SUPPORTING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS
This primer was developed by Asset Funders Network and California Immigrant Policy Center to provide an overview of the intersectional issues impacting economic security for undocumented immigrants in California. It is designed to provide funders, policymakers, advocates, and practitioners with strategies and solutions to support economic mobility and justice for undocumented immigrant communities, and ultimately build a more equitable and resilient California for all.¹
Thank you very much to the Y&H Soda Foundation, the California Wellness Foundation, Sobrato Family Foundation, and the Silicon Valley Community Foundation for their generous support. Tanya Broder (National Immigration Law Center), Manuel Pastor (USC Equity Research Institute), Nayantara Mehta (National Employment Law Project) and Sara Kimberlin (California Budget and Policy Center) provided invaluable research and technical assistance. Thank you to the staff at California Immigrant Policy Center for their feedback and support, especially Cynthia Buiza, Shiu-Ming Cheer, Connie Choi, Daniela Alvarenga, Edgar Ortiz, and Benyamin Chao. Finally, thank you to the numerous organizations included in this report for their time and for their incredible work.

The views and opinions presented in this brief are those of the author and AFN and do not necessarily constitute those of the funders.
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In California, an estimated 20% of all Californians under the age of 18 live with someone who is undocumented or is undocumented themselves. A person who is undocumented is a neighbor, community member, colleague, teacher, friend, and loved one.

Since people who are undocumented tend to live in mixed-status households and are deeply integrated in their communities, their economic security benefits their families and community members. Studies of the long term effects of economic security programs for children have been linked to lower rates of health issues, improved education outcomes, and greater economic mobility in adulthood. In other words, economic security for people who are undocumented will lead to reduced instability, trauma and other hardships for the people who depend on and love them, and create greater economic opportunity for the generations to follow them.

While everyone deserves to be valued for more than their labor, people who are undocumented are also deeply embedded in the economy, bringing skills, talent, and innovation to California’s diverse workforce and industries, and contributing $3.7 billion in state and local taxes every year according to the California Immigrant Data Portal. The COVID-19 pandemic further demonstrated how deeply California’s economy relies on the work of people who are undocumented. The vast majority of California’s undocumented immigrant workers (78%) were estimated to work in jobs considered to be “essential and critical”, as determined by the Department of Homeland Security, during the pandemic.

However, a deep legacy of xenophobia and racism has led to harmful policies—as well as narratives and practices—that deliberately and consistently exclude people who are undocumented from realizing economic security in three distinct, but interconnected ways: 1) from basic worker protections based on employment status, 2) from critical safety net programs based on immigration status, and 3) from opportunities to thrive due to discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, class, and gender.

When the COVID-19 pandemic hit, the confluence of these exclusions put people at two extremes: On one end, they were more likely to be left without a job and no financial safety net, forced into social isolation, homelessness, hunger, or worse. On the other, they were forced to work even when it was extremely dangerous to do so, putting their lives and the lives of their loved ones at risk.

The COVID-19 pandemic was not the first crisis for California, and it won’t be the last. The volatility of our economy, our communities, and our climate necessitates that we make bold investments now to build a California that works for everyone—no exceptions, no exclusions. While California has been a leader on immigrant rights, there is an urgent need to pass bolder policies to address these harmful exclusions and build a more resilient and equitable state. Our interconnectedness shows us that investing in the economic security of undocumented individuals will strengthen the families and communities who depend on and love them; build greater prosperity for the entire state and economy now and in the long-term; and will help everyone better prepare for an uncertain future.
KEY POLICIES TO ADDRESS THESE EXCLUSIONS AND BEYOND

1. Ensure that all workers, regardless of employment status, have jobs and income that enable economic security, mobility, dignity, and voice
   » Ensure accurate, proper classification of workers
   » Enforce anti-discrimination, anti-harassment and anti-retaliation laws
   » Remove exclusions and barriers to unemployment benefits, paid sick and family leave, and health and safety protections
   » Establish portable benefits for all workers
   » Increase support for small businesses, worker ownership, and entrepreneurship
   » Expand worker decision-making power

2. Ensure that all immigrants, regardless of immigration status, have equitable access to public benefits and economic supports
   » Ensure that everyone, regardless of status, has access to healthcare, food assistance, cash assistance, and other public benefits
   » Expand tax credits for all low-income Californians while increasing support for immigrants excluded from federal tax credits
   » Expand access to workforce development and apprenticeships
   » Expand access to responsible banking and financial services
   » Expand access to identification and voting

3. Address exclusions based on race, ethnicity, class, and gender
   » Expand support for community-based organizations and worker centers that represent and work with diverse undocumented immigrant communities
   » Expand legal and navigation services to address wealth stripping, including excessive fines and fees, in the immigration system
   » Expand language access and language justice

4. Build toward longer-term solutions
   » Expand worker protections and benefits to all workers, regardless of employment or immigration status, starting with unemployment benefits
   » Create a guaranteed income program that includes or is focused on people who are undocumented
   » Explore the feasibility of creating a state work authorization
Philanthropy has a powerful role to play in achieving economic security, equity, and justice for all Californians, including people who are undocumented. Data reveals that nationally, only 1% of philanthropic funding goes to grantmaking specifically for immigration-related issues, and only a fraction of that addresses economic security. Success in this area requires dedicated, trust-based, flexible, and committed funding to create a robust ecosystem that can support policy, culture and narrative change, and powerful organizing and leadership development for the long term.

- Invest in Grassroots Organizing and Building Immigrant Worker Power
- Invest in Undocumented Workers Groups’ Capacity Building for Policy Advocacy
- Invest in Organizations that Serve the Diversity of Immigrant Communities
- Invest in Worker Ownership and Entrepreneurship
- Fund Work to Change Harmful Narratives and Cultural Norms that Perpetuate Economic Exclusions and Inequities
- Fund Community-Grounded Research
- Fund Pilots, Testing, and New Models that Support Economic Security
- Support Program Implementation and Evaluation to Ensure Meaningful Impact
INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic was not the first crisis for California, and it won’t be the last. The volatility of our economy, our communities, and our climate necessitates that we make bold investments now to build a California that works for everyone—no exceptions, no exclusions. While California has been a leader on immigrant rights, people who are undocumented continue to face harmful exclusions to achieving economy security and participating in California’s prosperity. Our interconnectedness shows us that investing in the economic security of undocumented individuals will strengthen the families and communities who depend on and love them; build greater prosperity for the entire state and economy now and in the long-term; and will help everyone better prepare for an uncertain future.

The goal of this brief is to provide an overview of the state of undocumented immigrants living in California; illustrate the way state and federal policies discriminate based on worker status, immigration status, and on the basis of race, ethnicity, class, and gender; and provide policy recommendations to address and counter these exclusions. The brief concludes with specific strategies for philanthropy to fund the policy, narrative, and organizing needed to support undocumented immigrants’ ability to achieve economic security and build a California for all.

WHY WE SAY “PEOPLE WHO ARE UNDOCUMENTED”

First and foremost, it is important to remember that we are talking about people, so that is why we say “people who are undocumented” rather than simply “undocumented” or “immigrant” as much as possible. Second, the term “undocumented” focuses on the specificity of a person’s situation at this point in time; namely that the person does not have all of the necessary documentation for lawful presence in the U.S., either because they do not have proper permission from the government or because their visa is not current, expired, or under review. Other terms may include “people without status” or “citizens without status” to signify that the person does not have another official immigration status, such as lawful permanent resident, refugee, or asylum status. While beyond the scope of this publication, it is important to note that there are significant ongoing financial and logistical hurdles that often make documentation impossible to obtain.
PEOPLE WHO ARE UNDOCUMENTED ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF CALIFORNIA’S COMMUNITIES

Immigrants, including undocumented immigrants, represent a significant share of California’s population. California is home to almost 11 million people who are immigrants, an estimated 22% of whom are undocumented.\[^6\]

Like all Californians, people who are undocumented come from diverse backgrounds. While broadly aggregated data fails to capture the extent of this diversity, an estimated 80% of people who are undocumented identify as Latinx, 15% as Asian, 4% as White, 1% as Black, and 1% as Mixed Race.\[^7\]

Moreover, they live throughout California, not just in big cities. In fact, with the rising cost of living over the past decade, areas such as the Central Valley, Inland Empire, and East Bay have experienced growth in the immigrant share of their population, whereas cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco have seen declines.\[^8\]

They are also deeply rooted here with their families. Estimates show that over two-thirds of people who are undocumented in California have lived here for more than a decade, and over a third live with a US citizen child.\[^9\] In fact, in 2018, 20% of all Californians under the age of 18 were living in mixed-status families, meaning they were undocumented themselves or living with someone who was.\[^10\] This has enormous implications for the next generation of Californians, whose future depends on the economic security of their immigrant parents and family members.\[^11\]

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\(20%\) of all Californians under the age of 18 were living in mixed-status families, meaning they were undocumented themselves or living with someone who was.
PEOPLE WHO ARE UNDOCUMENTED CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO CALIFORNIA’S ECONOMY AND WORKFORCE

While everyone deserves to be valued for more than their labor, it is important to note that people who are undocumented are intricately woven into California’s economy and largest industries, contributing to immense economic and job growth in the state.

Half of all workers in California are immigrants, or children of immigrants,¹² and an estimated 6.4% of all California workers are undocumented.¹³

People who are undocumented in California directly pay $3.7 billion in state and local taxes, $6.3 billion in federal taxes, and have $40 billion in spending power.¹⁴

An estimated 6.4% of all California workers are undocumented.
Undocumented workers contribute $263 billion to GSP, $482 billion in economic output, $125 billion in labor income, and $82 billion in other income.\textsuperscript{15}

Undocumented immigrants support 3.2 million jobs in total employment impact, either through direct or indirect employment.\textsuperscript{16}

Taxes on undocumented immigrants’ labor fund other critical worker programs, such as Unemployment Insurance.\textsuperscript{17}
One particularly salient example of the role of undocumented workers in California’s economy is in the “care economy.” For example, an estimated half of all Personal Care Aides are immigrants, and almost a quarter are undocumented.\textsuperscript{18, 19} With an increasingly aging population, California is expected to need significantly more workers in these kinds of occupations in the coming years. In fact, the share of the state’s population that is 65 or older will rise from around 15 percent today to nearly 27 percent by 2060.\textsuperscript{20} As demand for labor in the “care economy” increases, investments in preparing workers for occupations in the care and health sectors, while strengthening the wages, dignity and quality of these occupations overall, will be key to the state’s economic growth.

Never was the state’s reliance on undocumented immigrant labor more readily apparent than at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. The vast majority of California’s undocumented immigrant workers (78\%) were estimated to work in jobs considered to be “essential and critical” to the economy, as determined by the Department of Homeland Security.\textsuperscript{21} These jobs included growing, processing, and preparing food; producing, storing, and transporting medications and goods; manufacturing medical equipment and Personal Protective Equipment; caring for and treating sick and elderly community members; keeping hospitals, grocery stores, and residential facilities running, and more.\textsuperscript{22}

The future of the state and the economy will also depend on immigrants, including those who are undocumented, who were critical to helping the economy bounce back in the years following the Great Recession, founding 44.6\% of all new businesses from 2007-2011.\textsuperscript{23} Nationally, immigrants have been key to helping revitalize rural communities, bringing new talents and perspectives while making up for declining populations, industries, and workforces.\textsuperscript{24} As USC’s Equity Research Institute summarizes, “Immigrants have higher rates of labor attachment and self-employment, helping to maintain the state’s economy afloat in good times and bad. Whether we retain this talent—or lose it to other states—is critical to California’s future.”\textsuperscript{25}
UNDocumented immigrants are largely shut out from achieving economic security

Despite being so embedded in California’s communities and economy, children in families that include undocumented immigrants are estimated to be three to four times more likely to grow up in families struggling to meet their basic needs than children in non-immigrant families (Figure 1).26

Economic disparities for undocumented immigrant communities existed long before the COVID-19 pandemic. Yet, the pandemic exacerbated disparities by excluding undocumented immigrants from critical relief programs, including federal stimulus checks, Unemployment Insurance (UI), and the federal expansion of unemployment benefits.

California attempted to address these gaps with two initiatives. The Disaster Relief Assistance for Immigrants Program (DRAI) distributed $500-$1000 to people excluded from federal relief due to their immigration status,27 and the Golden State Stimulus Program distributed up to $2200 in tax credits to excluded workers who filed taxes with an individual taxpayer identification number, or Individual Tax Identification Number (ITIN).28 However, the amount of aid provided was significantly less than financial support provided to unemployed citizens, and California provided significantly less to undocumented individuals compared with New York (Figure 2).29
These exclusions created a crisis of two extremes for undocumented workers. One the one hand, undocumented workers were disproportionately left with no choice but to come to work throughout the pandemic and face significant health risks. A majority of pandemic-related deaths among workers in California’s highest-risk industries were immigrants (58%), many of whom were estimated to be undocumented. And, since more than 1 in 8 school-aged children in California may have a parent who is an undocumented immigrant, many Californians lost sources of income in addition to losing a family member.

On the other end, people who are undocumented became disproportionately unemployed without financial supports or resources. More than one in five, or 20.6% of non-citizens (including those who are undocumented) were estimated to have lost their job during the pandemic, compared to 11.6% of native-born US citizens.

The crisis born out of the COVID-19 pandemic created a once in a generation opportunity to bring about bold policy change to build equity and account for historical wrongs. It showed that when political will is present, meaningful investments can be made to keep people housed, provide financial resources, including direct cash payments, to make ends meet, care for our communities, and build a brighter future for our children. Unfortunately, harmful narratives about undocumented immigrants and people who live in poverty persist. These narratives can most readily be observed in the recent increase in anti-Asian immigrant hate crimes, the rise in White nationalism, and even in reservations about the federal Child Tax Credit expansion, which was one of the most impactful anti-poverty measures created in years and was available to many people who were undocumented, before it ended in December 2021.

To build a more equitable state that supports the economic security of all Californians, we must focus on removing exclusions permanently and creating sustainable and inclusive infrastructures that can withstand major public health, economic and political upheavals. In order to accomplish this, we must first understand the systems, policies, narratives and practices that serve to exclude undocumented immigrants from achieving economic security. The following section will illustrate how people who are undocumented are caught in a nexus of exclusions based on employment status, immigration status, and based on race, ethnicity, class, and gender.
Alongside longstanding cultural attitudes, volatile economic conditions, and major demographic shifts, racist and xenophobic federal and state policies have played a key role in creating and perpetuating exclusions to economic security for low-income people of color, immigrants, and particularly people who are undocumented.

For a brief overview of some of those policies, please refer to Appendix A. Today, people who are undocumented in California are at the nexus of three major inequitable systems that impact their economic security. It is important to understand how each of these systems function and intersect in order to identify holistic strategies for change.
EXCLUSIONS BASED ON EMPLOYMENT STATUS

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 established civil and criminal penalties against any employer who knowingly hired undocumented immigrants and greatly expanded border enforcement. Employers now use what is known as the I-9 process to verify the authorization to work of all new hires. The employer sanctions represented a fundamental shift in policy and significantly impacted undocumented individuals’ ability to work, relegating them to precarious work arrangements that lack the robust worker protections and benefits associated with traditional employment.

People who are undocumented lack the documents to satisfy the I-9 employment verification requirements that were created as a result of IRCA, otherwise known as lacking work authorization. Therefore, they are unable to legally work as traditional employees, but are able to work as independent contractors, freelancers, or entrepreneurs. Unfortunately, independent contractors are categorically excluded from the majority of worker protections and benefits, including unemployment benefits, minimum wage and overtime laws, leave benefits, and the ability to unionize (see Table 2). Meanwhile, employers sometimes exploit the law by misclassifying undocumented workers as independent contractors, even while treating them as employees in every other way, such as by exerting control over the work that they do.

Table 2. Summary of Worker Protections and Benefits for Independent Contractors vs. Employees
Adapted from NELP’s Independent Contractor vs. Employee: Why Misclassification Matters and What We Can Do to Stop It

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYEE PROTECTIONS AND BENEFITS</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT CONTRACTOR ELIGIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum wage and overtime</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers’ Compensation</td>
<td>None, or worker pays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid Family Leave or Disability</td>
<td>Only if worker pays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Insurance</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right to form a union and collectively bargain</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-harassment and discrimination protections</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes shared with employer</td>
<td>Worker pays the entire 15.3% self-employment rate and usually responsible for quarterly tax filings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another option for people who are undocumented is to work in the “cash economy”, as day laborers, in domestic work, in restaurant work, or other low-wage jobs. **Undocumented workers are estimated to be more than twice as likely to work in low-wage jobs compared to US citizen workers,** and twice as many noncitizen workers (38%) work in jobs earning below a living wage than citizen workers (18%). People who are undocumented are also much more susceptible to wage theft, which occurs when employers violate minimum wage or overtime laws. **In a 2009 survey, 37.1% of undocumented immigrant workers had been victims of minimum wage violations in the week prior to their being surveyed—compared with 21.3% for authorized immigrants and 15.6% for U.S.-born citizens.** The enormous prevalence of wage theft costs California workers $2 billion annually. Additionally, workers can face significant retaliation when trying to speak up for their rights, with employers threatening to fire workers, withhold wages, hold on to important documents, or report workers to immigration authorities. Certain jobs, such as domestic work, are also categorically excluded from state health and safety protections. Low-wage jobs do not offer opportunities through the employer to build assets such as retirement accounts, which have implications not only for the undocumented individual but also for intergenerational transfers to future generations.
# Exclusions Based on Immigration Status

People who are undocumented are largely barred from public benefits, which means that those earning poverty-level wages, who lose their job, or experience other hardships, do not have access to the same levels of support for food, health, cash, or other assistance as other Californians (see Table 3).

Table 3. Eligibility for public support programs for people who are undocumented. Adapted from NILC’s Overview of Immigrant Eligibility for Federal Programs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Type</th>
<th>Federal Eligibility for People Who Are Undocumented</th>
<th>What California Has Done</th>
<th>What Gaps Remain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food Assistance</td>
<td>Generally not eligible for food assistance through the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), with extremely limited exceptions. Generally eligible for the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). All children, regardless of immigration status, are able to access school breakfast and lunch programs.</td>
<td>California created the California Food Assistance Program (CFAP) for some lawfully permanent residents who are not eligible for SNAP (called CalFresh in California). This year, California approved funding to expand CFAP eligibility for Californians ages 55+, regardless of immigration status, which includes people who are undocumented. However, the date for when this expansion will be implemented is still being determined.</td>
<td>Californians who are undocumented and under the age of 55 are still excluded from food assistance through CFAP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare Assistance</td>
<td>Eligible for emergency treatment under emergency Medicaid. Not eligible for Full Scope Medicaid, the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP), or for purchasing coverage through the Affordable Care Act (ACA) health exchange.</td>
<td>Currently eligible for Full Scope Medi-Cal (California’s Medicaid program) if under age 26 or 50+. This year, California approved state funding to provide full scope Medi-Cal for all ages, regardless of immigration status, beginning in 2024.</td>
<td>Undocumented Californians still do not have the ability to purchase coverage through Covered California, the state’s health insurance marketplace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash Assistance</td>
<td>Generally not eligible for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), with very limited exceptions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance for Seniors and People with Low-Income and Disabilities</td>
<td>Not eligible for the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented individuals are still ineligible for CAPI.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Low-Income Tax Credits

People who are undocumented are not eligible to receive the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). Those who file with an individual taxpayer identification number (ITIN) and who have a child who has a Social Security Number (SSN) could claim the expanded Child Tax Credit for their child, provided they meet all other eligibility requirements.

California created a state earned income tax credit, the CalEITC, as well as a Young Child Tax Credit (YCTC) for people with children under the age of 6. People who are undocumented and file their taxes with an ITIN, and who meet all other eligibility requirements, can receive the CalEITC and YCTC.

There are several structural barriers to applying for, receiving, and renewing an ITIN, including fees, language barriers, and burdensome documentation requirements.

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### Covid-19 Stimulus Payments

Not eligible.

California created the Disaster Relief Assistance for Immigrants Program (DRAI) to provide one-time cash relief to people who were undocumented and therefore ineligible for federal relief.

Undocumented Californians who do not have an ITIN were not eligible for GSS.

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### Unemployment Benefits

Not eligible.

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### Housing Assistance

Not eligible for public housing and Section 8 housing programs. If at least one member of the household is eligible based on immigration status, the family may reside in the housing, but the subsidy will be prorated.

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California created the Disaster Relief Assistance for Immigrants Program (DRAI) to provide one-time cash relief to people who were undocumented, provided they filed their taxes with an ITIN and met all other eligibility requirements. ITIN filers were able to receive a slightly higher payment through GSS, given their exclusion from federal relief.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRAM TYPE</th>
<th>FEDERAL ELIGIBILITY FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE UNDOCUMENTED</th>
<th>WHAT CALIFORNIA HAS DONE</th>
<th>WHAT GAPS REMAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workforce Development Services</td>
<td>Generally, not eligible for federally funded workforce development services, including job placement and apprenticeships, that are tied to employment. People who are undocumented are eligible for other services within the public workforce development system, such as Adult Education, workforce preparation and job training.</td>
<td>Many state funded workforce development programs are available to anyone, regardless of status.</td>
<td>Programs that are directly tied to employment, such as apprenticeships, are still unavailable to people who are undocumented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Professional Licenses</td>
<td><strong>Not eligible for professional licenses.</strong></td>
<td>California has passed legislation to allow undocumented Californians to obtain business and professional licenses, provided they meet all other requirements.</td>
<td>Despite eligibility, barriers include field work and internship requirements, language access, and prohibitive fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking and Financial Services</td>
<td>There are no federal laws that prohibit banks from lending or providing services to ITIN holders. However, they are not required to do so.</td>
<td></td>
<td>While banks can allow an ITIN or other forms of identification to be used for services, many of them do not. This creates a barrier for some undocumented individuals to open bank accounts with mainstream financial institutions, leaving them open to predatory financial products and providers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even when people who are undocumented are included in public support programs, they still face significant barriers to accessing them, including barriers related to language, bureaucracy, and trust, given the fear that many immigrant communities have of interacting with the government.46

Many of these challenges could be addressed with a greater infrastructure of immigrant serving organizations who are able to address barriers while helping communities navigate complex systems. However, this infrastructure is not funded equitably or adequately across organizations or geographies. For example, a recent survey of immigrant legal service organizations in California found that only 8% of organizations serving the Central Valley and 11% of organizations serving the Central Coast are located in the region, compared with 76% in the Bay Area and 44% in Los Angeles.47 This discrepancy is especially challenging as immigrant populations continue to grow in more rural and suburban areas.

**EXCLUSIONS ON THE BASIS OF RACE, ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND GENDER**

In California, the vast majority of people who are undocumented (97%) identify as people of color, and discrimination based on race and ethnicity significantly impacts and harms people’s chances of economic security, particularly women. For example, significant research shows how Black and Latinx sounding names on job applications are less likely to get a call back for an interview48, and applications for housing are more likely to get denied.49

Even if one is able to get a job, occupational segregation – which occurs when one demographic group is over or underrepresented in a certain job – has meant that jobs that pay higher wages disproportionately employ White men, while lower paid jobs disproportionately employ women, and particularly women of color.50 Jobs traditionally thought to be held by women of color pay less at the outset, and tend to be thought of as “low-skilled” or “unskilled”, even though they often require a high level of skills and experience.51

California’s punitive carceral system also disproportionately harms communities of color, with severe immigration and economic implications.52 Those who interact with the criminal justice system face significant burdens in finding a job and supporting themselves upon returning home. However, immigrants who interact with the criminal justice system face additional consequences due to California’s jails and prisons voluntarily transferring immigrant community members to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for detention and potential deportation.53 Individuals lose their loved ones, their homes, and their livelihoods, at a deep personal and financial cost to families and communities.54
The COVID-19 pandemic showed us how we are deeply interconnected and reliant on our collective health and well-being. While the pandemic revealed and aggravated deep, structural inequities in our society, it has also served as a rallying cry to create the future we want, where we are all able to live financially secure lives where we are cared for, protected, have a sense of belonging and can thrive.

When we focus on removing exclusions and targeting investments to those who are most disenfranchised, we all benefit. For example, if our state eliminated racial gaps in income, the California GDP would have been about $1.1 trillion larger. When California removed the exclusion of undocumented immigrant tax filers from our state’s Earning Income Tax Credit (CalEITC), it put over $100 million back in the pockets of low-income Californians. That money went back into helping boost local economies, as that money could be used for housing, food, medical, and education costs. And, when California expanded Medi-Cal eligibility to undocumented residents under 26 years of age, the state was able to close its overall uninsured gap from 14.5% to 6%. Since people who are undocumented tend to live in mixed-status households and are deeply integrated in their communities, their economic security extends to their family and community members. Studies of the long term effects of economic security programs for children have been linked to lower rates of health issues, improved education outcomes, and greater economic mobility in adulthood. In other words, economic security for people who are undocumented will lead to reduced instability, trauma and other hardships for the people who depend on and love them, and create greater economic opportunity for the generations to follow them.

While people who are undocumented are disproportionately represented in low-paying jobs, exploitation in the workplace is not unique to undocumented workers. Rather, it is a disease that plagues our entire economy, across communities, industries, and sectors. Thus, improving economic security for people who are undocumented will likely result in improving low-wage worker industries overall.
When California removed the exclusion of undocumented immigrant tax filers from our state’s Earning Income Tax Credit (CalEITC), it put over $100 million back in the pockets of low-income Californians.

Finally, if the pandemic revealed to us our interdependence, our economic and climate future will put it to the test. Economic security for people who are undocumented will make our state more resilient and better able to withstand future shocks – be it a pandemic, climate disaster, or fundamental shifts in our economy. The Great Recession of 2008 and the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated inequality because individuals were left to pull themselves out of crises on their own.61 This does not need to be our reality. We can invest in the economic security of people who are undocumented to create a more equitable and inclusive California for all now, so that governments, funders, and communities are better prepared for future crisis when they inevitably occur. Ensuring that people who are undocumented have what’s needed to thrive will help ensure that everyone can thrive.
California has enormous opportunities to expand state economic supports for people who are undocumented and excluded from federal relief. In recent years, California has continued to have unprecedented budget surpluses, largely due to the outsized incomes, wealth, and investment gains of wealthy Californians and corporations. These surpluses can, and should, be used to combat inequality by addressing exclusions for undocumented Californians based on worker status, immigration status, and barriers due to race, ethnicity, class, and gender. However, even in leaner economic times, inclusive investments are necessary to build the long-term economic resiliency of our state and to prevent inequality from widening. In recent years, California has been a leader for immigrant rights, including for undocumented individuals, but it is by no means the only one. While the recommendations below are California focused, they can, and should, serve as a model for other states across the country who seek to support the economic security of people who are undocumented.
IMAGINING A FUTURE WITH NO EXCLUSIONS OR EXCEPTIONS TO ECONOMIC SECURITY MEANS THAT:

- Programs to support economic security are no longer limited based on employment or immigration status.

- The state fills in gaps of financial support when federal policies discriminate against undocumented individuals, and makes investments to dismantle barriers and create a more equitable economy for all.

- Everyone, regardless of race, gender & immigration status can live a life of dignity, agency, and belonging that enables them to also have assets to pass on to future generations.
ENSURE THAT ALL WORKERS, REGARDLESS OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS, HAVE JOBS THAT ENABLE ECONOMIC SECURITY, MOBILITY, DIGNITY, AND VOICE

Remove exclusions and barriers to unemployment benefits, paid leave, and health & safety protections: During the COVID-19 pandemic, unemployment benefits were a lifeline for workers; they meant that people could continue to put food on the table and support themselves and their families while trying to get back to work. States like New York and Colorado have invested in including undocumented workers in unemployment benefits, and advocates are fighting now for California to do the same. Meanwhile, paid sick and family leave benefits from employers are insufficient for many workers to make ends meet when they need to take off work to care for themselves or a loved one. By increasing the amount that people can receive from paid leave programs and expanding eligibility, more workers will be able to benefit. Additionally, by removing exclusions to state health and safety protections, domestic workers and day labor workers will be able better able to avoid injury and retaliation, and will be able to have greater dignity and voice in the workplace.

Establish and scale portable benefits: Portable benefits include health coverage, retirement programs, accrued paid leave, insurance, or other benefits that remain with the worker, rather than the employer. With portable benefits, workers are able to hold on to their benefits from job to job and across multiple employers, without interruption in coverage or loss of funding. Some models of portable benefits systems have already been established, such as the state’s portable benefits retirement savings program called CalSavers, and the City of San Francisco’s local ordinance that would create a portable benefits system to let domestic workers aggregate hours from multiple employers to count toward their paid sick leave benefits. These public policy models have the potential to be scaled through greater employer contributions and infrastructure investment.

Expand and enforce anti-harassment and retaliation laws: People who are undocumented are uniquely vulnerable to abuse in the workplace. This results both from white supremacist actions and the likelihood the undocumented person is less likely to file a claim against their employer for fear of retaliation, despite laws that prohibit it. Greater protection for undocumented workers, including sufficient staffing, infrastructure, and resources to enforce existing laws, is needed. In California, solutions to support workers’ decision to come forward and assert their workplace rights include expanding staffing of the state’s Retaliation Complaint Investigation Unit (RCI), establishing enforceable stiff financial penalties against the employers and creating a retaliation hardship fund that will provide immediate economic support should a worker face retaliation.

Ensure proper classification of workers. Misclassification of workers occurs when an employer improperly classifies their employees as independent contractors and shirks their responsibility to provide basic worker protections and benefits. In California, from 2017 to 2018, 9 out of 10 businesses inspected were found to be out of compliance with worker classification laws. In 2019, California passed AB 5, which clarified the process by which employers are held accountable to workers who should be considered employees. Immediately, app-based companies funded a campaign to pass Prop 22, which excluded app-based rideshare and food delivery workers from most employee rights and protections. Prop 22 passed but has since been ruled unconstitutional. Enforcement of proper classification is important because, like all other workers, undocumented workers who have been misclassified have the right to seek relief and bring a claim against their employer for back wages, meal and rest breaks, and other rights.
Increase support for self-employment including small business ownership and worker owned cooperative models: Given some of the federal work limitations for people who are undocumented, alternatives such as entrepreneurship, and worker-owned cooperatives are important options, because the federal prohibition on undocumented worker’s employment does not apply to business owners or members of a cooperative. Increased investments as well as policies that break down barriers to pursuing these models are critical for making these options more viable. California made some progress in this area when it established the Social Entrepreneurs for Economic Development (SEED) Fund within the state’s Employment Training Panel, which provides micro-grants, entrepreneurial training, and technical assistance to individuals with limited English proficiency, regardless of immigration or citizenship status, and who are neither US citizens nor lawful permanent residents.

Expand worker decision-making power: During the pandemic, workers on the frontlines in essential industries were at the highest risk of contracting COVID-19 in the workplace, yet many were not included in decisions about how to make sure the workplace could continue to operate safely. The pandemic shined a light on the need for new models to bring workers and managers to the table to create health and safety protocols together, particularly in low-paying industries that predominantly employ undocumented workers. Promising examples include Los Angeles’ Public Health Councils initiative, which engages workers to ensure worksite compliance with required COVID-19 safety measures, and the FAST Recovery Act, which will give fast food workers the ability to shape industry-wide workplace standards and hold corporations accountable for upholding those standards.
ENSURE THAT EVERYONE, REGARDLESS OF IMMIGRATION STATUS, HAS EQUITABLE ACCESS TO PUBLIC BENEFITS AND ECONOMIC SUPPORTS

Ensure that everyone, regardless of immigration status, has access to healthcare, food assistance, cash assistance, and other public supports

Healthcare: Up until this year, people who were undocumented and between the ages of 26 and 49 were excluded from Medi-Cal because of their immigration status. Thanks to the tireless efforts of advocates, beginning in 2024 all low-income Californians, regardless of status, will be able to enroll in Medi-Cal. There is still more that California can do to ensure that people are aware about the change and enroll. And, there is more that California can do to expand coverage, such as expanding access to subsidies through Covered California, the state’s version of a health care exchange as part of the Affordable Care Act (ACA).

Food Assistance: This year, California also approved funding to expand access to CalFresh benefits for people who are undocumented and ages 55+ Given the long-proven benefits of food access, California should still remove all age limitations and expand access to CalFresh to everyone, regardless of status.

Cash Assistance: California could expand cash assistance programs such as the Cash Assistance Program for Immigrants (CAPI) to increase eligibility and/or increase benefits for people who are elderly, blind, and disabled and who are excluded from Supplemental Security Income (SSI) payments due to their immigration status.

When California expanded Medi-Cal eligibility to undocumented residents under 26 years of age, the state was able to close its overall uninsured gap from 14.5% to 6%.
Increase support for immigrants excluded from federal tax credits: The California Earned Income Tax Credit (CalEITC) along with the Young Child Tax Credit (YCTC), puts money back in the pockets of low-income Californians through the tax system. Tax filers earning less than $30,000 a year can get a tax credit of up to $3,160 and $1,000 for the CalEITC and the YCTC, respectively. In 2020, immigrant tax filers who file with an Individual Tax Identification Number (ITIN) were included in these tax credits, resulting in over 265,000 tax filing households receiving a total of over $100 million in tax credits in 2021. Since ITIN filers continue to be excluded from federal tax credits, California could increase state tax credits specifically for ITIN filers. Additionally, California could make it easier for people to obtain ITINs and benefit from the credits, such as by increasing funding for free tax preparation services.

Expand access to workforce development and apprenticeships: Workforce development—which encompasses adult education programs, job referrals, skills assessments, career counseling, on-the-job training, and other complimentary services—is one tool with the potential to improve job quality and expand access to good jobs for California’s workers. However, undocumented workers are largely ineligible for federal publicly-funded workforce development services. Through state funded workforce programs such as the Breaking Barriers to Employment Initiative, which provides grant funding to local workforce boards and community-based organizations to provide holistic and equitable workforce development services to everyone, regardless of status, California can expand access to workforce development opportunities that are not tied to federal restrictions.


**Expand access to responsible banking and financial services:** According to the California Reinvestment Coalition, while there is no federal or state requirement that banks exclude immigrants from their customer base or deny services on the basis of immigration status, many banks only offer their services to applicants with a Social Security Number. Federally chartered banks cannot be regulated by the state, but California can set rules for credit unions, state-chartered banks, and financial technology companies to ensure that they offer safe and affordable financial services for people who are undocumented, adopt immigrant-friendly banking practices, and respect people’s privacy and dignity.

**Expand access to identification and voting:** Identification allows a person to apply for benefits, open a bank account, participate in programs, secure housing, and more. Since 2013, California has continued to expand access to immigrant Californians. This year, California committed to state ID eligibility to all California residents—over 1.6 million undocumented residents will be able to get a state identification by 2027. Moving forward, since significant amounts of public funds for economic programs are administered and executed at the city and county level, expanding voting rights in local arenas can help ensure that local and statewide officials and public policies are responsive to all Californians.

**ADDRESSING OTHER BARRIERS BASED ON RACE, ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND GENDER**

**Expand support for community-based organizations and worker centers that represent and work with diverse undocumented immigrant communities:** Changes in geography and demographics of immigrant communities means that greater investments are needed in organizations that can meet diverse needs. This means government agencies and philanthropic organizations should work to identify gaps and increase funding to support a more robust infrastructure of organizations and services across industries and geographic regions, as well as racial and ethnic communities, including Black, Asian and Pacific Islander, and indigenous migrant communities.

**Expand legal and navigation services to address wealth stripping in the immigration system:** Investing in due process for all, including increased access to knowledgeable and experienced immigration attorneys and legal services, allows individuals and families to not have to rely upon unscrupulous individuals who use predatory practices. California can also do more to end discriminatory fines and fees in the criminal justice and in the immigration system.

**Expand language access and language justice:** Lack of language access in critical relief programs, such as rental assistance and unemployment benefits, are correlated with a drop in applications. Reliable interpretation, translation, and navigation is important for ensuring equitable access to eligible benefits. More can be done to ensure that language access reflects the sheer diversity of languages spoken in California. Providing translation and interpretation in a wider variety of languages, increasing multilingual staffing and phone lines for application questions and services, and regular data reporting from government agencies to identify gaps can improve access to critical benefits and programs.
LONGER TERM SOLUTIONS

Expand worker protections and benefits to all workers, regardless of employment or immigration status, starting with unemployment benefits: Our unemployment benefits system is not responsive to our 21st century economy. When Unemployment Insurance was created in 1935, it excluded the 65% of Black workers who worked in agriculture or domestic jobs. Today, farmworkers and domestic workers continue to be excluded from benefits. Independent contractors, freelancers, and gig-workers are also shut out from the program. Even those who are technically eligible for Unemployment Insurance often don’t have access due to language barriers, low benefits, and antiquated systems. In the long term, our Unemployment Insurance system needs systemic reform so that all workers are included, regardless of immigration or employment status.

Create a guaranteed income for people who are undocumented: A guaranteed income sets a minimum income floor, so that those with the lowest incomes are able to meet their basic needs. The benefits of a guaranteed income program have been proven time and time again, most notably with the two-year pilot of the Stockton Economic Empowerment Demonstration (SEED). With a guaranteed income, people receiving the benefit saw reduced income volatility; increased full-time employment; lower rates of depression; enhanced well-being; and a greater sense of agency to pursue new learning opportunities. Undocumented immigrant families in particular stand to benefit from guaranteed income programs, since they were shut out of thousands of dollars in federal COVID-19 relief and faced financial ruin as a result. A guaranteed income can help families recover and ensure that they can continue to put food on the table and care for themselves and loved ones. Recently, the state funded the California Department of Social Services (CDSS) $35 million over five-years to support local guaranteed income pilot projects throughout the state, creating an opportunity for pilots that directly target undocumented immigrant communities and that can inform longer term solutions.

Explore the feasibility of creating a state work authorization program: Lack of work authorization is a primary barrier for people who are undocumented to be able to work and thrive in California. Legal scholars have been exploring opportunities to create a state work authorization program, which would allow people who are undocumented to work in the state. As the federal government continues to experience gridlock on immigration reform, California is ripe for considering new work-arounds, though much more research is needed.

If the state had eliminated racial gaps in income, the California GDP would have been about $1.1 trillion larger.
Philanthropy has a powerful role to play in supporting more equitable policy development, advocacy and direct services needed to ensure that undocumented individuals are able to achieve economic security, equity, and justice. Data reveals that nationally, only 1% of philanthropic funding goes to grant-making specifically for immigrant-related issues and only a fraction of that addresses economic security. Success requires dedicated, trust-based, flexible, and committed funding to create a robust ecosystem that can support policy, culture, and narrative change, powerful organizing and leadership development.

The following section highlights specific philanthropic investment strategies along with examples of organizations engaged in those efforts which can support the longer-term economic security of undocumented immigrants and ensure that undocumented individuals are able to achieve economic security, equity, and justice.

Appendix B provides a robust list of organizations across California working on a variety of intersectional issues around economic security for undocumented individuals.

### INVEST IN GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING AND BUILDING IMMIGRANT WORKER POWER

Worker centers and day labor centers are central to the economic security, workforce development, and rights of undocumented workers. Worker centers bring workers and employers together to negotiate hiring, educate workers on their rights, transform low-wage industries, help workers navigate the labor market, and conduct grassroots organizing to build worker power among low-wage and immigrant workers. There are currently more than 30 worker centers and/or day labor centers across California. Some are organized around a specific industry while others may be organized around a specific geographic location or population. Investing in these types of centers support the collective power of low-wage workers, many of whom are undocumented immigrants, to improve and enforce labor standards across industries, recognize and leverage workers’ skills and competencies, and amplify worker voice.
COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

The Day Worker Center of Mountain View was formed in 1996 and provides leadership development, job placement, and direct services for undocumented day labor workers in the Mountain View community. The Center receives funding from the Silicon Valley Community Foundation and the Los Altos Community Foundation, among others. Located in the Silicon Valley, with access to some of the most affluent communities in California who often employ day labor and domestic workers, the Day Worker Center works to flip the power dynamic by engaging employers to learn about the wealth of skills, knowledge, and talent that workers have. For example, workers teach Spanish as a Second Language classes to employer students, and the center organizes employers to be advocates for immigrant worker rights. In addition, the Day Worker Center provides job training, career services, and supportive services to workers, and organizes workers around progressive, pro-immigrant, and pro-worker policies.

Mujeres Unidas y Activas (MUA) is a grassroots organization founded over 30 years ago with a mission of promoting personal transformation and building community power for social and economic justice. MUA provides one-on-one peer support and direct services, leadership development, as well as community education to promote economic security, including workers’ rights, job readiness training, and workshops for domestic workers, many of whom are undocumented. With over 500 grassroots members who are immigrant women from around the San Francisco Bay Area, MUA has also built significant worker power and has helped organize and mobilize their base to win powerful campaigns for immigrant, workers’ and women’s rights. Importantly, MUA also takes leadership development to heart by hiring members into staff positions. Funders have included the Blue Shield Foundation, Walter & Elise Haas Fund, and the California Wellness Foundation.
INVEST IN UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS GROUPS’ CAPACITY
BUILDING FOR POLICY ADVOCACY

Many organizations have been building membership bases and coalitions, and advancing campaigns for years, often with limited resources due to funding and capacity constraints. Partnerships between policy advocacy organizations and immigrant & workers’ rights groups are key to building powerful coalitions that can sustain pressure and accountability in the political and policy making space. Campaigns can sometimes take years to be successful, which require long-term support. Robust investment in this work can yield sustainable gains for immigrant justice to address the exclusions raised in earlier portions of this publication and permanently enshrine inclusive policies that can withstand the whims of politics and political polarization.

COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

The Regional Capacity Building Project (RCBP), a project of California Immigrant Policy Center, helps to support and build collective power across nine regional immigrant rights coalitions, which organize and advocate for policy change at the local, regional and state level. Primarily funded by The California Endowment, RCBP members work to build both their internal capacity (by growing their membership base, funding, and leadership talent) and their networked capacity (by building coalitions within regions and connecting coalitions across regions) to strengthen the power and reach of California’s immigrant rights movement. Each member coalition has helped generate new policy ideas based on issues facing their specific communities, has been critical to passing and implementing pro-immigrant policies, and has ensured effective implementation and accountability by being a trusted voice in their community. The Contra Costa Immigrant Rights Alliance, funded by the Y&H Soda Foundation, and the San Joaquin Immigrant Integration Collaborative, which currently only receives funding through RCBP membership, are two members that have been active in statewide campaigns to promote expanded access to food assistance and healthcare, as well as to create a local non-police crisis response program, respectively.

Trabajadores Unidos/Workers United (TUWU), based in San Francisco, was formed in 2002 as a multi-racial and bilingual membership organization dedicated to improving the quality of jobs for workers in San Francisco. With funding from the James Irvine Foundation and the San Francisco Foundation, TUWU has been able to greatly increase its policy advocacy capacity. As a coordinating member of the Safety Net for All Coalition, TUWU organizes its worker members to lead and advance a powerful statewide legislative and budget campaign to win unemployment benefits for excluded immigrant workers. Funding from the James Irvine Foundation allowed TUWU to hire a coalition manager, organize retreats to build out campaign strategy, and coordinate direct actions and lobby visits in Sacramento and the Bay Area. With funding support from ReWork the Bay, a project of the San Francisco Foundation, TUWU joined with Chinese Progressive Association, Dolores Street Community Services, and worker centers across the region to survey 1400 workers about their economic priorities, resulting in the Bay Area Essential Workers Agenda, a policy platform for an equitable recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. This past year, TUWU, along with the entire coalition, led a local campaign that successfully secured increased funding for workers’ rights outreach and education and $100,000 in seed funding for an earn and learn workforce development pilot program.
INVEST IN ORGANIZATIONS THAT SERVE THE DIVERSITY OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Changes in geography and demographics of immigrant communities means that greater investments are needed in organizations that can meet changing needs. Investments are needed in organizations that include serving an increasingly diverse demography of undocumented individuals.

COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

**African Advocacy Network (AAN)** was formed 13 years ago in San Francisco and focuses exclusively on serving African and Afro-Caribbean immigrants of all statuses with legal services, case management, know-your-rights trainings, and community building. AAN staff members fill a large gap in language access, serving clients in English, French, Spanish, Amharic (Ethiopian), Tigrinya (Eritrean), Haitian Creole, and other languages from the African diaspora. AAN is one of the few organizations that is able to do outreach and education to local Black immigrant communities when state laws are passed, such as AB 60, which allowed many undocumented Californians to get drivers’ licenses. Funded in part by the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, AAN is now also focusing on helping local Black immigrant community members work to create their own systems of support and wealth-building by addressing local gaps in entrepreneurship and business development.

**Centro Binacional para el Desarrollo Indígena Oaxaqueño (CBDIO)** was created by Indigenous farm-workers in 1993 to serve the unique needs of Indigenous migrant communities residing in California. CBDIO is uniquely positioned to serve the diverse language and cultural needs of Indigenous migrant communities, with staff who speak six Indigenous languages and 13 unique variants of those languages, such as Mixtec (seven variants), Zapotec (two variants), Triqui (two variants), Chatino (two variants), Amuzgo and Tlapaneco (indigenous language from the state of Guerrero). With programs in Fresno and Madera in the Central Valley, and Greenfield in Monterey County, CBDIO staff provide linguistically appropriate and culturally sensitive workshops, education, training, counseling, and outreach on issues ranging from workers’ rights to public benefits and civic participation. CBDIO also organizes its Indigenous farmworker communities to build their own power, leadership, and advocacy capacity, by participating in local and statewide coalitions and campaigns. Funders include the California Endowment and the David & Lucille Packard Foundation, among others.

INVEST IN WORKER OWNERSHIP AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Investing in worker-owned business models, including co-operatives, as well as entrepreneurship, is a powerful way to support undocumented workers to earn better wages and build wealth, while also having more agency and a say in their work. Co-operative businesses in particular can help transform industries that have a history of exploiting workers by demonstrating an alternative model and making the business case for providing higher quality jobs, while promoting worker ownership and shared economic prosperity.

COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

**Prospera**, based in Oakland, helps low-income immigrant women to launch their own businesses across the Bay Area region. With funding from the San Francisco Foundation, Y&H Soda Foundation, Latino Community Foundation, and others, Prospera serves more than 200 Latina immigrant entrepreneurs per year by providing comprehensive, culturally specific training and technical assistance in Spanish to help them launch, grow, and sustain successful co-ops and/or businesses. Many of
Prospera’s participants are undocumented and 80% are low-income. The organization has been nationally recognized as a leader in the field of co-op development in low-income immigrant communities, and combines culturally based cooperative and popular education with state-of-the-art business and leadership development tools that are usually out of reach for low income women. Additionally, Prospera works to help participants manage their well-being while also managing their business, by providing peer networking opportunities, coaching, and opportunities to collaborate with each other. In response to COVID, Prospera also created a community-governed Latina Entrepreneur Resiliency Fund to help 40 participants cover basic needs.

Ayudando Latinos A Soñar (ALAS) is a Latinx-centered community-based organization formed in 2011 and based in Half Moon Bay. ALAS offers a Food Justice program to support the nutritional needs of farmworkers, and through their Economic Vitality Program, they offer training and education on entrepreneurship, budgeting, marketing, and how to talk with business loan officers. Over the past several years, ALAS has provided staff time and training to support a new initiative, Rancho San Benito, which is creating a cooperative for local farmworkers, many of whom are undocumented. In San Mateo County, farmworkers earn an average of $25,000 a year. For undocumented workers, it’s often much less. However, according to one of the founders, when a farmer is in charge of their own land, one acre can potentially earn a farmer between $60,000 and $100,000. With funding from the County of San Mateo, the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, and others, the organization was able to lease 76 acres of land through the Peninsula Open Space Trust. This land will allow farmworkers to use the acreage to farm and sell their crops, and will serve as an educational space for farmworkers to learn about land management, sustainable farming practices, how to start new cooperatives, and the principles of running a farm business. Rancho San Benito, which recently became its own 501(c)3 organization, will be providing farmworker participants with marketing and initial overhead costs, such as equipment and supplies.

The CLEAN Carwash Worker Center has been organizing and supporting Los Angeles County carwash workers, many of whom are undocumented, for 15 years through know-your-rights training, employer outreach, skills training, and advocacy. This year, the organization incubated and launched Clean-Wash Mobile, a new worker-owned cooperative car wash business that aims to transform the carwash industry, which has a legacy of worker abuse, wage theft, and workplace injuries. The co-op will ensure that workers receive higher wages, safer working conditions and a more stable path to long-term economic security. With startup funding from California’s SEED Grant, the co-op will service fleets of cars owned by nonprofits, governments, and large businesses, and recently announced their first contract with St. John’s Community Health, one of the largest non-profit healthcare providers in Los Angeles County.

FUND WORK TO CHANGE HARMFUL NARRATIVES AND CULTURAL NORMS THAT PERPETUATE ECONOMIC EXCLUSIONS AND INEQUITIES

Cultural norms and narratives are at the heart of how policies and programs are created, implemented, and enforced. They are also key to galvanizing public support for bold policies that are otherwise challenging to create. Given that significant narrative challenges govern our current debates around the economy, immigration, and the intersection of the two, messaging testing is needed to help us better understand—and confront—harmful narratives, and change hearts and minds to support more inclusive economic policies for undocumented immigrant communities.
COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

The Immigrant Strategic Messaging Project (ISMP) is a partnership of national, statewide, and local movement leaders, communicators and researchers that investigates American attitudes toward immigrants and develops evidence-based messaging strategies to change conversations and break through polarization. The group led the first ever deep canvass on immigration issues and has conducted extensive testing of video and TV ads, and recently released a comprehensive guide to immigrant messaging research and guidance to support advocacy efforts and policies that support undocumented immigrants. Funding comes from the California Wellness Foundation and the Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr Fund.

The Southern Border Communities Coalition, a program of Alliance San Diego, brings together 60 organizations from San Diego, CA to Brownsville, TX to ensure that border enforcement policies and practices are accountable and fair, promote policies and solutions that improve the quality of life in border communities, and support rational and humane immigration reform policies affecting the border region. One of their projects, Border Lens, is a data, research and story hub created by the Coalition to provide a comprehensive view of the southern border region — from the people who live and work there to humanize issues at the border. Funders include the Marguerite Casey Foundation and the Annenberg Foundation.

FUND COMMUNITY-GROUNDED RESEARCH

Because of the precarious circumstances facing people who are undocumented, and the fact that the majority of economic and demographic data is based on records that — rightly so — do not ask about citizenship status, research on undocumented immigrant communities can be difficult, and more research is needed. Community-grounded research is an important way to build trust, ensure that the right questions are being asked in the most appropriate way, and that recommendations are most responsive to community needs. Often, new and important insights can be uncovered. Plus, participating in community-grounded research can be an incredibly empowering experience for everyone involved.

COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

The University of California Merced Community and Labor Center was founded in 2020 and is the largest labor center serving a rural region in the United States. With funding from the UC Merced Foundation and others, the Center leads community-grounded research and public education to inform the development and/or passage of major state policies, including unemployment benefits, tax credits, expanded paid leave protections, and workplace health and safety standards for undocumented workers. With additional funding from the California Department of Public Health, the Center conducted the largest ever academic study on the health and work experiences of the nation’s most disadvantaged workers—agricultural workers. Over 70% of agricultural workers are non-citizen, and most are undocumented. The UC Merced Farmworker Health Study formed and engaged a Farmworker Community Advisory Board (CAB) consisting of over two dozen of the state’s leading farmworker organizations, and a labor union. CAB partners conducted over 1,200 in-depth interviews with farmworkers in six languages to better understand how to improve the agriculture industry from a workers’ perspective. Specific areas of inquiry included economic security issues such as employer compliance with wage and hour provisions, compliance with workplace health and safety training, and workforce development and access to benefits. Issues such as these had never been asked about in previous farmworker health studies.
FUND PILOTS, TESTING, AND NEW MODELS THAT SUPPORT ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE UNDOCUMENTED

Funding innovation through pilots that address structural and systemic issue is critical to understand how a specific program or policy can support undocumented individuals, and identify opportunities and challenges for bringing a new idea to scale. One burgeoning area for investment in new models is around local, targeted, guaranteed income programs designed to close gaps in the safety net for undocumented immigrant communities, which can include specific industries or geographies.

COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

During the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Mission Asset Fund (MAF), a financial services nonprofit, quickly pivoted to create a Rapid Response Fund (RRF), similar to the UndocuFund that was created in Sonoma in response to the Tubbs fire in 2017, and other “UndocuFunds” that have been created since then. MAF was able to distribute one-time funds ranging from $500-$1000 to 55,000 individuals and 7,000 low income college students, including undocumented individuals and students. The findings from the RFF led to the creation of MAF’s pioneering Universal Basic Income (UBI)+ program, which includes a Randomized Control Trial (RCT) that will study the impacts of undocumented immigrant households receiving $400 a month in cash assistance with no strings attached, as well as financial services, for various lengths of time (12 months versus 24 months), as they try to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic. With funding primarily from MacKenzie Scott as well as the Walter & Elise Haas Fund, the UBI+ program prioritizes low-income immigrant families with young children who remain excluded from federal support. While the majority of the participants come from MAF’s RFF, San Mateo County, Daly City, and the City of Coachella have formed public-private partnerships with MAF to have additional community members participate. This program will serve as a testing ground to inform what guaranteed income for undocumented immigrant families could look like at scale. MAF also receives support from Citibank, JP Morgan Chase and the Sobrato Family Foundation.

SUPPORT PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION TO ENSURE MEANINGFUL IMPACT

Policies and programs are only as good as the extent to which they actually provide meaningful change in peoples’ lives. Oftentimes this requires effective outreach and education as well as navigational services to help people become aware of and access services, especially as services are expanded to include undocumented individuals, due to traditional exclusions from these types of supports. For example, funding for outreach can help people know about and successfully enroll in newly expanded Medi-Cal or CalFresh benefits, while funding for free tax preparation services can help people apply for and renew their ITIN and file their taxes in order to access state tax credits. Additionally, funding for program and policy evaluation can help communicate successes and uplift organizations that have been doing important economic security work for decades, while also helping organizations, advocates, and policymakers understand continued challenges and opportunities for improvements.
COMMUNITY-BASED EXAMPLES:

The California Protecting Immigrant Families Coalition (CA PIF) is composed of over 75 organizations across the state, including grassroots community-based organizations, policy advocates, and service providers working to address the chilling effect caused by misinformation and misunderstanding of the public charge rule in immigrant communities. CA PIF’s Outreach and Communications workgroup leads in creating training and resources that help service providers and community-based organizations communicate the intricacies of immigrant public benefits access with a coordinated messaging strategy. The workgroup has developed novel immigrant health curricula to assist communicators and trusted messengers across the state, including modules and fact sheets. With funding from the national Protecting Immigrant Families Campaign, the workgroup has also authored several community-facing documents and social media toolkits, engaging ethnic media outlets, and supporting language access for Latinx, Asian, Pacific Islander, African, Caribbean, indigenous, and Central European immigrants and refugees.

Philanthropy has a powerful role to play. Philanthropy can lead and reinforce a just and equitable economy by explicitly investing in and supporting more equitable policy development, advocacy and direct services to ensure that undocumented individuals are able to achieve economic security, equity, and justice. Data reveals that nationally, only 1% of philanthropic funding goes to grantmaking specifically for immigrant-related issues, and only a fraction of that addresses economic security. Success requires dedicated, trust-based, flexible, and committed funding to create a robust ecosystem that can support policy, culture, and narrative change, powerful organizing and leadership development. Through this type of robust interconnected infrastructure & support systems people who are undocumented will have the opportunity to not only live financially secure lives but also begin to build and retain assets for future generations who are the bedrock of an inclusive and thriving California.
California is home to more immigrants than any other state in the U.S. In fact, immigrants continue to play an integral role in the social and economic fabric of all California’s communities. Immigration also continues to drive population growth in Contra Costa County, accounting for 47.4% of the population growth in the county between 2015 and 2019. As of 2019 there were 295,400 immigrants in Contra Costa County, of which 48,600 were undocumented, representing 16.4% of the county’s foreign-born population. The majority of people who are undocumented in Contra Costa have lived in the U.S. for over a decade (65%). Undocumented immigrants are also highly active in the workforce, with 90.1% being of working age (16-64 years old). Moreover, more than one in ten people in Contra Costa are either undocumented themselves or are living with someone who is undocumented. Therefore, their economic security is inextricably tied to that of their families and their ability to transfer intergenerational wealth to future generations.

Despite making important economic contributions to the county’s economy, including 149.6 million which went to federal taxes and $70.6 went to state and local taxes, many people continue to experience economic hardships primarily due to exclusions detailed in the brief, such as those based on employment status, immigration status and based on race, ethnicity, class and/or gender. Community-based organizations (CBOs) fill some of the gaps in essential services, including legal and economic supports as well as advocacy for more equitable and inclusive policies. Although there is a robust and deeply interconnected undocumented immigrant community, Contra Costa County’s infrastructure and CBOs serving undocumented residents is limited compared with other counties and major cities in California. For example, San Francisco has eight public defender deportation defense attorneys and five support staff, whereas Contra Costa only has one program to provide pro bono immigration legal services for the roughly 8,200 cases currently pending in the county. This is partly a result of both limited philanthropic support and government funding for these types of vital organizations and services.

295,400 immigrants live in Contra Costa County, of which 48,600 are estimated to be undocumented, representing 16.4% of the county’s foreign-born population.
GROUPS SUPPORTING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS

Stand Together Contra Costa (STCC) is Contra Costa’s only immigrant legal services program and was established as a partnership between the county, philanthropy, and CBOs such as Monument Impact. It operates out of the county’s public defender’s office. STCC provides culturally competent, no-cost rapid response support, legal defense services, and immigrant rights education and training to support families impacted by anti-immigrant policies and practices affecting Contra Costa County residents, regardless of immigration status or ability to pay. Unfortunately, just this year the County Board of Supervisors rejected a proposal to expand funding for the program, which would have paid for three new attorneys, three legal assistants, and two social workers.

Monument Impact is one of the few organizations located in Contra Costa County that organizes undocumented community members and offers direct services to support their economic security. As part of STCC and convener of the Contra Costa Immigrant Rights Alliance, Monument Impact’s members continue to advocate for increased funding for immigration legal services, eviction defense, rental assistance, and more. Founded in 2001, Monument Impact also operates a day labor center; offers workforce development, entrepreneurship, and leadership development programs; and provides legal services and know your rights workshops to the city of Concord’s immigrant, refugee, and low-income communities. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Monument Impact’s promotoras, or community health workers, also reached 22,000 residents with information and assistance related to health appointments and rental assistance programs. The organization also raised funds to support individuals who were ineligible for COVID relief payments.

Additional organizations supporting the economic security of undocumented immigrants in California have worked to expand language access at public meetings like the Measure X Community Advisory Board meetings, which are meant to enable community participation and input into how the county uses its half-cent sales tax revenues to fund critical community services. Other organizations have also been working to expand funding for Contra Costa CARES, the county’s healthcare program for uninsured adults, many of whom are undocumented. As the state implements its MediCal expansion for all low-income undocumented Californians, there will be a greater need for culturally competent, community-based outreach and education to support enrollment and transitions.
FUNDER SPOTLIGHT: Y&H SODA FOUNDATION

Based in Contra Costa County, the Y&H Soda Foundation, which funds both STCC and Monument Impact, was motivated by persistent and growing disparities in the Bay Area to center racial equity in its work. It began looking beyond obvious disparities and placing emphasis on those often left behind or left out—immigrants, refugees, asylees, the undocumented, the formerly incarcerated, and women working in atypical sectors like construction. It also took into account the gentrification of certain neighborhoods and the suburbanization of poverty: as communities were pushed farther from the urban core, needed services were not as readily accessible. Y&H Soda’s strategy involved using a two-pronged approach, moving to fund more than direct service delivery; investing in systems change, policy, advocacy, and organizing work as well as investing more deeply in organizations led by Black, Latinx, Indigenous, and Asian people to support leaders committed to advancing equity in Alameda and Contra Costa counties.

“To make that shift several years ago, we became more deliberate in how we engaged diverse leaders serving populations and neighborhoods falling further behind. We targeted and expanded investments to organizations led by people of color for on-the-ground programs and community organizing efforts. The events of 2020 reinforced for us the importance of this focus and the need to continue this journey with other foundations committed to social change in the region.”

Luis Artegea, Y&H Soda Chief Executive Officer

Endnotes


4 Ibid

5 Ibid


Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850, as well as the Indian Removal Act of 1830, were some of the federal government’s first attempts to restrict migration for specific groups of people.

California passed several laws that sought to exclude Chinese people from society, by prohibiting attendance at public schools or holding real estate, to imposing taxes directly targeted at Chinese workers. In 1882, the federal Chinese Exclusion Act largely prohibited Chinese immigration and denied Chinese immigrants from obtaining citizenship.

California Alien Land Law of 1913 prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning land or leasing it long-term, effectively targeting Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino immigrant farmers in California.

National Housing Act of 1934 created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which helped establish the practice of “redlining”, whereby neighborhoods were mapped and ranked in terms of their “desirability” according to race and ethnicity. A “redlined” neighborhood was predominantly black or Mexican, and loans to purchase homes in these neighborhoods were either expensive or nonexistent.


The Bracero program, which created a guest worker program for workers from Mexico to temporarily work in the United States, was established in 1942. Bracero workers faced extremely poor housing conditions, little pay, and inadequate healthcare, as well as rampant discrimination and violence. In 1954, an estimated one million Mexican people were arrested, detained, and deported back to Mexico en masse.
In 1978, the US instituted the Haitian Program, which required detention for all Haitians, revoked their authorization to work, and created an expedited deportation process. Then, in response to charges that the detention program against Haitians was discriminatory, the federal government responded in 1982 by broadening the law to detain all migrants, making our immigration system look much more like the carceral system that exists today. Black immigrants continue to be overrepresented in detention and deportation proceedings compared to immigrants overall.

**1986**

**Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA).** While IRCA allowed many undocumented individuals who had arrived in the U.S. before January 1, 1982 to become permanent residents or citizens, it also established civil and criminal penalties against any employer who knowingly hired undocumented immigrants and greatly expanded border enforcement. The employer sanctions represented a fundamental shift in policy and significantly impacted undocumented individuals’ ability to work, relegating them to precarious work arrangements that lack the robust worker protections and benefits associated with traditional employment. Employers now use what is known as the I-9 process to verify the authorization to work of all new hires.

**1994**

**Prop 187.** A ballot initiative proposed by anti-immigrant organizations and passed with 59% of the vote, sought to ban undocumented immigrants from accessing public education, healthcare, and other services, while deploying medical workers and teachers as immigration enforcement officers. While Prop 187 was deemed unconstitutional, other states, including Arizona, have introduced similar proposals. In California, Prop 187 helped galvanize pro-immigrant activism and reshape the political landscape into what it is today.

**1996**

**Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA).** PRWORA overhauled the United States public benefits system, and significantly restricted lawfully present immigrants’ access to food, health, and cash assistance programs. This clampdown prevented immigrants who were eligible from enrolling in and receiving benefits, due to fear and confusion about rules governing the programs. As a result, participation in public benefits programs decreased sharply after PRWORA, causing severe hardship for many low-income immigrant families who lacked the support available to other low-income families. Undocumented immigrants were already barred from most federal benefits programs prior to PRWORA. Though PRWORA made it more difficult to do so, under the law states can fill in the gaps by giving state-only-funded assistance to people who are not qualified for federal programs.
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). IIRIRA greatly expanded the definition of who would be subject to deportation and mandatory immigration detention, adopted extremely stringent penalties against unauthorized entry, including 3 and 10 year bars for undocumented people who have lived in the United States for an extended period of time, and created significant roadblocks to asylum. It also sought to criminalized many immigration-related offenses, further entangled state and local law enforcement with immigration enforcement, greatly expanded immigrant detention and deportation, and significantly limited due process.

The Trump Administration proposed a vast expansion of the “Public Charge” rule, a policy that immigration officers use to assess whether applicants for lawful permanent resident status will become dependent on certain government benefits in the future. If the government determines someone is likely to become a public charge, they can deny admission to the U.S. or refuse an application for lawful permanent residency. The public charge “test” does not apply to everyone; many categories of immigrants are exempt. Also, it is based on a “totality of circumstances,” meaning a person’s entire life situation is considered, not just their use of benefits. Additionally, the proposed expansion never came to pass. Nonetheless, the threat of public charge has created a chilling effect that has prevented immigrants who are eligible for benefits from applying for and receiving them.
Author’s note: Every one of us is part of the economy. Economic security is a very large and complex issue, and is connected to every facet of our lives. While the goal is to be inclusive, this publication does not cover issues related to housing, climate justice, education, and myriad other issues impacting undocumented immigrants which are outside of the scope of this work. Additionally, this primer does not touch on the differences and similarities experienced by refugees, asylees, and people with other immigration statuses. While California has made significant advancements to make the state more inclusive of undocumented individuals there is still much more work that needs to be done. Please use this brief as a starting point, not an end.


6 Han Johnson, Cesar A. Perez, and Marisol C. Mejia, “Immigrants in California,” Public Policy Institute of California, March 2021, https://www.ppic.org/publication/immigrants-in-california/. Contrary to popular belief, immigration in California, as well as the number of people who are undocumented in California, has declined over the past decade. This decline has contributed to the slowdown of California’s population growth overall.

7 USC Dornsife Equity Research Institute, “Immigration Status | CIDP” California Immigrant Data Portal, accessed June 6, 2022, https://immigrantdataca.org/indicators/immigration-status#/ Within the past 10 years, a larger number of Asian Americans have immigrated to the U.S. more than any other racial group. A larger proportion of Black immigrants have moved to the U.S. within the past decade as well, and have become a growing share of the Black population in California overall.


SUPPORTING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS

ASSETFUNDERS.ORG


16 Ibid.


18 Data about undocumented immigrants is included in this publication wherever possible. However, most data regarding the undocumented immigrant population are estimated, since official data sources do not collect or report information about people's undocumented status. Additionally, in some instances, even estimates regarding people who are undocumented are unavailable. In these cases, data referring to immigrants overall is included, acknowledging that people who are undocumented are part of the overall immigrant population.


22 Ibid.


24 Mathema Silva, Nicole Prchal Svajlenka, Anneliese Hermann, "Revival and Opportunity: Immigrants in Rural America," Center for American Progress, September 2, 2018, https://www.americanprogress.org/article/revival-and-opportunity/. Over 180,000 undocumented immigrant entrepreneurs live in California, and nearly a third of Latinx millennial entrepreneurs in the US are undocumented. As part of California's history of innovation, immigrant entrepreneurship helps to create jobs and boost local economies. In rural areas, agriculture, food processing, and healthcare have been critical to keeping economies and communities afloat. Immigrants have helped to meet the labor needs to preserve these key industries, while helping to reverse rural population decline, contributing to the local tax base, and spurring economic growth.


26 California Budget & Policy Center analysis of US Census Bureau, American Community Survey public-use microdata developed for the California Poverty Measure, a joint project of the Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality and Public Policy Institute of California. Additionally, an estimated 45% of undocumented individuals are food insecure, meaning they have limited or uncertain access to adequate food.


To emphasize, people who are undocumented are eligible for the vast majority of state and federal worker protections and benefits. These laws do not discriminate based on immigration status. They do, however, sometimes discriminate based on employment status, such as by excluding independent contractors, domestic workers, and agricultural workers from certain workplace protections and benefits. Therefore, people who are undocumented often find themselves excluded from worker protections and benefits based on their employment status or the work that they do.


Ibid.


Edward Flores, Ana Padilla, Rodrigo Alatriste-Diaz, Karina Juarez, and UC Merced Community and Labor Center, "Essential Fairness: The Case for Unemployment Benefits for California's Undocumented Immigrant Workers," UC Merced Community and Labor Center, March 2022, https://clc.ucmerced.edu/sites/clc.ucmerced.edu/files/page/documents/essential_fairness.pdf. In 2019, 37% of non-citizen workers in California received less than $25,000 in annual wage and salary earnings, and another 35% earned between $25,000 and $50,000. On average, people who are undocumented earn less than half compared to US citizen counterparts ($13/hr vs $27/hr, respectively).


Daniel Costa, "California leads the way: A look at California laws that help protect labor standards for unauthorized immigrant workers," Economic Policy Institute, 2018, https://www.epi.org/publication/california-immigrant-labor-laws/. Undocumented workers are also disproportionately represented in occupations such as construction and agricultural work that have high rates of workplace injury and exposure to unhealthy heat, pesticides, or other chemicals. In some sectors, immigrants are 15% to 25% more likely to be fatally injured.
at work compared to US-born workers. Overall, there are approximately 300 more fatalities and 61,000 more injuries among immigrant workers versus native-born workers, and undocumented workers are more likely to experience unsafe working conditions than immigrant workers with legal status.


44 It is important to remember that even people who are documented immigrants have different levels of eligibility and access to programs based on a variety of factors, such as when they arrived in the country, how long they've worked in the country, and their specific immigration status.


46 Some barriers may be more readily apparent, such as language barriers. Over 200 languages are spoken in California, and 44 percent of Californians speak a language other than English at home. Some languages, particularly among indigenous languages, are regionally specific, and many have limited or no written components, making translation and interpretation difficult. While certain laws like Dymally-Alatorre establish language accessibility requirements for public agencies, they do not go far enough in requiring translation for languages spoken by communities that are large in number but do not meet thresholds required to trigger translations requirements. Furthermore, even when materials are translated into a non-English language, the original language can include technical jargon that even English speakers may find challenging.

Other barriers relate to the sheer amount of time, resources, and bureaucracy involved in applying for benefits or participating in programs in the first place, otherwise known as "the time tax." Numerous appointments, lengthy eligibility interviews and questionnaires, work requirements, and myriad sanctions for noncompliance are not unique to undocumented immigrants, but can often times be uniquely acute. These barriers are then compounded by lack of child care, transportation, digital access, language access, and lack of familiarity with or trust of government systems.

Trust barriers are particularly challenging for undocumented immigrant communities. While the Trump administration's proposed expansion of the public charge rule—which penalized people seeking to change their immigration status for using public benefits—was struck down, the damage has already been done. In fact, in 2019, one out of four (25%) low-income adults in California reported avoiding public programs out of fear that participating would negatively impact their own immigration status or that of a family member.


50 Marina Zhavoronkova, Mathew Brady, and Rose Khatar, "Occupational Segregation in America," Center for American Progress, March 29, 2022, https://www.americanprogress.org/article/occupational-segregation-in-america/. This greatly affects people of colors' wages in two ways: first concentrating one demographic in a small number of types of jobs means that there is an oversupply of labor, which in turn leads to a reduction in wages. Second, the work performed by certain demographics, such as women of color, is valued less than other jobs, because the workers themselves are valued less than other workers.


California’s local, county, and state fines and fees also disproportionately harm communities of color, including undocumented immigrants. California traffic tickets, as an example, are among the highest in the country and disproportionately affect people of color, who are stopped, cited, and convicted at higher rates, threatening to push people into poverty for minor infractions.

This concept is not new, and has been put forward by leading scholars, researchers, and economists. One illustrative example comes from Angela Glover Blackwell’s “curb-cut effect”, which reminds us that “curb-cuts” or sidewalk ramps, designed for people who use wheelchairs, benefits parents who use strollers, bikers, delivery workers, and many others. In other words, when we design policies and programs to support disenfranchised groups, the solutions often benefit everyone. Other examples come from Heather McGee, former president of Demos, who posits something similar in her book, The Sum of Us, when she says, “The United States is not more than the sum of its disparate parts. But it could be. And if it were, all of us would prosper. In short, we must emerge from this crisis in our republic with a new birth of freedom. Rooted in the knowledge that we are so much more, when the we in we the people is not some of us, but all of us. We are greater than and greater for the sum of us.” Janelle Jones, chief economist at the US Department of Labor, encapsulated this concept when she coined the economic principle of Black Women Best, which argues that if “Black women—who, since our nation's founding, have been among the most excluded and exploited by the rules that structure our society—can one day thrive in the economy, then it must finally be working for everyone.”


Based on primary data from California Franchise Tax Board, January 12, 2022. Actual figure is $108,907,703 in combined CalEITC and YCTC payments through December 31, 2021.


Ibid.


"Food4All", Nourish California, accessed September 26, 2022, https://nourishca.org/get-involved/state-legislative-advocacy/food4all/


"California to Expand State ID Eligibility to All California Residents: Over 1.6 Million Undocumented Californians Can Acquire a State ID by 2027," California Immigrant Policy Center, September 26, 2022, https://caimmigrant.org/california-to-expand-state-id-eligibility-to-all-california-residents-over-1-6-million-undocumented-californians-can-acquire-a-state-id-by-2027/

For more information on language access versus language justice, see: https://cirinc.org/file_download/36cfa845-1df4-42c4-a089-d335d5b1a3e4


In 2019, the Trump Administration proposed a vast expansion of the *Public Charge* rule, a policy that immigration officers use to assess whether applicants for lawful permanent resident status will become dependent on certain government benefits in the future. If the government determines someone is likely to become a public charge, they can deny admission to the U.S. or refuse an application for lawful permanent residency. Even though the Trump Administration’s proposed expansion is no longer in effect, the threat of public charge created a *chilling effect* that has prevented immigrants who are eligible for benefits from applying for and receiving them. This year, the Biden Administration restored and improved upon the public charge policy to eliminate potential consequences for immigrants when they access critical safety net programs, but more work needs to be done to make people who are undocumented understand their rights to support.