. In addition, only 15 of 41 survey participants provided an estimate of their US investments, so the surprising distribution could be a result of underreporting. One other alternative explanation could be that many participants in the middle or lower quartiles misinterpreted this question.

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<sup>28</sup> Throughout the balance sheet, percentile values are based on labor income quartiles. For example, the middle quartile value of \$22.22 in property income means that individuals in the middle quartile of labor income have property income of \$22.22.

One of the major issues regarding immigration is the issue of remittances. It seems to be a misconception that undocumented workers in the South Bend area send back most of their income and plan to return home as soon as possible. Only 46% of undocumented survey participants report that they would seriously consider moving back home permanently at some point. Remittances are often used by the families of immigrants in their home countries to support themselves or sometimes as means to provide passage to America. The data gathered shows that undocumented workers do not typically send back a large sum of money, averaging only \$53.85 per month. Instead, the undocumented workers are building lives for themselves in America.

The amount of money that the undocumented immigrants give in donations and gifts is added to the consumption numbers to indicate a choice to spend money. These donations are an asset to the community.

Secondly, we analyze taxes paid by undocumented workers. This figure represents the amount of income that goes directly back to local and federal governments. Individual undocumented workers reported that they pay an average value of approximately \$295.14 in total taxes each month. Within the breakdown of taxes, the highest amount is reportedly spent on Federal Income Tax at an average of \$172.68 per month. Data collected from City-Data.com on the west South Bend zip code 46619 where the research was completed indicates an average monthly tax paid of \$297.83. The close proximity of this statistic with our results adds a great deal of reliability to our data set because it shows the statistics gathered in a larger sample yield the same results as our sample of the area.

Although our average figures seem to agree with other estimates given, the numbers within the income distribution do not make as much sense. Participants reported that those who



make the least amount of money pay the most taxes, with the bottom quartile reporting an average figure of \$327.26. Like on the case of investments, this counterintuitive distribution could be due to underreporting as only 4 out of 22 workers, or 18%, of workers in the middle 50% reported a figure for monthly federal taxes paid.

Undocumented workers show commitment to the community when they decide to invest in a home, regardless of whether it is renting or owning. The data shows the payments for an individual over the course of a month with regards to their home and upkeep. These payments are seen as benefits because the money spent employs others in the economy. The expenditures that undocumented workers make on utilities and upkeep of the home causes there to be a flow of money back into the economy.

One asset which is important to the community is the expenditures of the undocumented workers. These expenditures are seen as an asset because, like rent and utility payments, they put the money earned by the immigrants back into the community by providing others an income. Consumption, transportation, and health care costs are all considered expenditures and, thus, an asset because these items transfer money from the earners back into the community.

Individual consumption is listed as an asset because this money is, for the most part, returned directly to the community. Separate categories of consumption were taken from the National Consumer Expenditure Report. Survey participants reported consumption estimates for their household, so these numbers were then divided by 1.5, which is the average number of adults per household. The figure for total expenditures was then calculated by summing the individual categories.

The figure for total consumption, which includes consumer goods, food expenditures, entertainment, and charitable donations, was reported at an average of \$1,011.62 per individual

per month. The two largest variables contributing to this estimate were household furnishings and total food consumed. The amount spent on consumer goods ranges from \$182.89 in the lower quartile of the income distribution to \$561.32 in the upper quartile. The average figure for the middle 50% is \$341.93. In addition, the undocumented workers surveyed contribute, on average, \$299.40 to family and charity in the form of cash or other types of donations and gifts.

Transportation is the next expenditure that was observed. On average, the total amount of payments spent on vehicles by undocumented workers is \$268.05. According to the survey, those workers in the lower quartile spend the most money on vehicle maintenance and insurance with a mean figure of \$312.07. Those in the upper quartile spend an average of only \$237.96 per month. This could possibly be because those workers who make a higher income can afford a better car that requires less maintenance each month.

The final asset we addressed is health care. While the government pays certain liabilities to local residents in terms of Medicare or Medicaid, undocumented workers contribute an estimated average figure of \$246.00 per month back to the community in terms of health insurance, medical supplies, and medicinal drugs. Due to the nature of the companies which provide these services, a smaller portion of this consumption remains in the community, with the rest going to multinational companies. These insurance companies are then obligated to pay the doctors for the services which they provided, bringing the money back into South Bend.

As our survey results show (Table 3), only a quarter of the population of undocumented workers visits a doctor or nurse when they are sick. Instead, 72.5% of the population reports that they attend some type of clinic, whether it is public or migrant, when they are in need of medical attention. This figure is most likely causally related to our estimates of health insurance. As we can see, approximately 42.5% of undocumented workers in South Bend receive no type of

medical insurance, and only 22.5% receive this coverage from their employer. Because costs of healthcare are so high, those workers that do not receive health insurance from their employers cannot afford to go see a doctor in an office, but must, instead, get medical care from a clinic.

Total assets are the total positive benefits each immigrant has on the South Bend community before the costs are considered. The figures sum to show a positive monthly benefit of undocumented workers on the South Bend community of an average of \$4,344.75. The figures range from a 25<sup>th</sup> percentile value of \$2,358.89 to a 75<sup>th</sup> percentile value of \$4,729.01. The average figure for total assets for undocumented workers in the middle range is \$4,563.31. The close proximity of the mean and median indicates that the results follow a normal distribution curve without any large outliers in one particular direction.

The second section of the balance sheet moves on to consider ways in which immigrants cost the community resources. Two major liabilities to the government are public benefits and the cost of public education. Public benefits include such programs as food stamps, Medicare, Medicaid, social security, government housing, and the Women, Infant and Children Nutrition Program (WIC). Of these different programs, the most utilized by our survey participants are WIC at 40% of respondents and Medicare at 32.5%. On average, the undocumented worker receives \$53.75 in benefits per month, although the figures range from \$0 to \$70.45. We should also keep in mind that while we have no data on the costs of providing medical care through clinics, the fact that many undocumented workers receive these services should be considered a cost to the community.

The most substantial cost associated with undocumented workers is the education of their children. Undocumented immigrants have, on average, almost two children per couple, and their education costs the City of South Bend nearly \$1,150 per month. When combining this number

with the total amount of benefits that the government pays, it generates an average total liabilities figure of \$1,197.94. The range of figures in this section are less varied with a lower quartile figure of \$1,194.19, a middle 50% figure of \$1,214.64, and an upper quartile value of \$1,144.19. Those workers in the upper quartile have the lowest value for total liabilities because they make more income and, thus, need less help from the government.

After comparing total assets and total liabilities, our mean values show a positive balance of \$3,146.81, signifying that undocumented workers, on average, have a positive economic impact on the South Bend community. The lowest figure reported comes from those workers in the lower income quartile, but it is still positive at \$1,164.70. Even if a category such as investments was removed from the balance sheet because of inaccurate results, or if we had figures on the cost of medical care received, the balance would likely remain positive. In the case of removing investment, the mean value would be \$2,423.09. We also note that figures obtained from the short survey (Table 4) indicate that the net contribution of undocumented workers is positive: mean monthly income and savings for these individuals total \$1548.93, while mean remittances and benefits total \$157.50. Even subtracting the average educational cost of \$1,144.19, and omitting the large and important benefit of the value of the worker's labor, a positive contribution of \$247.24 per worker remains.

According to the U.S. Census, approximately 6.4% of the South Bend population is foreign born. If we assume that anywhere from 10 to 50% of those foreign born are undocumented, we could estimate that there are between 675 and 3,400 undocumented workers in South Bend. This would mean that, on average, undocumented immigrants are contributing between \$2,124,097 and \$10,699,154 per month.

While the average figure gives a good indication of what type of contribution an undocumented worker makes to the community, it is necessary to also look at the upper and lower quartile values for comparison. The discrepancy between those workers in the low and high quartiles displays variation, which is reasonable when you look at the community as a whole. There are many undocumented immigrants who work hard and contribute much to the economy, yet there are also some who inevitably use more resources than they can contribute. On the whole, however, our results show that the majority of workers come to this country and accept low wages for the services they provide, which ultimately results in a net benefit to the economy.

Although the balance sheet is able to capture many factors associated with how undocumented workers affect the area in which they live, there are some factors which cannot be represented by these numbers. One negative factor which is descriptive of the city on the whole, and not the Hispanic community, is the crime rate. South Bend averages two times the national average in murders and forcible rapes at 20 and 80 per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively.<sup>29</sup> The specific numbers regarding the Hispanic crime rates are unavailable publicly, but this high crime rate cannot be entirely attributed to a relatively small proportion of the community. Only 4% of those surveyed were convicted of a crime.

Another issue which is not easily captured in the balance sheet is the loss of jobs experienced by Americans who cannot compete with the low wage demands of immigrants. Although, as previously stated, the Council of Economic Advisors states that, on average, Americans, especially business owners, are helped by less expensive labor. This inexpensive labor helps the community by allowing products to be made at a lower cost and, thus, more affordable to those in the community. Often times these are the jobs that many other people are

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<sup>29</sup>CityRating.com <http://www.cityrating.com/citycrime.asp?city=South+Bend&state=IN>

not willing take due to low pay and tough conditions. Despite making the community better off, there are still individuals who will suffer a loss of their job from less expensive competition.

Immigrants entering South Bend also provide intangible benefits to the community. They provide life to the town by increasing a dwindling population as is seen by the -2.7% growth rate<sup>30</sup>. As high paying jobs have left the South Bend region, many residents have followed. The inflow of immigrants helps to prevent a decrease in population that has otherwise been taking place over the last few years.

In addition, the Hispanic emphasis on religion and family indicates that these immigrants may be more inclined to participate in community services available, which helps maintain a cleaner, safer environment in which to live. According to the Hispanic Churches in American Public Life report, more than 60% of all Latinos “want their religious organization or church to become more involved with social, educational, and political issues.” The tie between the Hispanic population and religion leads us to believe that the high crime rate in the city may not be a result of the increase in immigrants, and this conclusion is further supported by our data.

## **V. Conclusion**

After careful analysis of the data, it is apparent that the effect of undocumented immigrants on the South Bend community is drastically different than what many Americans believe. As our data shows, undocumented immigrants in South Bend do not cause an overall net economic drain on the community. Contrary to these beliefs, the undocumented immigrants are an essential part of the economy and important for maintaining stability. Immigrants pay

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<sup>30</sup> City-Data.com

taxes, do not use as many government benefits as citizens, and often take lower wages for unskilled labor.

The Council of Economic Advisors' research shows that, for the most part, immigrants are not taking jobs from natives, but are, instead, proving to be complements to their work. The addition of these immigrants is not hurting the native population; rather, it is helping the natives earn a higher real wage due to increased efficiency at lower wages. By hiring these immigrants, Americans are able to get more done while avoiding paying exorbitant wages.

Because the average undocumented worker contributes positively to South Bend, it would not make much economic sense to deport those individuals who are in the country illegally. Our economy would lose a vital source of unskilled labor, forcing native workers to take undesirable jobs and pushing the cost of labor higher for firms. An alternative solution would be to convert status for these individuals so that they would become residents of the United States with the proper documentation to stay. This solution could even allow immigrants to take better jobs, pay more taxes, and ultimately contribute to the community on an even more positive level. However, this may also result in increased use of services such as welfare and Medicaid. As our research focused on only the current status of undocumented workers in South Bend, this is an avenue for further research that should be explored in the near future.

## Appendix



Table 2: Blank Balance Sheet

Undocumented Workers,  
South Bend, IN

Balance Sheet

<b>Assets</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Quartile</b>	<b>Middle 50%</b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> Quartile</b>
Income				
Labor Income				
Property Income				
Child Support or Alimony				
Investments				
U.S. Investments				
Foreign Investments				
Remittances				
<hr/>				
<b>Total Family Income</b>				
Taxes				
Federal Income Taxes				
State and Local Income Taxes				
Social Security Tax				
Other Taxes				
<hr/>				
<b>Total Taxes</b>				
House Payments				
Rent/Mortgage				
Property Taxes				
Maintenance and Repairs				
Utilities				
<hr/>				
<b>Total Payments</b>				
Consumer Goods				
Housekeeping Supplies				
Postage and Stationary Items				
Small Appliances and Miscellaneous				
House Wares				
Clothing				
General Services				
Cigarettes and Smoking Paraphernalia				
Household Furnishing and Major				
Equipment				
<b>Total Goods</b>				
Food				
Grocery Store				
Restaurants				
Entertainment				
Donations				
Charitable Cash Contributions				
Other Donations				
Gifts of Goods or Services				
<hr/>				
<b>Total Expenses</b>				

Transportation Costs  
Monthly Car Expenses  
Vehicle Insurance

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**Total Payments**

Health Costs  
Health Insurance  
Medical Services and Supplies  
Prescription Drugs and Medicine  
Life Insurance  
Disability Insurance

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**Total Payments**

**Total Assets**

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**Liabilities**

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Benefits  
Educational  
Assistance  
**Total Benefits Received**

Education  
**Cost of Educating Children**

**Total Liabilities**

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**Balance**

Table 3: Long Survey Outcomes

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
<b>Observations</b>	13	8	40
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	Mean: 69.2% (.480)	25.0% (.463)	40.0% (.496)
Female	Mean: 30.8% (.480)	75.0% (.463)	52.5% (.506)
<b>Age</b>	Mean: 46.5 (14.1)	48.8 (11.6)	39.8 (9.88)
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Single	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	12.5% (.354)	7.5% (.267)
Living with a companion as married	Mean: 0%*	0%*	12.5% (.335)
Married and in the same household as spouse	Mean: 69.2% (.480)	62.5% (.518)	75.0% (.439)
Married but in a different household as spouse	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
Divorced or legally separated	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	2.5% (.158)
Widowed	Mean: 15.4% (.176)	0%	0%
<b>Children born in the U.S.</b>	Mean: 2.7* (2.06)	1.0 (1.20)	1.4 (1.34)
<b>Children born abroad</b>	Mean: 1.5 (3.82)	1.9 (2.30)	1.2 (1.24)
<b>Children naturalized</b>	Mean: 0.8 (3.05)	0.3 (.707)	0.1 (.354)
<b>Home Country</b>			
Argentina	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%	0%
Ecuador	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
Mexico	Mean: 76.9% (.439)	100%	95.0% (.221)
Nicaragua	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
Other	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
<b>Native Language</b>			
Spanish	Mean: 92.3% (.277)	100%	100%
English	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
<b>How long in U.S.</b>	Mean: 28.5* (20.1)	13.4 (8.78)	9.85 (5.08)
<b>Long term residency goals</b>			
Live Permanently	Mean: 84.6% (.376)	75.0% (.463)	77.5% (.423)
Stay up to 10 years before returning	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	12.5% (.354)	7.5% (.267)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
Return when stable	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	7.5% (.267)
<b>Ability to read English</b>			
I can not read English	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	10.0% (.304)
I can read basic words or phrases	Mean: 0%*	0%*	10.0% (.304)
I can read simple things	Mean: 7.7%* (.277)	0%*	52.5% (.506)
I can read most things	Mean: 53.9% (.519)	25.0% (.463)	25.0% (.506)
I can read anything I want	Mean: 30.8%* (.480)	50.0%* (.535)	2.5% (.158)
<b>Ability to write English</b>			
I cannot write English	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	7.5% (.267)
I can write basic words or phrases	Mean: 0%*	0%*	27.5% (.452)
I can write simple things	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	0%*	42.5% (.501)
I can write most things	Mean: 30.8% (.480)	37.5% (.518)	15.0% (.376)
I can write anything I want	Mean: 38.5%* (.506)	37.5% (.518)	5.0% (.221)
<b>Ability to hear English</b>			
I cannot understand English	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	7.5% (.267)
I can understand basic words	Mean: 0%*	0%*	15.0% (.376)
I can understand simple conversations	Mean: 0%*	0%*	35.0% (.483)
I can understand most things	Mean: 30.8% (.480)	12.5% (.354)	27.5% (.452)
I can understand anything I want	Mean: 61.5%* (.506)	62.5%* (.518)	15.0% (.376)
<b>Ability to speak English</b>			
I cannot speak English	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	10.0% (.304)
I can speak a few words or phrases	Mean: 0%*	0%*	15.0% (.376)
I can carry on simple everyday conversations	Mean: 23.1% (.489)	0%*	42.5% (.501)
I can carry on most conversations	Mean: 38.5% (.506)	37.5% (.518)	27.5% (.452)
I can say anything I need or want	Mean: 30.8% (.480)	37.5% (.518)	5.0% (.221)
<b>Years of school abroad</b>			
Primary School	Mean: 4.2 (2.64)	5.6 (1.06)	5.2 (2.03)
Secondary School	Mean: 1.9 (1.95)	2.4 (2.20)	1.8 (2.01)
Trade School	Mean: 1.8 (1.44)	2.0 (2.78)	0.6 (1.35)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
University	Mean: 0.0	1.6 (2.33)	0.3 (1.02)
<b>Years of school in U.S.</b>			
Primary School	Mean: 1.8 (2.95)	0.0*	0.2 (.723)
Secondary School	Mean: 0.8 (1.92)	0.3 (.707)	0.03 (.158)
Trade School	Mean: 0.1 (.277)	0.0	0.1 (.632)
University	Mean: 1.4 (2.63)	0.0*	0.0
<b>Old Occupation</b>			
Farm work, fishing or forest work	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%*	10.0% (.304)
Unskilled labor	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
Taxi driver or other truck driver	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	2.5% (.159)
Working in someone's home	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.159)
Hotel and restaurant worker	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	0%
Building trades such as carpenter or plumber	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Skilled construction worker	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Mechanical services and repair	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.159)
Factory or assembly work	Mean: 0%*	0%*	12.5% (.335)
Cleric or sales work	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	5.0% (.221)
Technician	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	12.5% (.354)	0%
Professional or managerial	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.462)	7.5% (.267)
Full-time mother, homemaker	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	12.5% (.354)	20.0% (.405)
Healthcare	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.159)
Food services	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	2.5% (.159)
Did not work	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%*	17.5% (.385)
<b>Have steady job</b>	Mean: 69.2% (.480)	85.7% (.378)	70.0% (.464)
If not, how many weeks look for work	Mean: 0.3 (.577)	8.0 (.000)	44.4 (88.8)
If not, how many weeks without pay	Mean: .3 (.577)	10 (.000)	52.5 (100.4)
<b>Without paid work at any point over last 6 months</b>	Mean: 0%*	25.0% (.463)	18.9% (.397)
Illness of a family member	Mean: 0%	0%	0%

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
Temporary or indefinite layoff	Mean: 0%	25.0% (.463)	5.0% (.221)
Lack of childcare	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Lack of transportation	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
Employer discrimination	Mean: 0%	0%	0%
Work to do at home	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
Other	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
<b>Received job preparation services</b>	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	75.0%* (.463)	23.7% (.432)
<b>Current Occupation</b>			
Unskilled Labor	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%	7.5% (.267)
Taxi driver or other truck driver	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	0%
Working in someone's home	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	7.5% (.267)
Hotel and restaurant worker	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%*	10.0% (.304)
Building trades such as carpenter or plumber	Mean: 0%	0%	7.5% (.267)
Skilled construction worker	Mean: 0%*	0%*	17.5% (.385)
Mechanical services and repair	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Factory or assembly work	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	5.0% (.221)
Cleric or sales work	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%	2.5% (.158)
Technician	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	0%
Professional or managerial	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	0%
Small business operator	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
Full-time mother, homemaker	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%*	12.5% (.335)
Healthcare	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
Food services	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	0%
Other	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Does not work	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)
<b>Salaried Employee</b>	Mean: 41.7% (.515)	37.5% (.518)	15.6% (.369)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant	
<b>Hourly Employee</b>	If yes, monthly salary	Mean: \$1525 P25: \$1350* Median: \$1500 P75: \$1700 (221.7)	\$1200 \$1200 \$1200 \$1200	\$1009.11 \$500 \$1200 \$1350 (569.1)
	Hours per week	Mean: 42.14 P25: 40 Median: 45 P75: 50 (11.1)	52.5 22 42.5 52.5 (23.7)	32.57 30 38 40 (14.4)
	If yes, hourly wage	Mean: 54.6% (.522)	71.4% (.488)	77.1% (.426)
	Hours per week	Mean: \$14.01 P25: \$10.1 Median: \$10.60 P75: \$13.75 (7.99)	\$12.01 \$9.68 \$11.04 \$14.35 (3.86)	\$9.14 \$7.25 \$9.25 \$10 (2.06)
	Spouse's salary	Mean: 37.4 P25: 30 Median: 40 P75: 40 (12.4)	40 40 40 40	40 40 38.2 40 (8.24)
	Property income	Mean: \$875 P25: \$300 Median: \$900 P75: \$1500 (647.5)	\$1300 \$0 \$1250 \$2600 (1503.3)	\$722.77 \$8 \$700 \$1280 (704.0)
	Child support or alimony	Mean: \$55 P25: \$0 Median: \$0 P75: \$0 (121.2)	\$160 \$0 \$0 \$0 (391.9)	\$12.50 \$0 \$0 \$0 (50.0)
	U.S. Investments	Mean: 162.50 P25: \$0 Median: \$0 P75: \$0 (459.6)	\$54.17 \$0 \$0 \$0 (132.7)	\$30 \$0 \$0 \$0 (84.1)
	Foreign Investments	Mean: \$7125 P25: \$0 Median: \$0 P75: \$0 (20152.5)	\$13333.33 \$0 \$0 \$0 (32659.7)	\$9023.63 \$0 \$0 \$26000 (15624.5)
	<b>Total Family Income</b>	Mean: \$500 P25: \$0 Median: \$0 P75: \$0 (1581.1)	\$4166.67 \$0 \$0 \$0 (10206.2)	\$338.94 \$0 \$0 \$0 (1187.7)
	Mean: \$2368.30* P25: \$2000* Median: \$2450 P75: \$3000 (858.5)	\$2633.33* \$2500 \$2650 \$3000 (662.3)	\$1469.70 \$1000 \$1400 \$1800 (720.9)	

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
<b>Total Household Income</b>	Mean: \$4712 P25: \$1300 Median: \$2400 P75: \$3000 (8463.5)	\$2971.43* \$1700 \$2700 \$4000 (1254.0)	\$1535.97 \$1150 \$1500 \$1960 (778.3)
<b>Benefits Received</b>			
Food Stamps	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%*	15.0% (.362)
AFDC	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
SSI	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%	0%
Medicare	Mean: 53.9% (.519)	0%*	32.5% (.474)
Medicaid	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%*	10.0% (.304)
Government Housing	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Social Security	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	0%*	0%
Unemployment Insurance	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
Workers' Compensation	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	0%
WIC	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	0%*	40.0% (.496)
Other	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
<b>Reason for forgoing public assistance</b>	Mean: 30.0% (.483)	14.3% (.378)	20.0% (.406)
Unaware it was available	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
I did not know where to go	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
Concerned I couldn't achieve permanent residence status	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	0%
Language Barrier	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	7.5% (.267)
Other	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
<b>Children attending school</b>			
Primary School	Mean: 1.4 (1.17)	0.4* (.744)	1.1 (.727)
Middle School	Mean: 0.4 (.793)	0.1* (.354)	0.7 (.738)
High School	Mean: 0.3 (.651)	0.3 (.707)	0.1 (.354)
University	Mean: 0.5 (1.17)	0.1 (.354)	0.1 (.339)
<b>Educational Assistance</b>			
Federal Pell Grant	Mean: 27.3% (.467)	16.7% (.408)	0%



Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
Work-Study Programs	Mean: 18.2% (.405)	0%*	0%
Loans which must be repaid	Mean: 18.2% (.405)	0%	2.8% (.167)
Grants/scholarships from state	Mean: 18.2% (.405)	0%*	0%
Research Assistantships	Mean: 9.1% (.302)	0%	0%
Free school lunches	Mean: 63.6% (.505)	0%*	33.3% (.478)
Free school breakfasts	Mean: 45.5% (.522)	0%*	30.6% (.467)
<b>Total monetary benefits received from Government</b>	P25: \$0 Mean: \$170 P75: \$200 (292.6)	\$0 \$133.33 \$0 (326.6)	\$0 \$73.08 \$150 (118.3)
<b>Monthly Remittances</b>	P25: \$0 Mean: \$318.29 P75: \$100 (744.8)	\$0 \$100 \$150 (104.1)	\$0 \$53.85 \$100 (80.3)
<b>Monthly Family Remittances</b>	P25: \$0 Mean: \$421.43 P75: \$250 (965.2)	\$0 \$100 \$150 (114.1)	\$0 \$53.85 \$100 (80.3)
<b>Total Taxes</b>	P25: \$470 Mean: \$2371.67 P75: \$3501 (2599.2)	\$480 \$4738.80 \$7783 (4537.5)	\$525 \$2376.25 \$3300 (2286.1)
Federal Income taxes	P25: \$0 Mean: \$1316.67 P75: \$2600 (2026.2)	\$300 \$3991.33 \$6168 (4251.9)	\$300 \$1300 \$1700 (1462.9)
State and local income taxes	P25: \$0 Mean: \$403.33 P75: \$800 (643.6)	\$60 \$405.83 \$300 (690.8)	\$175 \$762.50 \$1350 (698.3)
Social Security tax	P25: \$0 Mean: \$108.33 P75: \$200 (142.9)	\$80 \$341.67 \$300 (547.1)	\$0 \$188.75 \$405 (477.0)
Other taxes	P25: \$0 Mean: \$543.33 P75: \$1000 (814.3)	\$0 \$0 \$0 (132.3)	\$0 \$125 \$0 (353.6)
<b>Savings per month</b>	P25: \$50 Mean: \$112.50 P75: \$150 (99.1)	\$100 \$150 \$200 (132.3)	\$0 \$140.83 \$300 (164.5)
<b>Spend per month</b>	P25: \$450 Mean: \$925 P75: \$1350 (599.4)	\$300 \$746 \$800 (629.8)	\$600 \$816.11 \$850 (565.81)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
Grocery Store	P25: \$300 Mean: \$438.75 P75: \$490 (305.0)	\$300 \$360 \$400 (99.0)	\$150 \$366.11 \$500 (212.66)
Restaurants	P25: \$35 Mean: \$115 P75: \$180 (100.3)	\$0 \$52 \$100 (55.9)	\$0 \$88.33 \$150 (94.2)
<b>Type of dwelling</b>			
Owned Home	Mean: 92.3%* (.277)	75.0% (.463)	65.0% (.483)
Rented Home	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	25.0% (.439)
Rented Apartment	Mean: 0%	0%	7.5% (.267)
<b>How many people live in same house</b>			
Spouse	Mean: 1.3 (1.88)	0.8 (.463)	1.0 (.537)
Children	Mean: 2.8 (1.96)	1.3* (.886)	2.5 (1.27)
Grandchildren	Mean: 0	0.4 (.744)	0.1 (.384)
Siblings	Mean: 0*	0*	0.2 (.366)
Parents	Mean: 0	0	0.2 (.489)
Grandparents or Great-grandparents	Mean: 0	0.2 (.354)	0
Other relatives	Mean: 0.3 (.622)	0	0.1 (.354)
Non-relatives	Mean: 0.3 (1.16)	0	0
<b>Who cares for children when away</b>			
Spouse or parents	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	25.0% (.463)	32.5% (.474)
An adult relative	Mean: 0%*	0%*	20.0% (.405)
An older child	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	0%	2.5% (.158)
A friend, neighbor, or babysitter	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
A childcare center	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	2.5% (.158)
No one	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
They are in school	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	15.0% (.362)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
<b>House Payments</b>			
Mortgage interest and charges	P25: \$0 Mean: \$301.73 P75: \$500 (264.2)	\$462.12* \$954.04 \$1500 (521.1)	\$0 \$319.33 \$500 (296.8)
Property taxes	P25: \$80 Mean: \$367.56 P75: \$500 (423.9)	\$92.50 \$158.75 \$225 (79.8)	\$50 \$288.63 \$492.5 (319.9)
Maintenance and repairs	P25: \$55 Mean: \$350 P75: \$500 (488.7)	\$55 \$132.14 \$220 (92.8)	\$57.50 \$162.50 \$200 (218.3)
Rent	P25: \$425 Mean: \$425 P75: \$425	\$50 \$285 \$520 (275.5)	\$0 \$260 \$520 (367.7)
Utilities	P25: \$200 Mean: \$363.30 P75: \$500 (194.1)	\$240 \$338.57 \$390 (140.2)	\$220 \$392.82 \$500 (267.5)
<b>Consumer Goods and Services</b>			
Housekeeping supplies	P25: \$0 Mean: \$36.67 P75: \$60 (40.6)	\$0 \$20 \$30 (22.8)	\$0 \$43.33 \$80 (39.2)
Postage and stationary items	P25: \$0* Mean: \$4 P75: \$5 (6.91)	\$10 \$12.50 \$20 (7.58)	\$9 \$19.67 \$20 (24.9)
Small appliances and miscellaneous house wares	P25: \$0 Mean: \$14.44 P75: \$20 (21.3)	\$0 \$66.67 \$50 (93.1)	\$0 \$33.33 \$30 (57.9)
Clothing	P25: \$30 Mean: \$50 P75: \$50 (50.0)	\$0 \$48.33 \$100 (44.9)	\$0 \$66.11 \$100 (66.1)
General services (i.e. haircuts)	P25: \$0 Mean: \$16.11 P75: \$30 (18.7)	\$10 \$30.83 \$50 (22.5)	\$0 \$16.17 \$40 (36.2)
Cigarettes and smoking paraphernalia	P25: \$0 Mean: \$6.67 P75: \$0 (20.0)	\$0 \$5.71 \$0 (15.1)	\$0 \$1.14 \$0 (5.33)
Household furnishing and major equipment	P25: \$150 Mean: \$431.25 P75: \$500 (471.3)	\$300 \$532 \$500 (512.0)	\$0 \$297.50 \$400 (386.8)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
Total	P25: \$235 Mean: \$364.33 P75: \$481 (123.5)	\$340 \$725 \$880 (457.6)	\$230 \$586.31 \$1075 (443.6)
<b>Entertainment</b>	P25: \$0 Mean: \$45 P75: \$100 (41.7)	\$25 \$65 \$100 (60.2)	\$0 \$54.29 \$100 (54.4)
Local entertainment	P25: \$0 Mean: \$37.14 P75: \$100 (45.0)	\$0 \$19 \$25 (20.7)	\$0 \$7.62 \$0 (23.0)
Participate in local shows	Mean: 14.3% (.378)	40.0% (.548)	0%
<b>Transportation</b>			
Own Car	Mean: 100%	87.5% (.354)	94.7% (.226)
Original car payment	P25: \$286* Mean: \$9481 P75: \$15000 (10074.9)	\$12000* \$20000 \$28000 (9208.7)	\$800 \$3146 \$3600 (4632.2)
Monthly car expenses	P25: \$110 Mean: \$199.85 P75: \$200 (153.4)	\$150 \$177 \$200 (48.9)	\$100 \$176.43 \$200 (112.1)
Vehicle insurance	P25: \$50.50 Mean: \$177.08 P75: \$184.50 (219.3)	\$70 \$125.33 \$166 (58.1)	\$50 \$91.62 \$120 (76.3)
Ever been in an accident	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	12.5% (.354)	0%
Use public transportation	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	20.0% (.406)
How often ride bus per month	Mean: 1.8 (3.49)	2.0	11.9 (20.2)
<b>Health</b>			
Good to excellent	Mean: 84.6% (.376)	75.0% (.463)	82.5% (.385)
Fair to poor	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	12.5% (.335)
<b>Where do you go when you are sick</b>			
Doctor or nurse in an office	Mean: 61.5%* (.506)	62.5%* (.518)	25.0% (.439)
Hospital emergency ward	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	12.5% (.354)	10.0% (.304)
Public health clinic	Mean: 30.8% (.480)	12.5%* (.354)	55.0% (.639)
Migrant health clinic	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%*	17.5% (.385)
Other	Mean: 0%	0%	2.5% (.158)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
<b>Visits to the emergency room</b>			
You	Mean: 0.9 (2.88)	9.3 (20.9)	0.2 (.384)
Spouse	Mean: 0.2 (.389)	0.0*	0.4 (.670)
Children	Mean: 0.7 (1.72)	0.7 (.817)	0.6 (.867)
<b>Major health problems requiring hospitalization</b>			
Nights in hospital	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	25.0% (.463)	37.5% (.492)
	Mean: 5.0	5.0 (2.83)	6.0 (7.97)
<b>Health Insurance</b>			
No medical insurance	Mean: 15.4%* (.376)	25.0% (.463)	42.5% (.501)
Insurance, but don't know how to describe it	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	2.5% (.158)
Employer pays for health coverage	Mean: 53.9%* (.519)	37.5% (.518)	22.5% (.423)
Private health insurance plan	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	2.5% (.158)
Medicaid	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%*	20.0% (.405)
Medicare	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%	7.5% (.267)
<b>Health costs</b>			
Health insurance	P25: \$0 Mean: \$47.80 P75: \$89 (68.9)	\$30* \$138.33 \$300 (142.7)	\$0 \$33.58 \$64 (34.7)
Medical services and supplies	P25: \$0 Mean: \$42 P75: \$40 (62.6)	\$20 \$48.33 \$80 (30.1)	\$10 \$77.50 \$125 (74.2)
Prescription drugs and medicine	P25: \$0 Mean: \$9 P75: \$20 (10.3)	\$45 \$91.67 \$150 (53.5)	\$0 \$36.25 \$87.5 (56.0)
<b>Life Insurance</b>			
Monthly payment	Mean: 53.9%* (.519)	57.1%* (.535)	14.7% (.360)
	P25: \$1.25 Mean: \$42.04 P75: \$63 (48.5)	\$0 \$30 \$60 (60.0)	\$0 \$29 \$58 (38.0)
Company or union coverage	Mean: 85.7% (.690)	60.0% (.548)	71.4% (.488)
<b>Disability Insurance</b>			
Monthly payment	Mean: 27.3% (.467)	28.6% (.488)	8.0% (.277)
	P25: \$0 Mean: \$27.08 P75: \$80 (45.8)	\$0* \$0 \$0	\$64 \$64 \$64
Company or union coverage	Mean: 100%	75.0% (.500)	50.0% (.707)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
<b>Receive assistance from charitable group</b>	Mean: 9.1% (.302)	0%	5.3% (.226)
<b>Receive gift money from relatives and friends</b>	Mean: 33.3%* (.492)	14.3% (.378)	0%
<b>Receive other help from relatives and friends</b>	Mean: 25.0% (.452)	14.3% (.378)	12.5% (.336)
<b>Make charitable cash contributions</b>	Mean: 60.0% (.516)	50.0% (.577)	40.0% (.503)
How much	P25: \$1 Mean: \$114.43 P75: \$240 (190.3)	\$60 \$80 \$100 (28.3)	\$15 \$165 \$200 (236.3)
<b>Other donations</b>	Mean: 60.0% (.516)	66.7% (.516)	56.3% (.512)
How much worth	P25: \$0 Mean: \$73.33 P75: \$70 (106.1)	\$25 \$51 \$100 (46.2)	\$10 \$31.25 \$50 (28.6)
<b>Make gifts of goods or services</b>	Mean: 33.3% (.516)	50.0% (.548)	25.0% (.444)
How much spent on these gifts	P25: \$0 Mean: \$50 P75: \$100 (70.7)	\$25 \$61.25 \$97.50 (50.1)	\$0 \$252.86 \$700 (323.4)
<b>If status converted, spending habits</b>			
More	Mean: 0%*	0%*	17.5% (.385)
Less	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	12.5% (.335)
Same	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	37.5% (.518)	30.0% (.465)
<b>If status converted, pay more taxes</b>	Mean: 33.3% (.577)	0%*	36.7% (.490)
<b>Crime comparison of community</b>			
More	Mean: 38.5% (.506)	37.5% (.518)	12.5% (.335)
Less	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	25.0% (.463)	20.0% (.405)
Same	Mean: 30.8% (.480)	0%*	12.5% (.335)
<b>Type of crime</b>			
Gang	Mean: 22.2% (.441)	20.0% (.447)	33.3% (.480)
Theft	Mean: 44.4% (.527)	80.0% (.447)	37.0% (.429)
Murder	Mean: 11.1% (.333)	0%	3.7% (.192)
Drug	Mean: 33.3% (.500)	20.0% (.447)	37.0% (.429)
Violence	Mean: 11.1% (.333)	0%	11.1% (.320)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
<b>Feel this is being fixed</b>	Mean: 50.0% (.535)	25.0% (.500)	52.0% (.510)
<b>Ever been arrested</b>	Mean: 9.1% (.502)	0%*	16.2% (.374)
Convicted	Mean: 50.0% (.707)	0%	25.0% (.452)
Felony	Mean: 0%	0%	11.1% (.333)
<b>Ever been victim</b>	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	6.1% (.242)
<b>Ever been victim but not reported</b>	Mean: 18.2% (.405)	12.5% (.354)	3.1% (.177)
<b>Gang participation is a problem</b>	Mean: 81.8% (.405)	71.4% (.488)	70.6% (.462)
<b>Most violence gang related</b>	Mean: 63.6% (.505)	71.4% (.488)	72.7% (.452)
<b>Perform community service</b>	Mean: 58.3% (.515)	28.6% (.488)	34.4% (.483)
Cleaning	Mean: 0%	50.0% (.707)	9.1% (.302)
Building	Mean: 0%	50.0% (.707)	9.1% (.302)
Other	Mean: 100%	66.7% (.577)	81.8% (.405)
Hours per month	Mean: 11.6 (16.3)	14.5 (14.9)	17.8 (17.6)
<b>Active in any community organizations</b>	Mean: 33.3% (.492)	16.7% (.408)	11.8% (.327)
<b>Recycle</b>	Mean: 100%*	100%*	84.4% (.369)
<b>Educational classes taken in the U.S.</b>			
ESL	Mean: 38.5% (.506)	50.0% (.535)	32.5% (.474)
ESL with Citizenship/Amnesty	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	0%*	0%
Citizenship/Amnesty	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
GED	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	0%*	12.5% (.335)
ABE	Mean: 7.7% (.277)	0%	0%
Daytime high school classes	Mean: 0%	12.5% (.354)	2.5% (.158)
I don't know	Mean: 0%	0%	5.0% (.221)
None	Mean: 38.5% (.506)%	25.0% (.463)	42.5% (.501)
Other	Mean: 7.7 (.277)	0%	0%
<b>Reason for class</b>			
To improve my English	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	25.0% (.463)	37.5% (.490)

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant
To obtain citizenship	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	0%
To increase work opportunities	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	12.5% (.354)	17.5% (.385)
<b>Enjoy being in the U.S.</b>	Mean: 100%	100%	100%
<b>Prefer being in the U.S.</b>	Mean: 80.0% (.462)	60.0% (.548)	80.6% (.401)
<b>Why would you decide to go home permanently</b>			
Family	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	62.5%* (.518)	25.0% (.439)
Culture	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%* (.362)	15.0% (.362)
<b>Considered this option seriously</b>	Mean: 40.0% (.416)	50.0% (.548)	28.6% (.460)
<b>How many times do you go home per year</b>	Mean: 1.0* (.866)	1.4* (.535)	0.2 (.759)
<b>How do you get there</b>			
Fly	Mean: 15.4% (.376)	0%	5.0% (.221)
Drive	Mean: 23.1% (.439)	87.5%* (.354)	0%



Table 4: Short Survey Outcomes

Variable	U.S. Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented immigrant	“Immigrant”
<b>Observations</b>	10	22	37	14
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	Mean: 40.0% (.516)	40.9% (.503)	40.5% (.498)	28.6% (.469)
Female	Mean: 20.0% (.422)	40.9% (.503)	43.2% (.502)	28.6% (.469)
<b>Age</b>	Mean: 33.1 (11.6)	41.3 (15.2)	37.5 (10.7)	33.9 (8.94)
<b>Family in Household</b>	Mean: 4.8 (1.79)	4.7 (2.01)	4.8 (2.08)	5.4 (2.41)
<b>Years Resided in United States</b>	Mean: 17.1* (5.60)	20.0* (8.72)	10.7 (5.36)	11.8 (7.16)
<b>Country of Origin</b>				
Mexico	Mean: 90.0% (.316)	95.5% (.213)	97.3% (.164)	92.9% (.267)
Nicaragua	Mean: 0%	4.6% (.213)	2.7% (.164)	7.1% (.267)
<b>Highest Level of Education Completed</b>				
No Education	Mean: 0%	0%	0%	0%
Primaria (1-6)	Mean: 40.0% (.516)	36.4% (.492)	24.3% (.435)	14.3% (.363)
Secundaria (7-10)	Mean: 40.0% (.516)	40.9% (.503)	56.8% (.502)	64.3% (.497)
Preparatoria (11-13)	Mean: 10.0% (.316)	13.6% (.351)	10.8% (.315)	7.1% (.267)
Trade School	Mean: 0%	0%	5.4% (.229)	0%
University	Mean: 10.0% (.316)	9.1% (.294)	2.7% (.164)	14.3% (.363)
<b>Income Per Month</b>	P25: \$1,200 Mean: \$6,433.33	\$1,200 \$4,235.71	\$980 \$1,296.43	\$410 \$900
	P75: \$2,200 (14473.3)	\$3,000 (8951.5)	\$1,600 (632.8)	\$1,500 (620.2)
<b>Family Income Per Month</b>	P25: \$1,000 Mean: \$8,122.22	\$1,800* \$2,935.71	\$1,200 \$2,272.14	\$1,540 \$1,748.13
	P75: \$2,700 (19482.7)	\$4,400 (1454.8)	\$2,850 (1306.8)	\$2,150 (856.7)
<b>Monthly Savings</b>	P25: \$100 Mean: \$700	\$0 \$172.14	\$0 \$252.50	\$0 \$162.50
	P75: \$200 (1617.1)	\$400 (213.3)	\$310 (310.9)	\$250 (213.4)
<b>Monthly Remittances</b>	P25: \$0 Mean: \$83.33	\$0 \$107.14	\$0 \$150.36	\$0 \$37.5
	P75: \$200 (106.1)	\$200 (101.6)	\$295 (184.4)	\$50 (74.4)
<b>Receive from the Government Each Month</b>	P25: \$0 Mean: \$0	\$0	\$0 \$7.14	\$0
	P75: \$0		\$0 (37.8)	

<b>Variable</b>	<b>U.S. Citizen</b>	<b>Permanent Resident</b>	<b>Undocumented immigrant</b>	<b>“Immigrant”</b>
<b>Family Receives from the Government Each Month</b>	P25: \$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
	Mean: \$0	\$25.00	\$22.50	
	P75: \$0	\$0	\$0	
<b>Money Received from Charitable Organizations per Month</b>		(95.5)	(74.0)	
	P25: \$0*	\$0	\$0	\$0
	Mean: \$0	\$1.43	\$1.43	\$1.25
	P75: \$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
		(5.35)	(7.56)	(3.54)