

**imagine
all the
people**

New Bostonians Series
October 2007
Revised Edition—June 2009

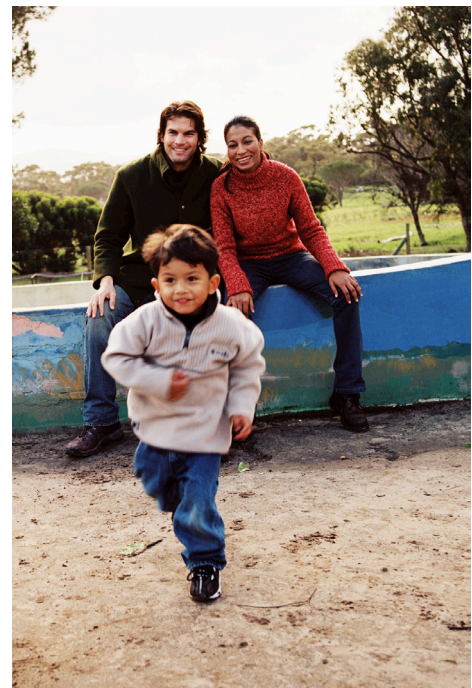
Foreign Born

Immigrants in Boston

CITY OF BOSTON
Thomas M. Menino
Mayor

foreign born in Boston

“imagine all the people” is a series of publications, produced by the Boston Redevelopment Authority for the Mayor’s Office of New Bostonians, that provides a comprehensive profile of Boston’s diverse immigrant communities and their numerous contributions to the city’s social, cultural and economic landscape. It is part of an ongoing effort to celebrate new Bostonians and gain insight into how our city is shaped by their presence.



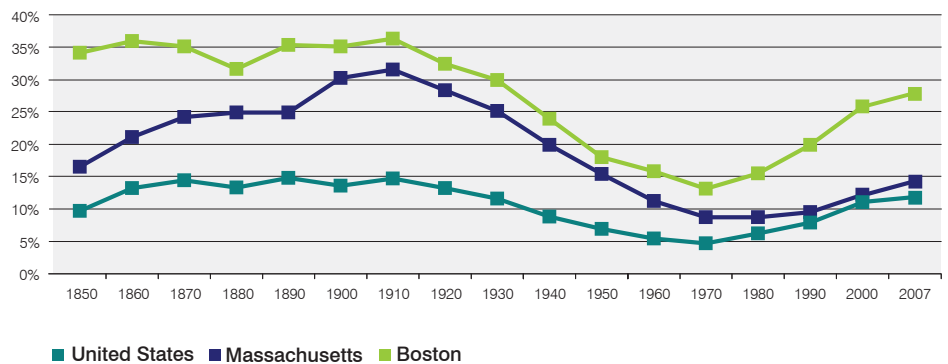
imagine

*Boston's
foreign-born
population
has increased
over 46%
since 1990.*

Today, Boston's population is more diverse than at any point in its history, home to more people from more countries than ever before.¹ The signs of this are visible throughout the city, from the Latino bodegas and bakeries of East Boston to the Brazilian restaurants of Allston/Brighton to the flourishing Vietnamese community in the Fields Corner neighborhood of Dorchester. In fact, in recent years all of Boston's neighborhoods have experienced an increase in the number of immigrants, who today account for almost 28% of Boston's total population. Boston has the fifth highest proportion of foreign-born² residents among the 25 largest cities in the United States.³ According to the 2005-2007 American Community Survey (ACS)⁴, the total number of Boston's foreign-born population in 2007 stood at 168,514⁵, an increase of over 46% from 1990.⁶

This trend should not surprise anyone familiar with Boston's long history as a point of entry for millions of individuals and families moving to the United States. For example, Boston's dramatic growth in the 19th and early 20th century stemmed largely from the unparalleled influx of immigrants from Western Europe.⁷ While Boston's foreign-born population is much smaller today than it was at its peak in 1910, what is striking is the vast number of nationalities represented in the foreign-born population.

Share of Foreign-Born in the U.S., MA and Boston (1850-2007)



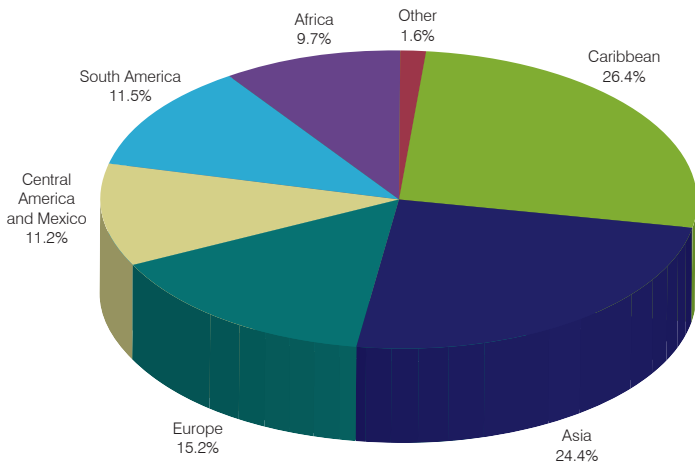
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, American Fact Finder

The top countries of origin for Boston's foreign-born population are no longer confined to the corridors of southern and eastern Europe, but instead include people from the Caribbean, Asia, Central America and South America.

In fact, no European country appears on the list of the top ten countries of origin of Boston's immigrants in 2007. They are, in order of their proportion of foreign-born, as follows: China (8.6%), Haiti (8.5%), Dominican Republic (7.9%), Vietnam (5.5%), El Salvador (4.6%), Cape Verde (4.5%), Colombia (4.3%), Jamaica (4.1%), Brazil (4.0%), and Mexico (2.4%).

introduction

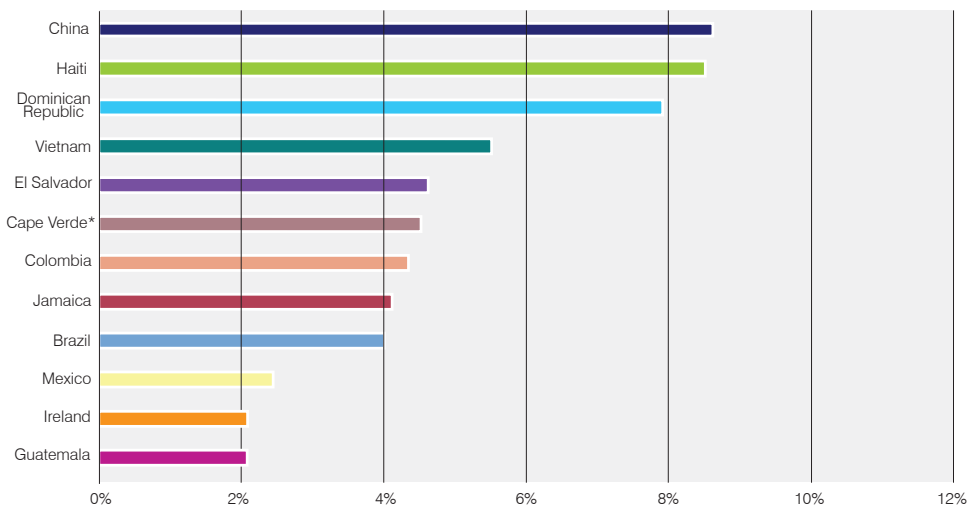
Top Regions of Boston's Foreign-Born



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, American Fact Finder

Boston's racial and ethnic composition has changed dramatically over the last two decades, shifting into a minority-majority city. In 1980, 68 percent of the population was White. By 2000, this number dropped to 49%, meaning minority groups made up the majority of Boston's population. This trend appears to be holding steady today, as minorities make up approximately 50.1% of Boston's population, according to the 2005-2007 ACS.

Top Countries of Origin for Boston's Foreign-Born



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, American Fact Finder

* American Community Survey 2005-2007, PUMS

Today the top regions of origin include people from the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia, a shift from the migration of predominantly European people.

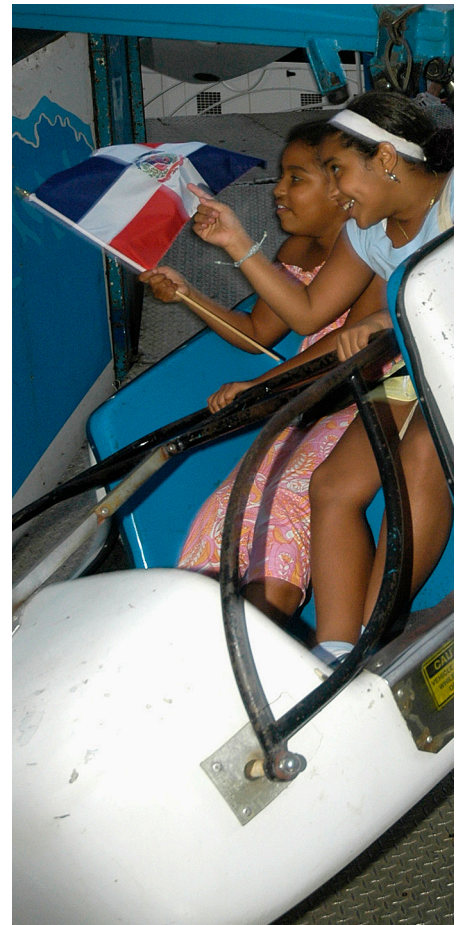


Photo by John Swan/Gazette Publications

imagine

*Between 2000
and 2007, 63%
of immigrants
who moved to
Massachusetts
came from
Latin America.*

national, state, and city trends

The increase in Boston's foreign-born population is consistent with trends seen on both a national and state level. Throughout the U.S., immigrants account for a little more than one in ten residents, or 12.5% of the population. While this is the highest in 70 years, what is most noteworthy is the changing demographic composition of the foreign-born. As the Brookings Review explains in its extensive analysis of Census data⁸:

"In 1900, nearly nine of every ten foreign-born in the United States were from Europe; as late as 1960, the share was still three of four. The drop-off thereafter was sharp, as Hispanics and Asians arrived in large numbers. Of the foreign-born today more than half are from Latin America, more than a quarter from Asia. These patterns show no signs of reversal. Lesser but still significant numbers arrive from the Middle East, from Eastern Europe, and from Africa."
(Prewitt, 2002, p.8)

Of the 37.2 million foreign-born residents reported by the 2005-2007 ACS, approximately 53% came from Latin America (including the Caribbean), almost 27% from Asia, just over 13% from Europe, and the remaining 6.5% from other regions of the world. Of the nearly 20 million foreign-born Latinos, more than 70% of them hail from Central America and Mexico. Overall, the growth in America's foreign-born population since between 1990 and 2007 represents an 88% increase. This influx accounts for 35% of the country's total population growth between the same period.

In Massachusetts, the proportion of foreign-born residents is higher than that of the country as a whole, with 14.2% of the state's residents, or 913,382 people, having been born outside of the U.S., according to the 2005-2007 ACS. These data show that between 2000 and 2007 over 174,000 new immigrants came to Massachusetts. Without the increase in immigration, the state's population would have decreased during this time.

The demographic composition of immigration into Massachusetts closely parallels the trends found at the national level. By 2007, 49% of immigrants who moved to Massachusetts came from Latin America while over 24% came from Asia. The top country of origin for new immigrants moving to Massachusetts during this time was China.

Between 1970 and 1980, Boston's foreign-born population grew by only 4%, which pales in comparison to the growth that occurred between 1980 and 1990 and from 1990 to 2007. Specifically, the number of immigrants ballooned by over 32% during each of these decades. More than 168,000 foreign-born residents reported to be living in Boston in 2007 and nearly two thirds of them emigrated since 1990.

Though Irish remains the single largest ancestry reported by Boston's residents, with over 84,000 people claiming Irish heritage in 2007, it is clear that the city's newest residents are arriving from elsewhere. Immigrants from over 100 countries currently call Boston home.

trends &
regions

regions

The dominant region of origin is the Caribbean, which accounted for over 44,000 residents in 2007, more than a quarter of the total foreign-born population and an increase of 49% since 1990.⁹ Overall, more than 14,500 individuals from the Caribbean moved to Boston between 1990 and 2007. The top sources of Boston's Caribbean influx include Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. Haitian immigrants represent just under a third of all persons from the Caribbean while the Dominican Republic represents over 30% of all Caribbeans. Jamaicans represent almost 16% of the Caribbean population, while Trinidad and Tobago account for approximately 6%. The remaining 16% of Caribbean immigrants come from Barbados, Cuba, and other countries. The Dominican Republic accounted for the highest increase in Boston's immigrants from 1990 to 2007 (7,655 persons).

Top Five Caribbean Countries of Origin

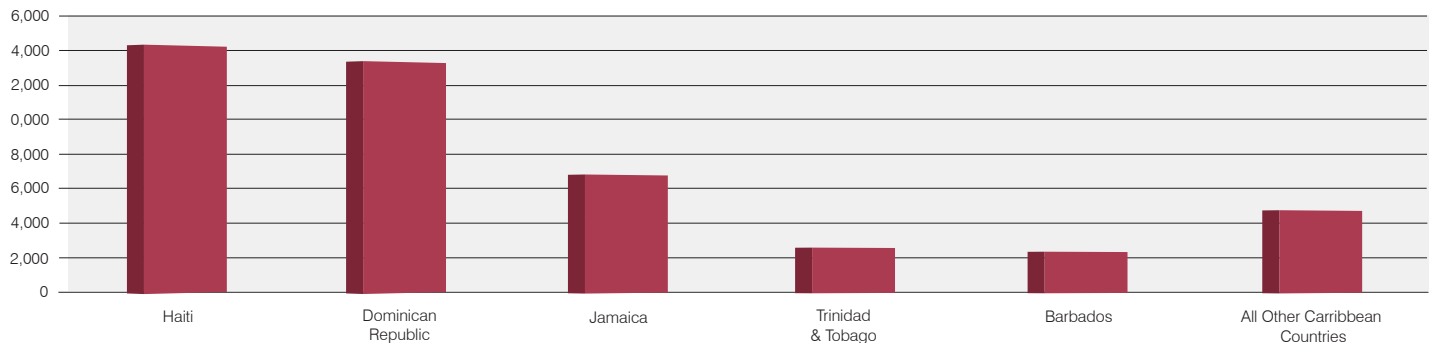
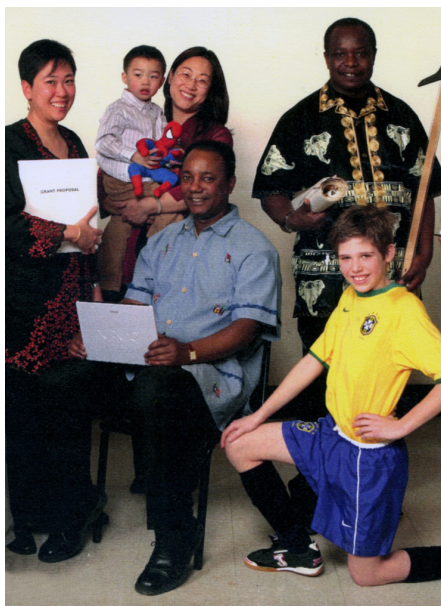


Photo by John Swan/Gazette Publications

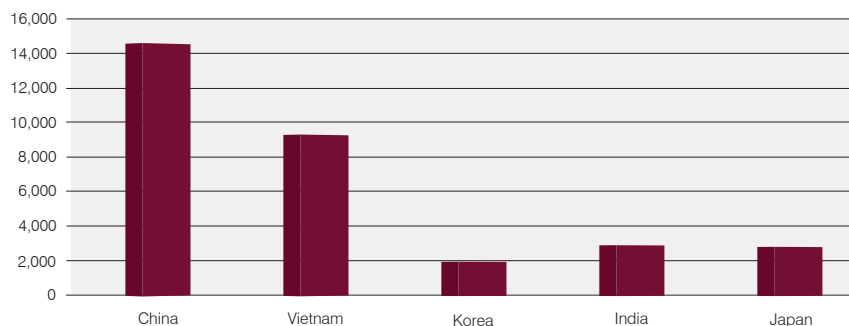
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*Immigrants
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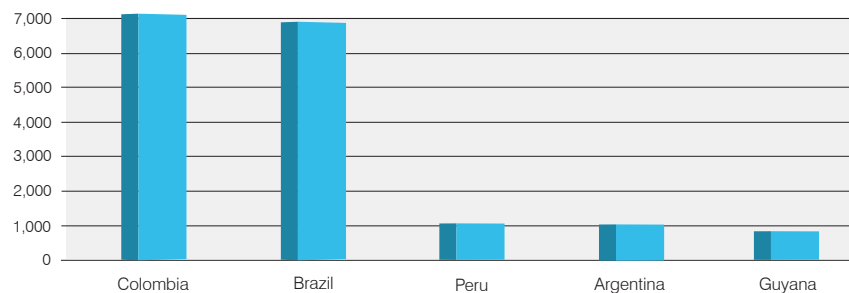
The region with the second largest influx was Asia, which accounted for almost 17,000 new immigrants during the same time period.¹¹ Boston's Asian immigrants had a growth rate of slightly less than 68%

Top Five Asian Countries of Origin for Boston

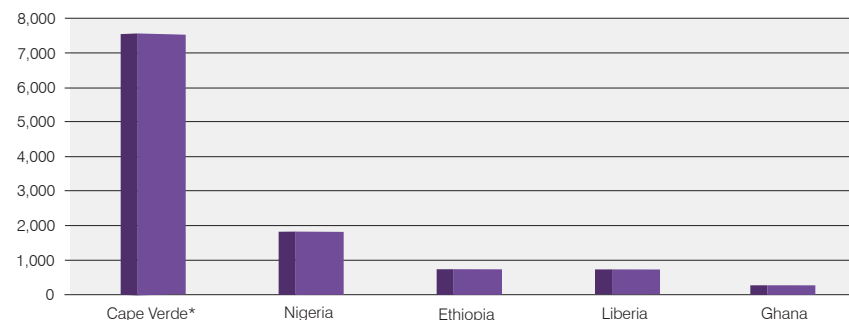


The number of foreign-born from South America almost tripled between 1990 and 2007, an increase from just under 7,000 to nearly 20,000 people. African immigrants more than doubled jumping from slightly more than 7,000 in 1990 to just over 16,000 in 2007, a change of 122%. Even more dramatic is the number of Central American immigrants which rose by nearly 12,000 persons from 1990 to 2007.

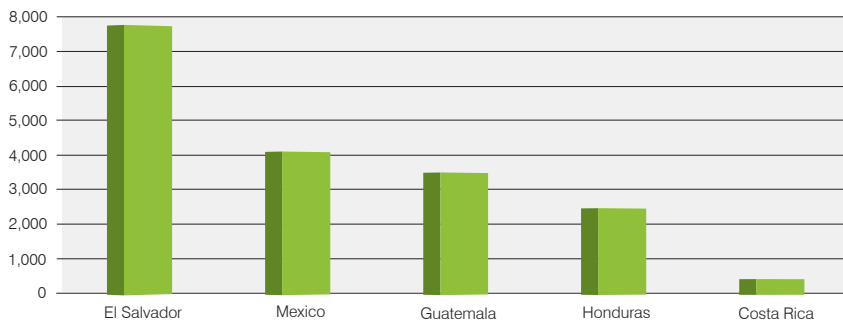
Top Five South American Countries of Origin for Boston



Top Five African Countries of Origin for Boston

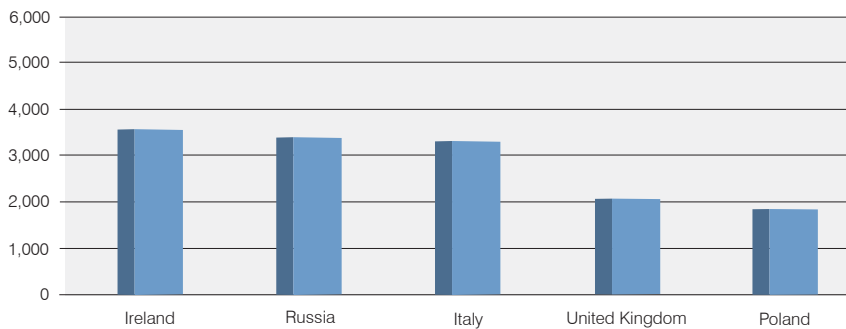


Top Five Central American Countries of Origin for Boston



The number of new European immigrants arriving in Boston grew by a modest 15%, increasing from 22,600 in 1990 to almost 26,000 in 2007.

Top Five European Countries of Origin for Boston



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, American Fact Finder

The six individual countries of origin that had the highest increase in the number of immigrants to Boston during the decade included the Dominican Republic (7,655 persons), China (6,386 persons), Colombia (5,481 persons), El Salvador (4,983 persons), Vietnam (4,905 persons) and Brazil (4,650 persons). In another trend indicative of the changing face of Boston's immigrants, the absolute change in the number of immigrants from Italy and Ireland—traditionally significant sources for Boston's foreign-born—actually decreased between 1990 and 2007, by 2,951 and 1,708 persons, respectively. Canada, Cuba, Hong Kong, and Greece also saw decreases in their overall number of migrants between 1990 and 2007.

The top three countries that had the highest increase in the number of immigrants during the decade are Dominican Republic, China, and Colombia.



Photo by John Swan/Gazette Publications

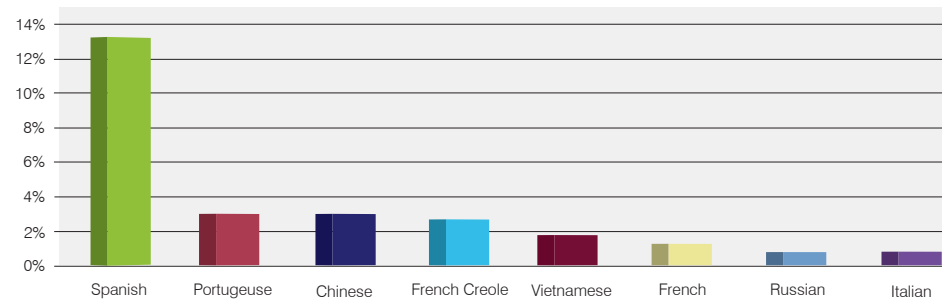
languages & neighborhoods

imagine

languages spoken in Boston

Boston's diversity can also be heard through the many languages its residents speak. The number of Bostonians speaking a language other than English increased by over 50,000 during the 1990s, and accounted for a third of the city's population in 2007. Far and away the most prevalent language spoken other than English is Spanish, which is spoken by over 80,000 people. Between 1990 and 2007, the number of Spanish-speaking residents grew by almost 29,000, an increase of 56%. In 2000, the last available year for neighborhood level data, specific enclaves of the city, such as East Boston, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain had greater than 20% Spanish-speaking households.

Share of Languages Other than English Spoken



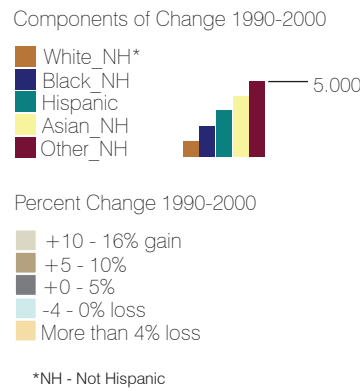
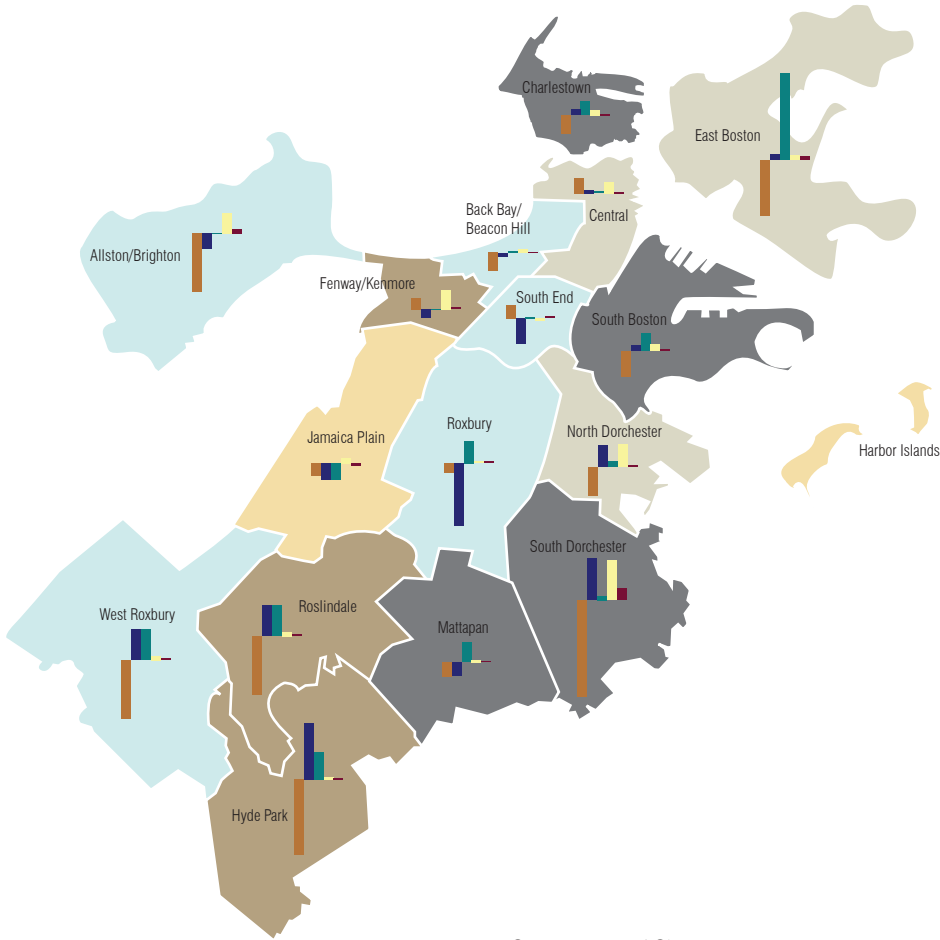
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, American Fact Finder

The linguistic spectrum is even broader inside the classrooms of Boston's public schools, where in 2004, 44% of students spoke a language other than English.¹⁰ Of roughly 26,000 students, over 10,000 of them are enrolled in one of the public school system's English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programs. Again, Spanish is the most common foreign-language in the public schools, where it is spoken by 56% of those who speak a language other than English. The other most prevalent languages spoken in the public schools include Haitian Creole (11%), Chinese (9%), Vietnamese (7%), Cape Verdean (7%) and Portuguese (2%).¹¹



neighborhoods

As mentioned previously, 2000 is the most recent data available at the neighborhood level. Though all of Boston's neighborhoods have experienced an increase in their foreign-born populations, five neighborhoods in particular have undergone significant changes in terms of population composition: East Boston, Roslindale, Allston/Brighton, Dorchester and Hyde Park.



Five neighborhoods have undergone significant changes in terms of population composition: East Boston, Roslindale, Allston/Brighton, Dorchester and Hyde Park.



Source: Liming L., Perkins, G., Goetze, R., Vrabel, J., Lewis G., & Consalvo, R., (2001) Boston's Population – 2000, Changes in population, Race, Ethnicity in Boston and Boston's neighborhoods - 1980 to 2000. Boston: Boston Redevelopment Authority.

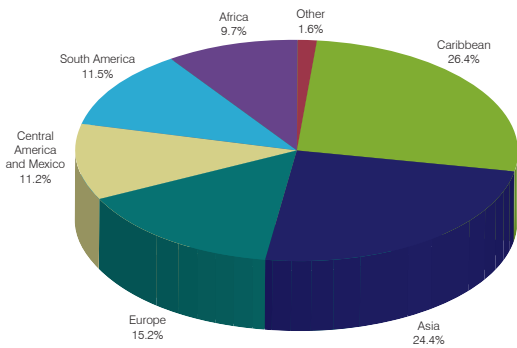
imagine all the people: a new Bostonians series

foreign-born immigrants in Boston

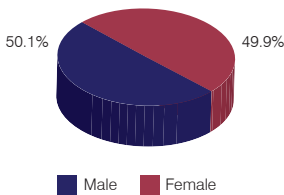
Living

More than **168,514 foreign-born** people live in Boston today, accounting for over **27%** of the city's total population.

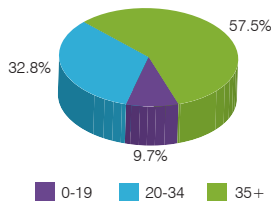
Top Regions



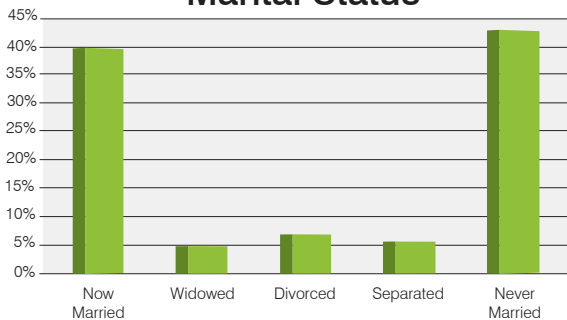
Gender



Age



Marital Status



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, American Fact Finder

Contributing

\$3 billion annual spending

\$4.6 billion to the regional product

\$1 billion in state and federal taxes

52,230 direct and direct jobs for the local economy

Entrepreneurship

annual sales **\$1.2 billion**

business ownership **5,722 small businesses** in the greater Boston area*

*Hispanic and Asian owned businesses only

Working

27% managerial and professional

26% technical, sales, and administrative support

24% services

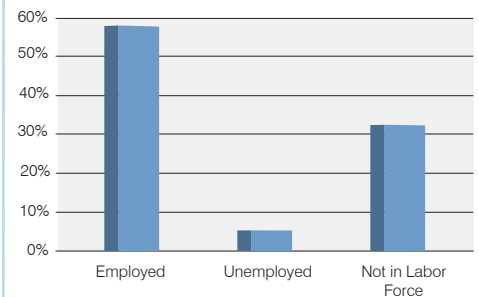
10% construction, extraction, and transportation

9% production occupations

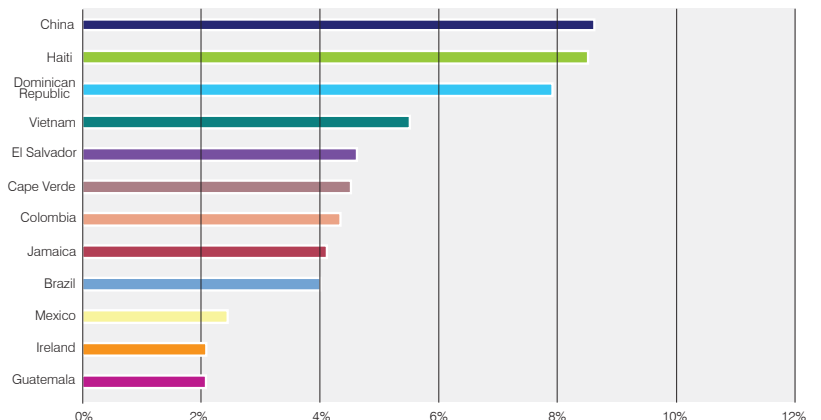
2% community and social services

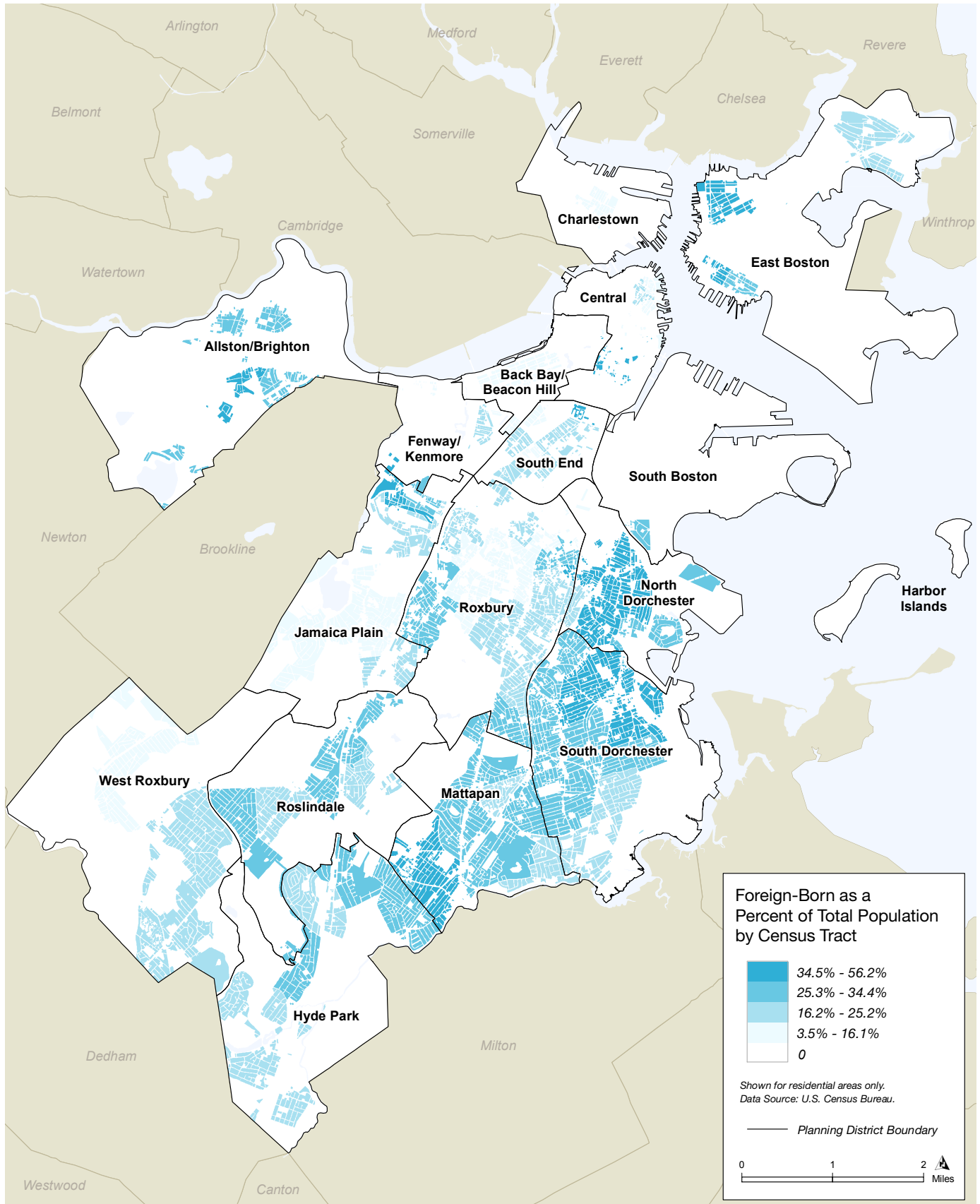
1% arts, design, entertainment, sports, media, and other

Employment Status



Top Countries of Origin

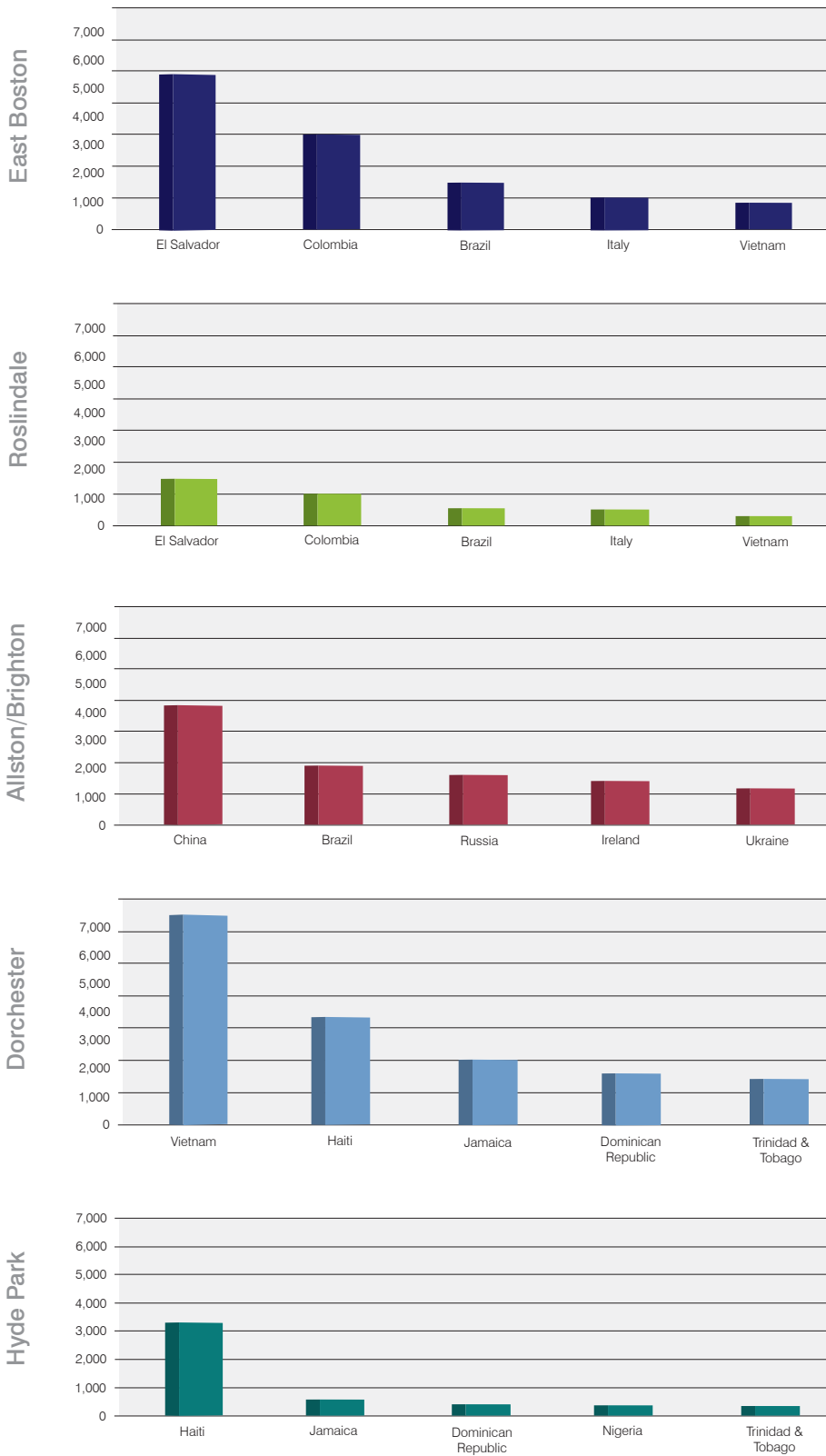






most changed neighborhoods

Top Five Countries of Origin by Neighborhood (2000)



[East Boston](#) has long been known for being a working-class neighborhood. Between 1990 and 2000 its newcomers took on a new look, as more Latinos started moving there for its affordable housing and proximity to downtown. In particular, East Boston has become a prime destination for immigrants from the countries of El Salvador and Colombia, who together account for nearly half of the neighborhood's foreign-born population. Approximately 10,000 new Hispanic residents came to East Boston during the 1990s, an upsurge that was coupled with a decrease in the White population of over 5,000 persons. Overall the proportion of East Boston's non-White population grew from 24% to 50% over a ten year span. In sum, 45% of East Boston's residents are foreign-born—nearly 20 percentage points higher than the city's average.

[Roslindale](#) also witnessed a significant increase in the proportion of its non-White population, moving from 23% in 1990 to 44% in 2000. There was a significant increase in all minority populations. Although Latinos accounted for some of this change, Haitians made up the largest foreign-born population in this neighborhood.

Another neighborhood that has experienced a significant increase in diversity is [Allston/Brighton](#). As of 2000, people of color and immigrants comprised 31% of Allston/Brighton's population. Popular among Chinese, Brazilian, and Russian immigrants, Allston/Brighton has become home to an eclectic mix of newcomers that complement its significant student population. It remains home to the largest total number of immigrants in Boston -- with 22,016 persons residing there in 2000. Overall, approximately 15% of Boston's foreign-born residents live in Allston/Brighton.

The neighborhood of South Dorchester is home to the second-largest total number of foreign-born residents among Boston neighborhoods, with over 19,000 people. When coupled with the totals from adjacent North Dorchester, this figure rises to close to 30,000. In 2000, both neighborhoods reported that more than a third of their residents were foreign-born. Overall, non-Whites in [Dorchester](#) account for more than two-thirds of the total population, with the largest groups being African American/Black (including the Caribbean, with a high proportion of Haitians) and Asians. The Asians in Dorchester are mostly comprised of Vietnamese immigrants. In fact, of Boston's 10,000 Vietnamese residents, nearly 6,500 of them call Dorchester home.

Southwest of Dorchester lies the neighborhood of [Hyde Park](#), Boston's southernmost pocket. Hyde Park's minority population grew from 28% of all residents in 1990 to 57% in 2000. This dramatic increase was spurred by approximately 3,200 new foreign-born residents that moved to the area during the 1990s, an increase of 62%. This was in large part dominated by Haitians, who comprise nearly half of the neighborhood's total foreign-born population. Hyde Park also experienced a significant increase in the number of African Americans and Latinos between 1990 and 2000.

East Boston is a prime destination for immigrants from El Salvador and Colombia while Allston/Brighton is popular for Chinese, Brazilian and Russian immigrants.

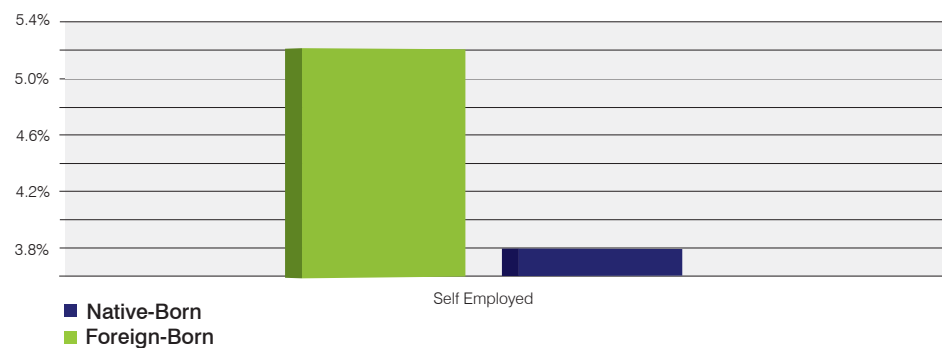
Roslindale, Dorchester and Hyde Park are popular destinations for Haitian immigrants.

economic contributions

Boston's immigrant population has a significant economic impact on the local economy through their spending. Immigrants in Boston spend from their after tax earnings, more than \$3.6 billion annually. These annual expenditures generate more than \$1.2 billion in State and Federal tax revenues and contribute almost \$3.6 billion to the regional product.¹² This expenditure in turn, generates 29,430 indirect jobs in the local economy.

Immigrants' strong tradition of entrepreneurship in America persists today. In Boston, more than 5,700 small businesses across a wide spectrum of sectors are owned and operated by immigrants and their families.¹³ These businesses represent nearly \$1.3 billion in annual sales and employ more than 13,000 people. They contribute almost \$1.8 billion to the regional product, pay \$114 million in State and Federal taxes, and create an additional 13,000 indirect jobs. Combined, immigrant businesses contribute a total of nearly 27,000 direct and indirect jobs to the region. The link between immigrants and entrepreneurship is further underscored by the fact that a greater proportion of the foreign-born population is self-employed (5.2%) than the native-born population.¹⁴ This has played an essential role in the revitalization of numerous Boston neighborhoods, as immigrant business owners have rehabilitated previously abandoned storefronts and housing stock, bringing new purchasing power into invigorated retail corridors.¹⁵

Share of Self Employed Population



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, PUMS, BRA Research Division Analysis (2009)



Immigrants also contribute to the local economy through their labor. In the workforce, they fill positions at both ends of the labor market, from high-skill jobs in engineering, bioscience, and information technology to blue and gray collar jobs in the manufacturing and service sectors. Between 2000 and 2007, Massachusetts' labor force would have shrunk were it not for the presence of immigrant workers.¹⁶ By 2007, foreign-born residents accounted for 17% of the workforce throughout the state—almost double its level of 8.8% in 1980. In Boston, the unemployment rate among foreign-born is 5%, a rate higher than the native-born population (4.2%). With 76 million baby boomers expected to retire by the year 2030 and an estimated 46 million native-born workers entering the workforce by that time, foreign-born workers will become an integral part of the American economy.¹⁷

*Collectively,
Boston's immigrants
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Photo by John Swan/Gazette Publications

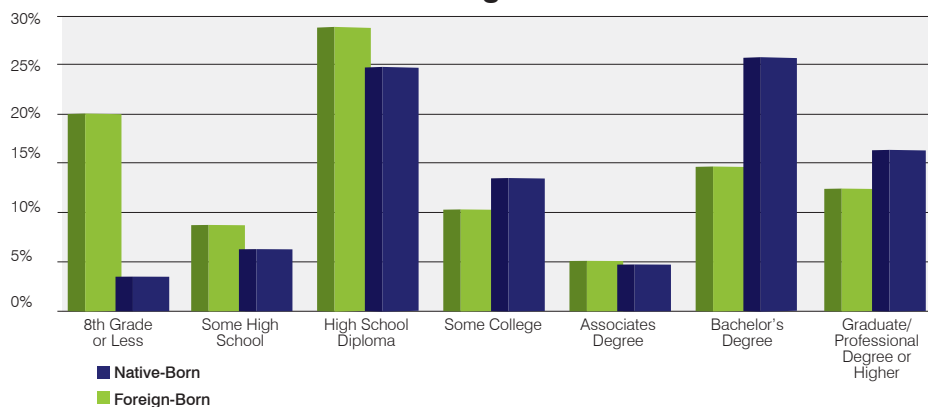
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Only 30% of Boston's foreign-born adult population has achieved at least a middle class standard of living.

standard of living

Despite these healthy indicators only 30% of Boston's foreign-born adult population has achieved at least a middle class standard of living¹⁸—a stark contrast to 48% of Boston's native-born population. This contrast is also seen in general education, where on average, the native-born have higher levels than the foreign-born.

Educational Attainment for Foreign-Born and Native-Born



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, PUMS, BRA Research Division Analysis (2009)

There are also differences in achievement of a middle class standard of living between native-born and foreign-born in conjunction with levels of educational attainment. For example, while 60% of native-born residents with a Bachelor's degree have achieved a middle-class standard of living, only 40% of foreign-born residents with a Bachelor's degree have achieved a middle-class standard of living. There are a number of factors that may contribute to this, including limited English proficiency.

Middle Class Standard of Living for 20-60 Years Olds in Boston by Educational Attainment, 2007	Native Born	Foreign Born
1-12 Years, No Diploma or GED	12.4%	18.6%
High School Diploma or GED	28.7%	20.6%
13-15 Years, No college Degree	31.0%	22.2%
Associate's Degree	47.4%	40.2%
Bachelor's Degree	60.1%	40.3%
Graduate Degree	78.3%	64.6%
Total	48.0%	30.2%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, PUMS, BRA Research Division Analysis (2009)

In 2007, the lack of English proficiency among all Bostonians was 9.7%, an increase from 6% in 1990. Approximately 28,000 households in Boston are "linguistically isolated," meaning that there is no resident in the household over the age of 14 who speaks English exclusively or "very well."¹⁹ Also of note is

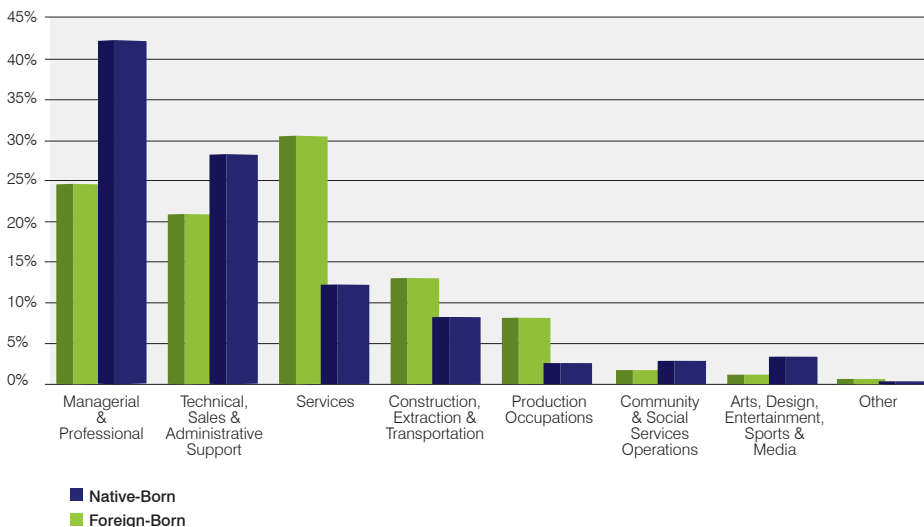
the fact that 46% of all adult immigrants (25 years and older) either lack a high school diploma or have limited English proficiency²⁰—both of which constitute a barrier to obtaining jobs with higher wages. This is compounded by the fact that there is a wait-list time of six months to three years to enroll in English for Speakers of Other Language (ESOL) classes in the city of Boston. In 2007, over 4,000 people were on the wait-list.²¹

Distribution of Education and English Proficiency in Boston's Adult Foreign Born Population (25 Years and Older), 2007	Number	Percent of 25+ Year Olds
Lack Diploma and English Proficient	12,994	9.8%
Lack Diploma and Limited English Proficiency	25,010	18.8%
Have Diploma and Limited English Proficiency	23,183	17.4%
Total Adult Foreign Born Population that Either Lacks High School Diploma or has Limited English Proficiency	61,187	46.0%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, PUMS, BRA Research Division Analysis (2009)

Another significant barrier, is the disparity in management-level occupations held by foreign-born individuals when compared to the native-born. Around 25% of the total adult foreign-born population works in managerial or professional occupations, compared to 43% of the total native-born population. Consequently, a higher percentage of adult immigrants are employed by the service industry (31%), compared to a 12% rate among the native-born. This overrepresentation among the foreign-born also shows up in construction, extraction and transportation occupations (13%) and in production occupations (8%). The respective percentages for the native-born in these fields are 8% and 2%.

Occupations for Foreign-Born and Native-Born (25 Years and Older)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005-2007 American Community Survey, PUMS, BRA Research Division Analysis (2009)



conclusion



Photo by John Swan/Gazette Publications

Boston's recent immigration patterns mirror and, in some cases, exceed national trends. The result is a level of diversity greater than at any point in the city's history. This is apparent in the record number of countries now represented among Boston's foreign-born population, and in the growth patterns among specific groups in individual neighborhoods. Shifting patterns of immigration are also visible in the number of languages spoken in the city's public schools and in the shops and restaurants of revitalized commercial districts. Today, Boston has a different face. Boston's newest immigrants are much more likely to come from China, Haiti or the Dominican Republic than they are from the "old" countries of Europe. Nevertheless, just like their predecessors, new Bostonians are having a profound impact on the city.

Boston's recent immigration has four major characteristics. First, immigrants are coming from a much greater array of countries than ever before, with strong representation from the Caribbean, Central America, South America, and Asia. Next, population growth, both in total numbers and among specific groups, has occurred rapidly, with some populations doubling in the last ten years. Third, although all neighborhoods have experienced an increase in diversity, many immigrants tend to settle in areas already occupied by a significant proportion of people from their home countries, especially in middle-to-low income areas where housing and cost of living remain relatively affordable. Finally, though immigrants have a low unemployment rate and constitute a significant part of the workforce, they remain disadvantaged due in part to inadequate English proficiency and low educational attainment.

These characteristics will be important considerations in the years ahead as Boston continues to grow into a minority-majority city and as the impact of its foreign-born residents expands. It is widely acknowledged that immigrants will account for an increasing share of workforce growth in the state and region. Additionally, with nearly one-quarter of all children in Massachusetts being immigrants or the children of immigrants, their contribution to the city's future is highly dependent on immigrant access to quality education and the ability to acquire English proficiency. Meeting these challenges will ensure that Boston's foreign-born population continues to thrive in making the city an even more dynamic mosaic than it is today.

¹ US Census Bureau, Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) Research Division Analysis. (2009).

² The “foreign-born” population includes all people who are born outside the U.S., naturalized citizens, and non-U.S. citizens. The “native-born” population includes all people born in the United States, Puerto Rico, or the U.S. Island Areas and persons born abroad by American parents. BRA Research Division. (2009).

³ Brookings Institution, Living Cities Interactive Database, accessed at <http://apps89.brookings.edu/livingcities/> ; BRA Research Division Analysis (2009). The Brookings Institution has a different percentage for Boston’s Foreign Born Population since they use the 2007 ACS data whereas our research was performed using the ACS 2005-2007 data.

⁴ The ACS is a yearly survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau intended to allow communities to see how they are changing in the years between decennial censuses. The ACS is based on a sample of the population. While the data in this document are reported as specific numbers and percentages, all results from the ACS are subject to sampling error. The data in this report are from the 2005-2007 ACS 3-year averages. These data are the combination of 3 years of the ACS which reduces the level of sampling error. For more information on the ACS, please see: <http://www.census.gov/acs/www/index.html>

⁵ The ACS’s American Fact Finder website reports specific numbers for each of the immigrant groups in Boston. However, the American Fact Finder website reports a total population for Boston that is lower than the currently accepted population total for the city (600,980 compared to 608,352 respectively). We adjusted the total number of immigrants in each group in order to account for lower total number of Bostonians estimated by the ACS. For more information on American Fact Finder please see: http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en

⁶ All demographic data in this report referencing 2007 is from the 2005-2007 American Community Survey American Fact Finder, unless otherwise noted. Demographic data referencing earlier points in time is from the US Census Bureau, unless otherwise noted. BRA Research Analysis. (2009)

⁷ US Census Bureau , BRA Research Division Analysis. (2009).

⁸ Prewitt, K. (2002). Demography, Diversity, and Democracy. The 2000 Census Story. Brookings Review, Volume 20, No. 1.

⁹ We treat continents and sub-continents as regions.

¹⁰ A language other than English refers to students who may also speak English in addition to their native language.

¹¹ Edwards, V. (2004). The Public School Population: Home Language Study 2004. Boston.

¹² BRA Research Division Analysis. (2009). Regional Economic Model, Inc. (REMI) calculations

¹³ BRA Research Division Analysis. (2009). REMI calculations. Business data is calculated based on 2002 Economic Census (Hispanic and Asian owned businesses).

¹⁴ American Community Survey, 2005-2007, Public Use Microdata Sample, BRA Research Analysis. (2009) .

¹⁵ There is no agreement among researchers regarding the reasons for variations in the self-employment rates among different immigrant groups. Reasons cited include human and financial capital of individual immigrants, high rates of solidarity and social capital in some immigrant communities, as well as the opportunity structure encountered by immigrant entrepreneurs.

¹⁶ American Community Survey, 2005-2007, Public Use Microdata Sample, BRA Research Analysis. (2009).

¹⁷ Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth. (2005). The Changing Workforce: Immigrants and the New Economy in Massachusetts.

¹⁸ A family income four times the poverty line is used as a proxy for the middle-class standard of living. The actual income needed to achieve this standard depends on the number of people in the family. For a two person family the income would be at least \$44,856 which is at the 43rd percentile of all families. Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth. (2005). The Changing Face of Massachusetts.

¹⁹ A linguistically isolated household is one in which no member 14 years old and over (1) speaks only English or (2) speaks a non-English language and speaks English “very well.” In other words, all members 14 years old and over have at least some difficulty with English. The ability to speak English, for a respondent who speaks a language other than English at home, refers to his/her assessment of his ability to speak English, from “very well” to “not at all.” The language spoken at home is the language currently used by respondents at home, either “English only” or a non-English language which is used in addition to English or in place of English., U.S. Census Bureau.

²⁰ American Community Survey, 2005-2007. Public Use Microdata Sample, BRA Research Analysis. (2009) . The Limited English Proficient includes immigrant adults who do not speak English at all or who do not speak it well. The English Proficient includes immigrant adults who speak only English, speak it very well or speak it well. In MassINC’s The Changing Face of Massachusetts report, the authors used these same definitions, but labeled the two categories language challenge and no language challenge, respectively.

²¹ Massachusetts Department of Education. (2007).



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