



Impact of Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Workers in Leisure and Hospitality Businesses:

Massachusetts and New England



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About The Immigrant Learning Center, Inc. (ILC) And The ILC Public Education Program

The ILC is a not-for-profit adult learning center located in Malden, Massachusetts. Founded in 1992, the mission of The ILC is to provide foreign-born adults with the English proficiency necessary to lead productive lives in the United States. As a way of continuing to help ILC students and all immigrants become successful workers, parents and community members, the school expanded its mission to include promoting immigrants as assets to America. This expanded mission is known as the Public Education Program.

The Public Education Program has four major initiatives to support the goal of promoting immigrants as contributors to America's economic, social and cultural vibrancy.

- Business Sector Studies to examine the impact of immigrants as entrepreneurs, workers and consumers.
- Professional Development for K-12 teachers on teaching immigration across the curriculum.
- Briefing books with researched statistics on immigrant issues such as immigrants and taxes, immigrants and jobs and immigrant entrepreneurship.
- The Immigrant Theater Group.

Diane Portnoy is the co-founder and director of The Immigrant Learning Center, Inc. and has been in the adult education profession for over 30 years as a certified teacher. Ms. Portnoy has received considerable recognition locally and nationally for her visionary leadership. The ILC has been cited as a model adult education program in Massachusetts.

The Public Education Program is under the direction of Marcia Drew Hohn who holds a doctorate in Human and Organizational Systems and has over 20 years of experience in adult learning and systems development. Dr. Hohn has published extensively about organizational systems in adult basic education and developing health literacy among low-literate populations.

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Impact of Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Workers in Leisure and Hospitality Businesses: Massachusetts and New England

Prepared for
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Preface

In 2003, The Immigrant Learning Center, Inc. (ILC) launched a public education initiative to raise the visibility of immigrants as assets to America. Spurred by certain anti-immigrant sentiments that were increasingly voiced after September 11, The ILC set forth to credibly document current economic and social contributions.

Central to this effort are ILC-sponsored research studies about immigrants as entrepreneurs, workers and consumers. To provide thoughtful and substantive evidence that immigrants are vital contributors to our nation and to our state, The ILC commissioned teams of university researchers to examine immigrants' contributions as entrepreneurs, workers and consumers and to present those contributions within larger economic and social frameworks.

With this study about immigrant entrepreneurs and workers in the New England Hospitality Industry, The ILC has now produced five studies that examine various dimensions of immigrant entrepreneurship in Massachusetts. These studies include:

- Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Neighborhood Revitalization (2005)
- Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Massachusetts Biotechnology Industry (2007)
- The Rise of Asian-Owned Businesses in Massachusetts (2007)
- Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Workers in the New England Hospitality Industry (2010)
- Children of Immigrant Entrepreneurs (2010)

ILC studies have also examined immigrant workers in the Massachusetts Health Care Industry and immigrants' characteristics and their economic footprint in Massachusetts.

All these studies have informed policy and thoughtful dialogue about the key roles played by immigrants. This new study about immigrants in the Hospitality Industry provides fresh data and insight into the key role immigrants play in an industry vital to the Commonwealth's economy. It again raises the visibility of immigrants as critical contributors to the nation and to our state.

Diane Portnoy, Co-Founder and CEO/President
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SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Leisure and Hospitality Businesses: Massachusetts and New England

- The entrepreneurship rate for foreign-born workers in Leisure and Hospitality businesses is higher than for native-born workers.
- Foreign-born entrepreneurs tend to be concentrated in the “Traveler Accommodations” and “Restaurant and Other Food Services” where they are well over one-third of all entrepreneurs in these sectors.
- These immigrant entrepreneurs are making an enormous and positive impact on local economies.
- Immigrant-owned businesses in the Hotel Accommodations sector tend to be small employing 10 or fewer individuals.
- Immigrant men own more Leisure and Hospitality businesses than immigrant women at 63 percent of the total.
- Immigrant entrepreneurs in these businesses are more likely to hold advanced degrees than the native-born.
- Some major challenges facing immigrant entrepreneurs include:
 - unfamiliarity with government resources and regulations;
 - accessibility to technical assistance programs;
 - lack of networking opportunities with larger and more established businesses;
 - lack of extended family support networks in the United States.

Leisure and Hospitality Businesses in Massachusetts and New England

- In 2006, the Leisure and Hospitality sector was the fourth largest employer in the Massachusetts private sector employing 302,547 workers or 9.3 percent of the state’s total employment.
- In this same year, Leisure and Hospitality generated approximately \$6.4 billion in gross payroll.
- Foreign-born workers are a critical source of labor for Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts and New England. In Massachusetts, approximately 25.5 percent of all workers in this industry sector are foreign born followed by Connecticut with 21.2 percent and Rhode Island at 10.8 percent.
- Foreign-born workers in Massachusetts comprise more than one-third of the total workforce in businesses associated with hotel and travel accommodations. They also represent nearly one-quarter of all workers in restaurants and businesses providing food services.
- Brazilians and Dominicans are the largest number of foreign-born workers in Massachusetts Leisure and Hospitality businesses.
- In spite of the 2009 economic downturn, worker shortages are a continuing concern in the Leisure and Hospitality industry throughout New England.

- Leisure and hospitality businesses are very dependent on immigrant labor.
 - Major workforce challenges facing the overall sector include:
 - lack of adequate English-language learning opportunities;
 - recruitment of workers in a context of shifting immigration policies;
 - retention of workers;
 - creating career development opportunities for workers;
 - incorporation of worker rights particularly in instances where businesses are reliant on workers classified as part-time, seasonal or temporary;
 - availability and access to training opportunities for individuals interested in pursuing careers in Leisure and Hospitality;
 - low promotion of Leisure and Hospitality careers on the part of higher education and other sectors.
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INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this report, the terms foreign-born and immigrant are used interchangeably.
Foreign-born is the term used by official data sources.

Impact of Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Workers in Leisure and Hospitality Businesses

Table 1:
NAICS Leisure & Hospitality Descriptions and Codes

Industry Description	NAICS Code
Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation, and Accommodation and Food Services	71-712
Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	71
Independent artists, performing arts, spectator sports, and related industries	711
Museums, art galleries, historical sites, and similar institutions	712
Bowling centers	71395
Other amusement, gambling, and recreation industries	713 exc. 71395
Accommodation and Food Services	72
Traveler Accommodations	7211
Recreational Vehicle Parks and Camps, and Rooming and Boarding Houses	7212, 7213
Restaurants and Other Food Services	722 exc. 7224
Drinking places, alcoholic beverages	7224

Source: Career Guide to Industries (BLS, 2009). Available at <http://www.bls.gov/oco/cg/cg1009.htm>.

This report documents and examines the role and impact of immigrant entrepreneurs and workers on Leisure and Hospitality businesses in New England with a concentration on Massachusetts.¹ A significant portion of state economies in New England, especially in Massachusetts, relies heavily on the employment of the foreign-born.² As the native workforce ages and population growth declines, native-born participation in Leisure and Hospitality businesses also wanes. Regionally, these businesses are becoming increasingly dependent upon the availability of the foreign-born. This development has facilitated an increasingly significant presence and role of immigrant entrepreneurs in Leisure and Hospitality businesses that is documented for the first time in this report.

Given the importance of this new information, data about immigrant entrepreneurs in Leisure and Hospitality businesses is presented first following a brief overview of the overall industry. Four immigrant entrepreneurs and one manager from across New England are highlighted through interviews conducted by members of the research team. The entrepreneurs explain why they decided to start or build a business as well as some information about the size and capacity of their businesses. They discuss what they see as major challenges facing the successful operation of the businesses including the impact of government and public policy.

The report then presents information about the characteristics of the foreign-born workforce and its impact on the economies in Massachusetts and New England. A summary statistical profile of the United States, New England and Massachusetts showing the number of entrepreneurs and workers in the various subsectors is presented. This is followed by findings based on observations and input by key informants representing various levels of the Leisure and Hospitality industry.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS)'s Career Guide to Industries 2008-2009 Edition categorizes the Leisure and Hospitality businesses into: Arts, Entertainment and Recreation; Food Services and Drinking Places; and Hotels and Other Accommodations. This report examines the latter two categories. As noted in Table 1, the Arts, Entertainment and Recreation and the Accommodation and Food Services industries are quite varied. The BLS is currently using the North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS) to provide more detailed distinctions between business types under these general categories. The NAICS codes for Leisure and Hospitality are 71 and 72. The focus of this study is category code 72, Accommodations and Food Services. It is this subsector data that this report targets. In particular, this study targets 7211, Traveler Accommodation and 722, Restaurants and Other Food Services. These two categories tend to employ the greatest proportion of immigrant workers within Leisure and Hospitality businesses.

THE BIG PICTURE



National Overview

Leisure and Hospitality businesses represent one of the nation's largest economic sectors.³ The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) reported 524,000 food service and drinking places in the United States in 2006. With 9.6 million wage and salary jobs in this same year, the industry represents one of the country's largest employers.⁴ In the same year, the Hotel and Other Accommodations industry included approximately 62,000 establishments across the United States consisting of "all types of lodging from luxurious 5-star hotels to youth hostels and RV (recreational vehicle) parks." While many simply provide a place to spend the night, others cater to longer stays by providing food service, recreational activities and meeting rooms. Hotels and motels comprise the majority of establishments in this industry."⁵

In August 2007, the total employment in Leisure and Hospitality businesses was 13.6 million workers including 11.6 million under Accommodation and Food Services.⁶ This number is projected to grow to 15 million workers by the year 2016. According to the BLS, all occupations in this area are projected to grow by 13.9 percent between 2006 and 2016.⁷ Specific occupations within this sector such as managers, food managers, fast food and counter workers, janitors and cleaners, landscaping workers, sales representatives, desk clerks, maintenance and repair workers and drivers are expected to surpass this projected, overall rate in terms of new jobs.⁸

In the report "Building a Competitive Workforce: Immigration and the U.S. Manufacturing Sector," the Immigration Policy Center notes that 20 percent of the workforce in Arts, Entertainment, Hospitality, Food Services is foreign-born (Bartlett, 2006).⁹ This is among the highest proportion of foreign workers vis-à-vis native workers in twelve of the nation's key national economic sectors. Foreign-born workers comprise a significant proportion of all workers in some of the Leisure and Hospitality subsectors in the United States. Table 2, based on data reported by the 2007 American Community Survey, shows the NAICS category

distribution of workers and entrepreneurs (self-employed) by nativity and foreign-born status.

Immigrant workers across the nation represented 29.5 percent of all workers under Traveler Accommodation and 19.9 percent of all workers in the Restaurants and Other Food Services. They comprised 10.8 percent of all workers in Other Amusement, Gambling and Recreation Industries. However, they were virtually absent in the area of Bowling Centers as well as Recreation Vehicle Parks, Camps, Rooming and Boarding Houses.

Immigrant entrepreneurs represented 35.6 percent of all self-employed persons in the area of Traveler Accommodations and 37.6 percent of all entrepreneurs found in the Restaurants and Other Food Services sector. A little more than ten percent of all self-employed persons are immigrants in the subsectors of Recreation Vehicle Parks, Camps, Rooming and Boarding Houses (10.7 percent) and only a handful of immigrant entrepreneurs are found in the area of Bowling Centers or Other Amusement, Gambling and Recreation Industries.

Table 2:
NAICS Category Code 71 and 72 - Total Workers and Entrepreneurs, Native-Born and Foreign-Born in the U.S.

NAICS	Total Workers	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	% Foreign-2010	Total Self-Employed	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	% Foreign-Born
Bowling Centers	71,226	68,815	2,411	0.03	4,701	4,518	183	0.04
Other Amusement, Gambling, & Recreation Industries	2,536,605	2,262,431	274,174	10.80	129,163	119,878	9,285	0.07
Traveler Accommodation	1,918,762	1,352,582	566,180	29.50	58,070	37,354	20,716	35.67
Recreation Vehicles Parks,Camps, Rooming & Boarding Houses	243,395	231,170	12,225	0.05	12,841	11,464	1,377	10.72
Drinking Places, Alcoholic Beverages	331,833	301,299	30,534	9.20	37,952	33,912	4,044	10.65
Restaurants and Other Food Services	11,049,218	8,844,259	2,204,959	19.95	475,976	296,646	179,330	37.67

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample /2007

Massachusetts and New England

Nationally, the number of unemployed persons in Leisure and Hospitality increased from 944,000 persons in March 2008 to 1,484,000 persons in March 2009. This sector has been hard hit by the nation’s recent economic downturn.¹⁰ In a sobering report, the Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development concludes that “Rising energy and food prices, which slowed the pace of consumer spending over the year, has led to less recruitment activity in Leisure and Hospitality, which includes accommodations and food services as well as arts and entertainment...Job postings were off by 11 percent over the year.”¹¹ Despite economic gloom, the report adds that at 20 percent (15,050 jobs), the percentage of open-for-hire positions in this category in 2009 was the same as during the same period the year before.¹² That is to say that although “the volume of job postings [was] down from a year ago in most industry sectors,” during the 2nd quarter of 2008 the 15,050 job vacancies in Leisure and Hospitality represented the second largest number of job vacancies in the state behind Education/Health (21,859 job vacancies). This is also well ahead of Professional/Scientific/Business and Information Services (13,277 vacancies); Trade, Transportation and Utilities (12,473 vacancies); Financial Activities (5,084 vacancies); Manufacturing (4,649 vacancies); and “Construction/Mining/Agriculture”(1,710 vacancies).¹³

In spite of the economic downturn, Leisure and Hospitality employers continue to be among the biggest in the state and represent one of the largest sectors in the Massachusetts economy. According to data reported by Claritas, Inc. and InfoUSA, there were 2,333 “Hotels and Other Lodgings” in Massachusetts in 2006 including 606 establishments with 20 or more employees retaining 60,585 employees and reporting \$2.2 billion in sales. The Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center reported that, “In the most recent business cycle, Massachusetts saw job growth in two supersectors –education and health services and leisure and hospitality. These supersectors...showed little sensitivity to the business cycle. Even during the recession of 2001, jobs steadily increased in these two supersectors...The leisure and hospitality supersector...has seen steady employment growth between 2001 and 2007...This industry increased employment by an average of 1.3 percent per year or 2,300 jobs since 2001.”¹⁴ As noted by the New England Public Policy Center in 2007 “Leisure and Hospitality has been one of the leading industries in Massachusetts job growth.”¹⁵

Table 3 illustrates employment in the Massachusetts Leisure and Hospitality businesses by month from 2006 to 2009. Although there may be some fluctuation in monthly employment rates from year to year, employment in Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts has consistently been on the rise since 2006.

Table 3:
Employment in Leisure & Hospitality Businesses, Massachusetts 2006 – 2009 (in thousands)

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
2006	293.6	293.4	293.9	294.8	293.7	295.6	297.5	297.7	298.5	299.0	300.1	301.3
2007	303.0	301.9	302.0	299.4	299.6	303.1	302.3	302.9	303.0	304.5	305.1	303.8
2008	306.7	306.8	306.8	305.7	307.7	306.3	304.9	305.1	304.4	304.1	302.1	299.0
2009	301.6	303.1	296.9									

Source: Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development, Current Employment Statistics (CES-790), Selection Criteria Geographic Area: Massachusetts Industry/Leisure and Hospitality, Seasonally Adjusted Data

Table 4:
Leisure & Hospitality Businesses by Employee Size, Sales Volume and State

	Massachusetts	Maine	Vermont	New Hampshire	Rhode Island	Connecticut
Employee Size						
UNKNOWN	10	2	1	1	2	3
1 to 4	9443	2856	1534	2267	1673	5532
5 to 19	10251	2774	1323	2281	1813	5448
20 to 99	4297	1123	482	1063	810	2011
99+	550	91	58	103	88	199
Total	24,551	6,846	3,398	5,715	4,386	13,193
Sales Volume						
UNKNOWN	735	203	110	130	124	398
Less Than \$500,000	14675	3998	2116	3333	2595	8481
\$500,000 to \$1M	4065	1131	557	969	715	1905
\$1 to \$5M	4443	1348	541	1134	839	2139
\$2.5 to \$5M	998	301	135	259	173	441
\$5 to \$10M	360	101	35	76	65	150
\$10M +	273	66	39	73	48	120

Source: InfoUSA, accessed November 2008.

Number and Size of Businesses in Massachusetts and New England

Businesses categorized under the NAICS 71 and 72 classifications are numerous in the New England states. Based on information reported in InfoUSA (accessed in 2008), there are 58,089 Leisure and Hospitality businesses of varying sizes in New England. Within this region Massachusetts is home to approximately 42.2 percent of all New England Leisure and Hospitality businesses. This is followed by Connecticut (22.7 percent); Maine (11.8 percent); New Hampshire (9.6 percent); Rhode Island (7.4 percent) and Vermont (5.8 percent). Together, Massachusetts and Connecticut account for almost two-thirds (64.9 percent) of all Leisure and Hospitality businesses in New England.

The largest businesses in Leisure and Hospitality with sales in the \$10 million+ range are primarily located in Massachusetts with 273 businesses and Connecticut with 120 businesses. New Hampshire is home to 73 such large businesses followed by Maine with 66, Rhode Island with 48 and Vermont with 39. As Table 4 shows, this group also represents a huge job base in

the region. Some employ as few as one to four workers whereas others employ more than 100 workers. As noted in Table 4, Massachusetts is home to the greatest number of Leisure and Hospitality businesses in the region registering 24,551 businesses. It is also where the majority of businesses employing 99 or more workers are based.

Of the 24,551 businesses in Massachusetts, about 9,443 retained between 1 and 4 employees in 2008. Another 4,847 businesses retained at least 20 employees or more. In the middle range, there were 10,251 businesses employing between 5 and 19 employees.

There were a total of 6,846 Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Maine in 2008; 2,856 or 42 percent were small employing between 1 and 4 persons. Vermont had 3,398 Leisure and Hospitality businesses with 45 percent employing between 1 and 4 employees. New Hampshire had 5,715 Leisure and Hospitality businesses with 39.6 percent employing between 1 and 4 employees. Rhode Island reported 4,386 Leisure and Hospitality businesses of which 38.1 percent were small. Of the total 13,193 Leisure and Hospitality businesses in

Connecticut, 41.9 percent were small and retained between 1 and 4 employees.

According to a report published by the Rhode Island Department of Labor and Training, Leisure, Hospitality and Tourism in the Ocean State, 55,252 individuals were employed in this industrial cluster in 2006. While the state's private sector job growth registered 3.1 percent between 2001 and 2006, it registered 6.9 percent for Leisure, Hospitality and Tourism workers.¹⁶ The Vermont Department of Labor noted that there were 33,950 jobs in Leisure and Hospitality businesses in December 2008. Within this category, the overwhelming number of jobs was found in Accommodations and Food Services. This represented approximately 11 percent of all jobs in the state, which made this sector the fourth largest in the state slightly behind manufacturing with 34,100 jobs.¹⁷ The state of Maine reported robust Leisure and Hospitality businesses between 2006 and 2009 with wages increasing from \$906 million to \$947 million.¹⁸

IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS IN LEISURE AND
HOSPITALITY BUSINESSES



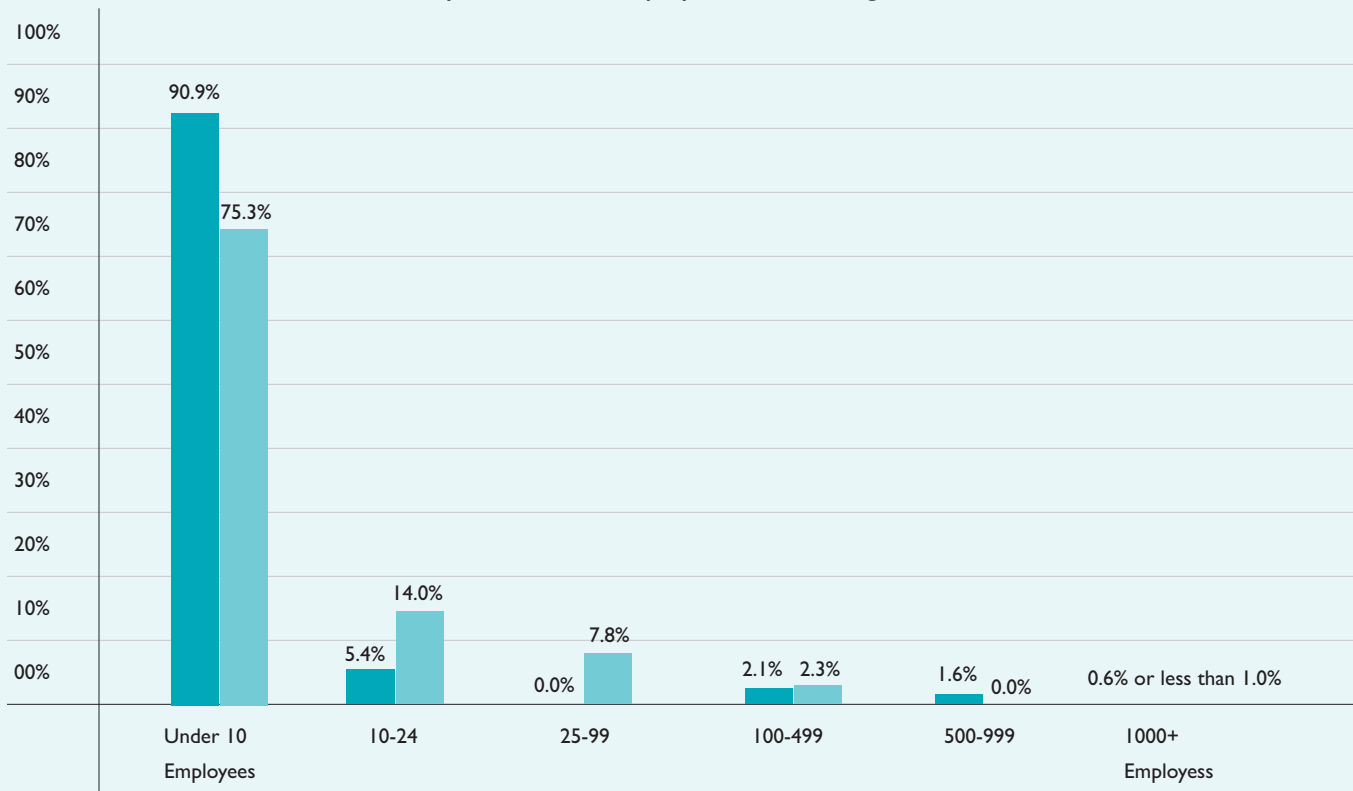
Immigrant Entrepreneurs in New England

Immigrant entrepreneurs have a significant presence in various sectors of Leisure and Hospitality businesses. While the proportion of foreign-born, self-employed workers (incorporated and unincorporated) varies across Leisure and Hospitality sectors, there is a noted presence in some of the subsectors. Immigrant entrepreneurs in Travel and Hotel Accommodations in New England tend to operate small enterprises where an employment base greater than 10 individuals is not common. As shown in Chart 1, based on a review of Current

Population Survey data for 2006, approximately 91 percent of immigrant entrepreneurs surveyed in the six New England states employed less than 10 employees compared to 75.3 percent for native entrepreneurs.

As is the case nationally, immigrant entrepreneurs in Massachusetts play a significant role in the Leisure and Hospitality industries. Their businesses are concentrated in “Traveler Accommodations” and “Restaurants and Other Food Services” in terms of the number of businesses and workers. Although there are more

Chart 1:
Entrepreneurs in Travel and Hotel Accommodations by Nativity and Foreign-Born
by Number of Employees in New England



native-born entrepreneurs (due to the overall size of the pool), immigrant entrepreneurs show a higher rate of self-employment compared to all foreign-born workers (6.4 percent) than native self-employed workers compared to all native workers (4.7 percent) in the accommodations and food sectors. Quite simply, immigrants are more likely to be entrepreneurs than the native-born.

Chart 2 shows that while foreign-born workers represented 26.3 percent of all workers in 2007, foreign-born entrepreneurs represented a much greater percent (32.2 percent or 4,305 out of 13,341 entrepreneurs) of all entrepreneurs in “Traveler Accommodation” and “Restaurant and Other Food Services” industries.

Chart 2:
Employment in Leisure & Hospitality Businesses,
Massachusetts 2006 – 2009 (in thousands)

	Total Workers	Self-Employed* (entrepreneurs)
Traveler Accommodations	32,658	1,004
Restaurants and Other Food Services	224,813	12,337
Total Workers	257,471	13,341
Native-Born	189,766	9,036 (4.7%)
Foreign-Born	67,705 (26.3% of all workers)	4,305 (6.4% of foreign-born workers and 32.2 percent of all entrepreneurs)

*Self-employed includes incorporated and non-incorporated
Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2007

Valdir de Almeida

Owner of Brazilian Cafe in Manchester, New Hampshire



Valdir immigrated to the U.S. over twelve years ago. He worked at TGI Fridays for eight years and opened his Brazilian restaurant last year where the whole family, wife and two daughters, works. He also sells Brazilian products in his business. Brazilian Cafe is the only Brazilian restaurant in Manchester where other ethnic restaurants, such as Mexican restaurants, seem to be thriving recently. At TGI Fridays he was in charge of opening and organizing new restaurants and training new employees, most of whom were recent immigrants. The majority of his clients are Brazilian immigrants.

Most of his suppliers are also immigrants. On the one hand, he found it easy to open the business, but on the other, it has taken a while to gain the trust of American customers. “They would come in and look at the menu, look at the menu and find food that looked familiar but leave.”

Valdir believes that immigrants work very hard because they come to the U.S. to work and contribute to enrich the restaurant industry with their culture. He wants to show Brazilian culture from the products to the food he sells. In addition, he thinks that immigrant businesses generate jobs and pay taxes that strengthen local economies as Brazilians did in Framingham, MA. He feels that many immigrants hope for a new immigration law that will give the undocumented an opportunity to become legal. He supports the legalization of immigrants, especially their work situation, to make them confident and stable to invest in the economy: “When immigrants become legal, they will start to invest here because they’d feel secure. Today, many immigrants feel insecure and do not eat out as often.” Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids in workplaces, as happened in Somerville in 2008, create insecurity.

Valdir thinks that learning how to speak and read English is the biggest challenge for recent immigrants, who generally have a strong drive to succeed in their jobs. “Recent immigrants are second to none in their work ethic.” He wants to help other immigrants succeed as others helped him in the beginning of his career. “All immigrants have to unite because without help, it is very difficult for immigrants to survive in the U.S.”

Table 5:
Massachusetts Leisure & Hospitality Industry - Native & Foreign-Born Owned Businesses

	Total	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	Foreign-Born as % of all Businesses
Class of Worker / Self-Employed	13,249	9,282	3,967	29.9
Self-employee not incorporated	5,169	3,416	1,753	n/a
Self-employee incorporated	7,158	5,039	2,119	n/a
Without pay—family	922	827	95	n/a
Traveler Accommodation	1,117	826	291	26
Recreational Vehicle Parks & Camps, Rooming & Boarding Houses	276	252	24	n/a
Drinking Places, Alcoholic Beverages	562	457	105	19
Restaurants & Other Food Services	11,294	7,747	3,547	31.4
Male	8,402	5,512	2,890	34.3
Female	4,847	3,770	1,077	22.2

Source: ACS 3 Year Estimates//Public Use Microdata Sample / 2005-2007

Characteristics

Table 5 shows data based on an average reported by the American Community Survey (ACS) over three years (2005-2007). It shows that of 13,249 entrepreneurs in the NAICS 72 industry sectors during this period, approximately 3,967 or almost thirty (29.9) percent were foreign-born. Further, foreign-born males owned 34.3 percent of all businesses in this sector while foreign-born women owned 22.2 percent of all businesses in these sectors.

Klara Sotonova

Owner of Klara's Gourmet Cookies in the Berkshires

Klara found her calling – baking amazing, gourmet cookies deep in the mountainous Berkshires of Massachusetts. That was not always her dream. Initially, Klara's goal was to open an Eastern European restaurant in Massachusetts, but once she realized that she would need to work twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, she quickly amended her dream! Now she is the owner of an exclusive bakery. Klara's Gourmet Cookies are sold at festivals and high-end restaurants throughout the Berkshires. Klara and her husband were even able to move out of their makeshift, at-home bakery and into their own space. But this is the most recent news in her voyage toward her dream. The trip began over a decade ago in Czechoslovakia.

Klara did not immediately dream of moving to the United States and creating a business in the Berkshires. She went to school for agriculture in her home country. In addition to agriculture, she was also interested in accounting. Upon graduating, armed with skills and knowledge in both the agriculture and accounting fields, Klara came to a realization common among future immigrants to the United States -- there were no jobs for young people in her country. "Everything was still new and getting started after the revolution. People right out of school didn't have any [hope] for jobs. [There were] high unemployment rates." Even though Klara wanted to go to college, she had to leave school and start working. It was this experience that started her career in the restaurant business at the age of 14. When Klara first came to the United States, she worked at a camp during the day and used her experience in the restaurant business to get a job at night.

Klara went to work at Camp Eisner, a Jewish summer camp in Great Barrington in 1999. She applied for the position of support staff through an agency in Czechoslovakia. The agency does a background check on all applicants and sends the applications from camp to camp all over the United States. The directors of this

particular camp choose from the available applicants, and Klara was lucky enough to be chosen by Louise Fordman at Camp Eisner. Klara initially came for the summer but was offered a work visa to stay on through the full year.

Klara started her business in May 2005 by accident. Klara made traditional Eastern European vanilla walnut cookies for her then fiancé and now husband. She then went to work at the restaurant and by the time she came home, he had eaten the entire box! "He said they were the best cookies he'd ever had and that I should sell them." This wasn't too far off from her dream of owning that Eastern European restaurant. Soon after, they started the new business together. Klara started doing research about licensing, food code, packing and everything else associated with opening a food business. Their first event as a business was to do May Fest, a celebration of foods and beverages with all the proceeds going to a non-profit in the Berkshires that supports low-income family housing and transitioning women. They have done this festival every since, each year with more success than the previous one.



This success has been demonstrated through the growth in her business. Klara's Gourmet Cookies started in a 750 square-foot apartment working out of a home oven. The startup involved a lot of long days given that she could only bake two half-sheet trays at a time in her small oven. Finally, the new business owners realized that they were at their max and needed to expand. In early 2009, Klara and her husband bought an apartment building in Lee and redid the downstairs as a factory with the upstairs as their living space. The demand for her cookies has never been higher. Even in the economic downturn, Klara's sales are up by 20 percent.

Klara's path aligns her directly with some of the lesser known statistics about immigrant workers in the United States. As stated in the previous pages, "the entrepreneurship rate for foreign-born workers tends to be higher than for native workers...the proportion of immigrant entrepreneurs among all foreign-born workers is higher than the proportion of native entrepreneurs among all native workers in Leisure and Hospitality businesses. Foreign-born entrepreneurs tend to be concentrated in the ... 'Restaurant and other Food Services' sectors." For Klara, it was never a question that she would become an entrepreneur and own her own business in Massachusetts. The only question was which business would she create. "I feel like I've worked hard for so many years, and now it's really paid off. I have a successful business that is growing every year, and it feels very good when I go out and sell my product." Klara says it best when she states that it is an amazing thing that a young woman can come to the United States and achieve such success.

Table 6:
Massachusetts Leisure & Hospitality Industry Native-Born and Foreign-Born Entrepreneurs by Educational Attainment

	Total	Native-Born	Foreign-Born
Massachusetts Total	13,249	9,282	3,967
No schooling completed	97	0	97
12th Grade, no diploma	536	252	284
High school graduate	4,358	2,523	1,835
1+ years of college, no degree	2,111	1,774	337
Associate degree	1,888	1,695	193
Bachelor's degree	3,139	2,444	695
Masters degree	926	511	415
Professional degree	76	76	0
Doctorate degree	118	7	111

Source: ACS 3 Year Estimates- Public Use Microdata Sample/2005-2007

Immigrant entrepreneurs in these businesses tend to be more highly educated than native-born entrepreneurs (Table 6). Almost half or 46.3 percent (1,835 of 3,967 persons) of all foreign-born entrepreneurs hold a high school diploma compared to 27.2 percent (2,523 of 9,283) of native-born entrepreneurs. Additionally, while a greater percentage of native-born entrepreneurs (26.2 percent vs. 18 percent) have a bachelor's degree, foreign-born entrepreneurs significantly outpace native-born entrepreneurs in holding a masters', professional or doctorate degrees. Approximately six percent of native-born entrepreneurs are in this category compared to 13.3 percent of foreign-born entrepreneurs.

Challenges

Immigrant entrepreneurs are making an enormous impact on local economies in Massachusetts and other states in New England. They bring certain economic resources that help to revitalize these places. Immigrant businesses, which bring new cultural tastes or products to U.S. society, can also be a resource in the food and restaurant sector. In spite of the important contributions on the part of immigrant entrepreneurs, they continue to face “daunting” challenges.¹⁹ This is also the case in Massachusetts and the New England region.

There are several challenges facing immigrant entrepreneurs. Many immigrant business owners in the restaurant and food sectors rely on family members as

a labor resource. This is positive, but it can also be a limitation when households undergo changes that might limit the availability of family members as potential workers. Other ‘built-in’ resources enjoyed by immigrants in the Leisure and Hospitality industries, especially the smaller businesses in foods and restaurants, is that they have a special customer base interested in their ethnic offerings. Some immigrant businesses have a captured market of fellow immigrants seeking the comfort and familiarity of food, language and culture from their native lands. So when a Nigerian, Brazilian or Cambodian arrives in the United States, it is quite natural to seek businesses with which they can resonate culturally and where language is not an obstacle. But this can be a limitation if businesses seek to grow and expand into broader markets.

Immigrant entrepreneurs may not be familiar with government resources that can help their businesses. One Cambodian restaurant owner exclaimed, “A lot of businesses at my level have to do a lot of learning about this culture” and, he added, about a range of seemingly complex city regulations regarding businesses. Unfortunately, sometimes local business regulations and expectations have to be learned through costly trial and error due to the lack of information or networks between immigrant entrepreneurs and contacts in local government. This obstacle confirms the findings of a recent study of immigrant entrepreneurs in Lowell, Massachusetts.²⁰ It is also confirmed by another study sponsored by The Immigrant Learning Center focusing on immigrant entrepreneurs in Boston, Massachusetts.²¹

A related challenge to immigrant entrepreneurs is a lack of extensive business networks. Since immigrant entrepreneurs tend to be new in starting businesses, they may not have the relationships with vendors and other business people who can impact their own businesses. Even little things that can improve business opportunities may not be available to immigrant entrepreneurs as suggested by one interviewee: “They...can’t get in the door. This is because they can’t always offer the perks, such as super-bowl tickets, so they are not always able to compete.”

Ashish Sangani

Owner of GIRI Hotels in Quincy, MA and Freeport and Augusta, Maine

Ashish Sangani moved to the United States in 1998 to live with his aunt and uncle in New England. As a student in India, Ashish studied business and commerce with the dream of one day owning his own company. As the realization hit that his financial situation was not ideal for going back to school for another degree, Ashish decided he needed to get a job. His uncle helped him get his first position at the front desk of a small hotel owned by an acquaintance.

Mr. Sangani notes Indian workers are an increasing presence in the hospitality industry of New England. He further notes that they do a great job. This is a characteristic that Mr. Sangani attributes to the fact that many Indian hotel workers hold the same dream that he did – to own their own hotel.

Indeed, this was his dream. As he began his career in the hospitality industry, Mr. Sangani began to realize that he was great at this job. His strong analytical skills coupled with his natural ability to work with people matched well with both his personality and the hospitality industry. With that realization in hand, Mr. Sangani decided to try his hand at hotel ownership. The process to ownership was very lengthy and frustrating. Finally, he got an opportunity to buy a property owned by Eastern Nazarene College and became the owner of a locally-owned and operated, 37-room hotel called The President's City Inn.

Mr. Sangani deeply appreciates the opportunities that being in the great land of the United States has given him. He believes that these opportunities are available to everyone across the country. He also believes that having a stable family life provides a strong foundation to achieve one's dreams. These dreams are certainly being realized for him. The Sangani family now owns six hotels and manages five of them from Quincy, Massachusetts to Augusta, Maine through a family and friend owned company (GIRI).

Mr. Sangani is proud of the work that he has done here in this country. He deeply appreciates the support the staff has given him. "We are like a family. We are all different races and nationalities but support, appreciate and respect each other."

He believes that immigrants are providing a great workforce to this country. They come with dreams that lead them to put their whole selves into their work. It is this strong desire and commitment that has enabled many immigrants to achieve their dreams. When asked what is next for him, Mr. Sangani states that he has not achieved all that he can. Work is in progress and the best is yet to come.

Discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs, especially in the Post-9/11 era, can be a problem according to one interviewee: "...they fear being targets of ...anti-immigration" sentiment.

This raises the level of insecurity of the workforce in terms of short- and long-range availability. The labor force is an insecure one because it is affected directly by economic conditions both locally and in their homelands as well as by immigration policies at the national and state levels. As pointed out by a Brazilian immigrant owner of a restaurant in Manchester, New Hampshire, even public debates about immigration generates labor instability:

Everyday an immigrant gets into my business, picks up a little newspaper and reads about immigration, immigration, immigration. He ends up feeling uncertain, insecure. It affects my business in particular because it generates instability. He stays insecure. He waits. ...he ends up keeping his money longer because he does not know what is going to happen the next day...because if something happens, you leave. The newspapers report on ICE raids,...raids in companies, which create a climate of persecution against immigrants. All that creates insecurity for immigrants.

Another challenge centers on the issue of gaining trust of potential customers. In restaurant businesses this is particularly important because some immigrant groups "do not eat out often." This might reflect cultural values but also the insecurity, which pervades some immigrant communities in various places.

Nevertheless, Leisure and Hospitality businesses are having a profound impact on cities, towns and states. They not only provide needed goods and services for increasing numbers of immigrants but also attract new customers with the diversity of their products. They often help to revive business and commerce in economically depressed areas. They provide some employment opportunities and increase business for their suppliers. And many of these entrepreneurs do not sit still. They look to expand, branch-out and diversify. In the end, there is a special determination and fortitude. One is left with wonder and appreciation for what they achieved for themselves and for their communities.

Gosia Nowaczyk

Manager, Housekeeping Division for Red Lion Inn in Stockbridge, Massachusetts

Gosia Nowaczyk was born in Poland in the 1950's during the communist regime. After finishing school for hotel management, she left Poland to move to West Berlin in 1980. She felt that in order to live up to her dreams, a move was in order. In Germany she worked long hours cleaning offices and stores in order to save up enough money to pay for an education in a private school for hotel management in Switzerland. Even though she already had her degree in hotel management, Ms. Nowaczyk realized that she would need to go back to school because no one would accept her Polish degree.

After finishing school in Chur, Switzerland, Gosia worked for a couple of years in Hotel Scheuble in Zurich as a Front Desk Attendant. Before long, she got an opportunity to move to Lausanne to pursue her dream and attend the University of Lausanne to study French. She continued to work in the hospitality industry and worked as an assistant manager at the Hotel des Voyageurs in Lausanne. Once she graduated from the University she elected to move to Canada given her fluency in French. Gosia learned quickly that French is spoken very differently in Canada than it is in Switzerland after she was fired from her first job for "poor knowledge" of French.

This is when Gosia decided to try to improve her English and moved to the Canadian Rockies where she continued working in the hospitality industry. In 1994 she was promoted to the position of manager of the

Housekeeping Department at the Banff Centre for Continuing Education in the Canadian Rockies. After living for 13 years in Canada, she traveled to Boston to visit her cousin, a trip that would change her course. It was 2000 and Gosia met a headhunter who brought her to the Red Lion Inn in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where she has worked since. It has been over 20 years since she studied hotel management in Poland, and Gosia feels that she has made a good life for herself here in Massachusetts.

Not only is she the Manager of the Housekeeping Division at the Red Lion Inn, but she has won grants to start an English as a Second Language (ESL) program for the immigrant workers at this establishment. Gosia feels strongly that many immigrants will thrive if they can just learn basic English skills. When asked about immigrant worker retention, Gosia explains that the key to keeping her workforce happy is to simply listen to them and make sure that their needs are met by engaging them in conversation. She is very proud of her employees' progress in English; she believes it opens many doors leading to their dreams.



Gerry Fernandez

President, Multicultural Food Service & Hospitality Alliance in Rhode Island

Mr. Gerry Fernandez sees great potential for ethnic entrepreneurs in the growing market for multicultural food. As President of the Multicultural Food Service & Hospitality Alliance in Rhode Island, he is dedicated to helping small ethnic businesses develop their capacity and skills to thrive in the increasingly diverse food and service industry. Gerry's own journey to his current position has provided rich and robust experiences to support these budding entrepreneurs. As one of six children in a Cape Verdean family on the South Shore, he worked his way from a work-study job as a dishwasher at the culinary college, Johnston and Wales, to summer jobs in the Cape Cod area. On the island of Nantucket, he had his first real cooking job at the tender age of 19.



After finishing school, he did further training at such places as the Waldorf Astoria in New York City. However, his meeting the Director of the National Restaurant Association altered his course. From him he learned restaurant management and returned to Providence to open two restaurants including a "Capital Grille." In 1992, his career took another turn when he went to work for General Mills in Minneapolis in research and development. After moving into sales at General Mills, he got the idea for his current organization, which General Mills helped launch in 1996.

Mr. Fernandez tells the story of his early love affair with food and later the food service industry. According to him, "After all this change I am still in love with food. More importantly, I still love the service side of the hospitality business. Making someone feel as though they are the most important person in the world is really satisfying to me, and my industry experience has really helped me to grow the organization."

During the last four years, the Multicultural Food Service & Hospitality Alliance (MFHA) has served as the voice for diversity and multicultural issues in the hospitality industry. The organization promotes the economic benefits of a diverse workforce and consumer base to all segments of foodservice and lodging and works to build the capacity and skills of ethnic businesses. In addition, the Alliance looks for ways to help improve the industry's image while educating the industry on the value of ethnic consumer marketing. Currently, the organization serves over 800 members and partners with 70 corporate entities. Mr. Fernandez says, "It's our job to find solutions and assist our members with securing information that will help grow their business."

IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN LEISURE AND HOSPITALITY BUSINESSES



New England

The concentration of foreign-born workers in Leisure and Hospitality businesses throughout New England is found in Traveler Accommodations and Restaurants and Other Food Services industry sub-sectors. The higher proportion of foreign-born workers (Tables 7 and 8) within the overall Leisure and Hospitality sector points to the potential of a higher number of immigrant entrepreneurs also. Table 7 shows the proportion of all native-and-foreign-born workers in Leisure and Hospitality businesses. Over a three-year average (2005-2007), 11.7 percent of all foreign-born workers are found in Leisure and Hospitality businesses compared to 7.2 percent of all native-born workers in Massachusetts.²² Rhode Island actually reported the highest proportion of foreign-born workers in Leisure and Hospitality businesses at 12.0 percent. Except for the state of Vermont, the overall proportion of the foreign-born workforce in these businesses is higher than the proportion of native-born workers.

State	Total Workers	% Native-Born	% Foreign-Born
Massachusetts	256,874	7.2 *	11.7 *
Connecticut	132,554	7.6	11.1
New Hampshire	53,508	7.7	10.2
Rhode Island	52,544	10.0	12.0
Maine	52,663	8.0	11.6
Vermont	30,055	9.1	8.2

Source: Selected Population Profile in the United States; 2005-2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, Massachusetts; Connecticut; New Hampshire; Rhode Island; Maine and Vermont; and, Selected Economic Characteristics in the United States; 2005-2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, Massachusetts; Connecticut; New Hampshire; Rhode Island; Maine and Vermont * 7.2% of all native workers, and 11.7% of all foreign-born workers in Massachusetts work in Leisure and Hospitality.

The Current Population Survey for March 2009 (Table 8) indicates even higher proportions of foreign-born workers in these industries. The survey found that more than one-quarter (25.5 percent) of all workers in Leisure and Hospitality in Massachusetts and more than one-fifth (21.2 percent) of all workers in Leisure and Hospitality in Connecticut were reported as foreign-born in 2009.

State	% Foreign-Born	Total
Massachusetts	25.5	273,931
Connecticut	21.2	156,519
New Hampshire	4.9	56,690
Rhode Island	10.8	59,356
Maine	5.3	60,890
Vermont	7.8	29,338

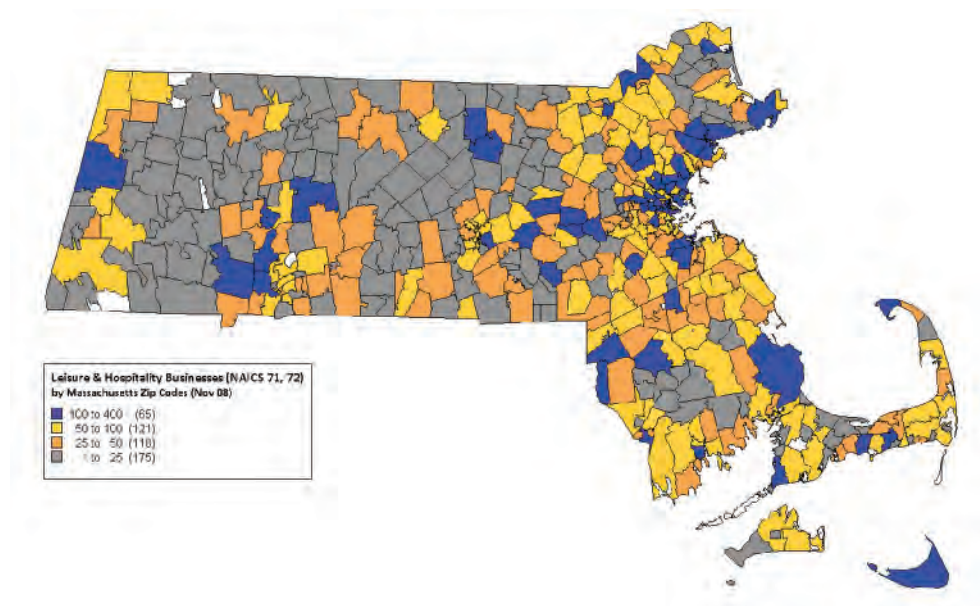
Source: Current Population Survey Basic/March 2009

The particular state distribution is reflective of the actual size of the foreign-born population in these states. The 2007 American Community Survey reported that 14.2 percent of the Massachusetts total population was foreign-born. The next two New England states with the highest proportions for the same year were Connecticut (12.8 percent) and Rhode Island (12.7 percent). The remaining states had relatively small foreign-born populations compared to the overall population; New Hampshire, 5.1 percent; Maine, 3.4 percent and Vermont, 3.4 percent. Nevertheless, and in spite of the smaller size of the foreign-born population, foreign-born workers comprise a significant component of the workforce in all of these states.

Massachusetts

Concentrations in Leisure and Hospitality businesses are found in various parts of the state as indicated in the following map.

Figure I: Massachusetts Leisure & Hospitality Business Concentration by Zip Code



As shown in Figure 1, there are significant concentrations of Leisure and Hospitality businesses in the northeast and southeast and some presence in the western portions of Massachusetts.

In 2006, Massachusetts reported that 302,547 or 9.3 percent of all jobs in Massachusetts were in Leisure and Hospitality businesses. According to the American Community Survey Public Use Microdata Sample for 2007, foreign-born persons held approximately one-quarter of these jobs. Most jobs were in Accommodation and Food Services (249,826 jobs); Hotels and Motels (33,338 jobs) and Eating and Drinking Places (216,489 jobs). In this same year, Leisure and Hospitality generated a gross payroll of \$6 billion (3.6 percent of total gross payroll for the state) but recorded a significantly lower annual wage of \$20,185 when compared to the state average of \$52,435.²³

In Labor Market Profile: Annual Profile for Massachusetts (May 2009), the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Workforce Development reports that “Accommodation and Food Services” is among the five largest industry sectors in terms of employment and wage trends.

Health Care and Social Assistance	14.5%
Retail Trade	10.8%
Manufacturing	9.1%
Accommodation and Food Services	7.9%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	7.7%

Further, behind Professional, Scientific and Technical Services and Health and Educational Services, the “third fastest growth is expected in Leisure and Hospitality (+9.2 percent), projected to add 27,160 jobs” over the next several years.²⁴ Massachusetts experienced an increase in the number of jobs under Leisure and Hospitality between 2004-2008.

As Table 9 shows, the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Workforce Department reported a total pool of 302,600 employees in Leisure and Hospitality businesses in September 2009. This included 255,100 employees in Accommodations and Food Services and 47,500 in Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation. The total workforce in Leisure and Hospitality remained relatively stable between September 2007 (303,000 employees) and September 2009 (302,600 employees). In 2004, the Leisure and Hospitality workforce was counted at 291,900 workers in Massachusetts.²⁵

Table 9:
Massachusetts Leisure and Hospitality Businesses Employment, 2007 – 2009 (thousands)

Year	CES Series Code	Description	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
2009	70-000000	Leisure and Hospitality	301.6	303.1	297.4	296.8	300.9	303.7	308.2	308.4	302.6			
2009	70-710000	Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	49.7	49.7	47.9	47.3	48.4	47.7	48.5	48.6	47.5			
2009	70-720000	Accommodation and Food Services	251.9	253.4	249.5	249.5	252.5	256	259.7	259.8	255.1			
2008	70-000000	Leisure and Hospitality	306.7	306.8	306.8	305.7	307.7	306.3	304.9	305.1	304.4	304.1	302.1	299
2008	70-710000	Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	50.5	49.3	49.2	48.5	49.2	49.7	48.8	49.1	48.6	49.2	48.3	47.8
2008	70-720000	Accommodation and Food Services	256.2	257.5	257.6	257.2	258.5	256.6	256.1	256	255.8	254.9	253.8	251.2
2007	70-000000	Leisure and Hospitality	303	301.9	302	299.4	299.6	303.1	302.3	302.9	303	304.5	305.1	303.8
2007	70-710000	Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	47.8	48.1	48.1	46.3	46.7	48.7	48.3	48.5	48.3	48.5	48.5	48.6
2007	70-720000	Accommodation and Food Services	255.2	253.8	253.9	253.1	252.9	254.4	254	254.4	254.7	256	256.6	255.2

Source: Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development, Current Employment Statistics (CES-790), Selection Criteria Geographic Area: Massachusetts Industry/Leisure and Hospitality, Seasonally Adjusted Data

**Table 10:
Massachusetts Leisure & Hospitality Businesses –
Percent Foreign-Born by Job Category**

Bowling Centers	Less than 1.0%
Other Amusement, Gambling, and Recreation Industries	7.6%
Traveler Accommodations	35.9%
Recreation Vehicle Parks, Camps, Rooming & Boarding Houses	1.8%
Drinking Places, Alcoholic Beverages	17.7%
Restaurants and Other Food Services	24.9%

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2007

Table 10 illustrates the proportion of foreign-born workers in specific Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts. As stated earlier, foreign-born workers are primarily concentrated in “Traveler Accommodations,” and “Restaurants and Food Services.” More than one-third (35.9 percent) of all workers in “Traveler Accommodations” were foreign-born in 2007; almost one-quarter (24.9 percent) of all workers in “Restaurants and Other Food Services” were foreign-born.

Table 11 indicates that foreign-born workers in these two business sub-sectors reflect a wide range of ancestry and ethnic backgrounds. In 2007, Brazilians were the largest number of foreign-born workers in Massachusetts Leisure and Hospitality businesses especially Traveler Accommodations, Drinking Places, and Restaurants and Other Food Services. However, within these businesses they were overwhelmingly found in Restaurants and Other Food Services. Dominicans, the second largest group of foreign-born workers, were more evenly distributed between Restaurants and Other Food Services and Traveler Accommodations.

Table 12 shows the same information by percentage distribution of immigrant workers according to ancestry between 2005 and 2007. Foreign-born workers from Central America were concentrated in Traveler Accommodation businesses. This was followed by a third or more of all foreign-born workers from the Dominican Republic (34.8 percent); Haiti (36.3 percent); Africa (36.4 percent); West Indies (31.4 percent) and Asian nations (31.2 percent).

Table 11:
Foreign-Born Workforce Distribution in Massachusetts by Ethnicity/Country of Origin

	Total NAICS	Traveler Accommodations	Eat-Drinking Places,Alcoholic Beverages	Restaurants and Other Food Services
Foreign-Born Workers	23,112	2,967	89	20,056
Irish	606	27	28	551
Mexican	1,612	63	0	1,549
Central American	136	104	0	32
Dominican	2,960	1,031	26	1,903
West Indian	185	58	0	127
Haitian	1,511	549	0	962
Brazilian	13,262	608	0	12,654
Cape Verdean	1,725	137	0	1,588
African	807	294	35	478
Asian	308	96	0	212

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2005-2007

Table 12:
Percentage Distribution of Foreign-Born Workforce in Massachusetts by Ethnicity/Country of Origin

	Traveler Accommodations	Drinking Places,Alcoholic Beverages	Restaurants and Other Food Services
Foreign-Born Workers	12.8	0.4	86.8
Irish	4.5	4.6	90.9
Mexican	3.9	0	96.1
Central American	76.5	0	23.5
Dominican	34.8	0.9	64.3
West Indian	31.4	0	68.6
Haitian	36.3	0	63.7
Brazilian	4.6	0	95.4
Cape Verdean	7.9	0	92.1
African	36.4	4.3	59.2
Asian	31.2	0	68.8

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2005-2007

Table 13:
Foreign-Born Workforce Percent Distribution in Massachusetts by Gender

	Total NAICS (%)	Traveler Accommodations (%)	Recreational Vehicle Parks and Camps, and Rooming and Boarding Houses	Drinking Places, Alcoholic Beverages	Restaurants and Other Food Services
Male	60.7	52.5	55.2	62.5	62.5
Female	39.3	47.5	44.8	37.5	37.5

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2007

Table 14:
Native-Born Workforce Percent Distribution in Massachusetts by Gender

	Total NAICS (%)	Traveler Accommodations (%)	Recreational Vehicle Parks and Camps, and Rooming and Boarding Houses	Drinking Places, Alcoholic Beverages	Restaurants and Other Food Services
Male	42.6	40.3	50.8	54.9	42.0
Female	57.4	59.7	49.2	45.1	58.0

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2007

Gender and schooling characteristics of foreign-born workers compared to native workers in Leisure and Hospitality businesses are presented in Tables 13, 14, 15 and 16. In 2007, approximately 61 percent of the foreign-born workforce in NAICS category 72 was male and 39 percent women. This contrasts sharply with native-born workers where women represented approximately 57.4 percent of the total workforce in these industries. Foreign-born women workers accounted for nearly 48 percent of the workforce in Traveler Accommodation businesses.

Table 15 shows foreign-born workers in the Massachusetts Leisure and Hospitality businesses have slightly higher educational levels than native-born workers. Almost one-quarter (23.8%) of native-born workers

have no high school diplomas compared to 22.1 percent of foreign-born workers. Both groups are generally comparable in terms of the proportion who graduated from high school (33 percent for native-born workers and 32.6 percent for foreign-born workers). The percentage of foreign-born workers in these businesses with some college and higher is 44.7 percent, only a bit higher than the 42.3 percent for native-born workers.

Table 16 shows the distribution of educational attainment for native-born and foreign-born workers in the two Leisure and Hospitality subsectors where they have the largest numbers (Traveler Accommodations and Restaurants and Other Food Services). In Traveler Accommodation businesses, 29 percent of all foreign-born workers have less than 12 years of schooling and

no diploma compared to 17.1 percent of native-born workers. Native-born workers also have a higher proportion of workers with some college and higher (50.5 percent) compared to foreign-born workers (36.2 percent). However, this gap is smaller in the area of Restaurants and Other Food Services where 42.1 percent of native-born workers have some college schooling compared to 30.2 percent of all foreign-born workers.

Foreign-born workers are likely to be found in occupations that pay lower wages and require less training such as Laundry and Dry Cleaning, Correspondence Clerks and Order Clerks, Dishwashers, Janitors and Building Cleaners and Maids/Housekeeping.

Table 15:
Massachusetts Total NAICS Native-and Foreign-Born Workforce by Schooling Level in Leisure and Hospitality Businesses

	Native (%)	Foreign-Born (%)
No schooling completed	1.1%	0.4%
12th Grade or less, no diploma	23.8	22.1
High school graduate	33.0	32.6
Some college, but less than 1 year	5.9	6.7
1+ years of college, no degree	16.1	17.5
Associate degree	4.9	5.4
Bachelor's degree	12.9	13.0
Master's degree	2.3	2.0
Professional degree	0.2	0.1
Doctorate degree	0	0


Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2007
Columns do not add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 16:
Native-Born and Foreign-Born Workforce in Traveler Accommodations and Restaurants and Food Services by Educational Attainment

	Traveler Accommodations	Restaurants and Other Food Services (%)
Native Workers		
No schooling completed	0.0 %	0.4 %
12th Grade or less, no diploma	17.1	22.7
High school graduate	31.4	34.8
Some college, but less than 1 year	7.8	6.3
1+ years of college, no degree	17.0	16.4
Associate degree	8.0	5.6
Bachelor's degree	16.6	12.3
Master's degree	0.9	1.4
Professional degree	0.2	0.1
Doctorate degree	0.0	0.0
Foreign-Born Workers		
No schooling completed	3.0	4.1
12th Grade or less, no diploma	29.0	29.6
High school graduate	31.8	36.1
Some college, but less than 1 year	0.5	3.3
1+ years of college, no degree	8.2	10.7
Associate degree	5.2	2.6
Bachelor's degree	17.0	11.1
Master's degree	5.3	2.3
Professional degree	0.0	0.2
Doctorate degree	0.0	0.0

Source: ACS Public Use Microdata Sample/2007
Columns do not add to 100 because of rounding.

IMPACT OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND ENTREPRENEURS IN LEISURE AND
HOSPITALITY BUSINESSES: VOICES FROM THE FIELD



Interview and Survey Results

In order to understand the role and contributions of immigrant entrepreneurs and workers in the Leisure and Hospitality businesses, the team conducted a short survey and interviews with 32 representatives of the industry, professional associations, workers and immigrant entrepreneurs between April 2009 and August 2009. A number of key themes about the experiences of immigrant workers and entrepreneurs emerged from this part of the study that are discussed below.

Representatives of Leisure and Hospitality businesses expressed major concerns about worker shortages and how the presence or lack of foreign-born workers impacts this issue. This worry existed prior to the current economic challenges and continues to be of concern on the part of industry representatives. The data describing industry trends and characteristics support this continuing concern. Interviewees emphasized that the foreign-born population is a critical part of the workforce in this industry. This was best observed succinctly by one interviewee: “Without immigrants, our industry, in some instances, would shut down.”

Another interviewee was stark in the policy level implications of not resolving the issue of immigrants and worker shortages in Leisure and Hospitality businesses:

Fewer employees mean fewer groups can be served. Just one less wedding has a trickle down effect to the hairdresser, the wedding cake baker, the photographer, the tuxedo shop, the dressmaker and tailor, the florist, the limo company, the printer, the musicians, even the newsstand selling guest papers. Just one less wedding means a decline in the number of charitable events we host at heavily discounted rates for charities...Just one less wedding reduces the amount of cash donations. A labor shortage doesn't affect only my business; it has a domino effect on the local economy and American jobs.

These fears have been voiced by others. The Brattleboro Reformer reported in 2008 that businesses in Rhode Island might have to cut back operations, which would mean “longer lines at restaurants, longer

waits for hotel rooms and rooms being closed at certain establishments.”

It was pointed out that Newport County needs to fill approximately 500 vacancies; between 5,000 and 7,000 vacancies have been reported for Cape Cod and the Islands.²⁶

Interviewees indicated that this industry is very dependent on immigrants rather than native-born workers. Several reasons were offered to explain this situation. One is that the nature of the work is seasonal and thus only attractive to youth or temporary workers. Youth may see the jobs in this sector “as low status and only for a quick dollar.” Many immigrant entrepreneurs and workers, on the other hand, come from countries where serving is considered a profession. As noted by one immigrant entrepreneur, “In my country it is a profession; you go to school to be a server.” Thus, a fundamental difference in how the status of jobs in Leisure and Hospitality is perceived might explain some differences in the level of presence of native-born and youth workers compared to immigrant workers.

In addition, the actual supply of youth is a problem. As noted by one interviewee: “...resort areas...in the past used college students, but those are not available any longer because they go back to school early. We need to supplement workers for these kinds of jobs in some way.” Another interviewee reminds us that when some “people think of seasonal workers, they think of kids on vacation. However, the season can be from April to October. Most kids are still in school. This is why there is a reliance on these non-U.S. seasonal workers.”

When respondents were asked why there is a greater presence of foreign-born workers in some industries, most respondents focused more on broader immigration policies and worker needs. One person suggested that immigrant workers tend to be very loyal and committed to a job. In addition, respondents talked about an informal network utilized for recruiting new workers. If new workers are needed by a hotel, for example, current

immigrant workers would help fill the void with family members or friends privy to the information about openings. This 'cluster' effect represents a recruitment resource and also a support network for new workers.²⁷

A question raised in some public debates about immigration, not necessarily confined to Leisure and Hospitality, is whether or not foreign-born workers are displacing native-born workers. Every interviewee challenged this notion on the basis of actual experiences. As noted by one representative of several Leisure and Hospitality associations: "We do not have the workers willing to do the job that we need. Particularly, the federal labor laws will not allow kids to do certain kinds of work. So, we can't use that workforce. We constantly advertise, go to job fairs all over the state and are not getting U.S.-born workers. College kids get financial aid and so that workforce is not available any longer...If folks are receiving unemployment insurance nowadays, they are not looking for this kind of work." He concludes: "Immigrants are not taking American jobs, replacing American workers."

Another reason that might explain a higher occupational penetration of foreign-born workers in some Leisure and Hospitality businesses is that the jobs can be part-time and seasonal. It is more difficult to hire native workers into these kinds of jobs since they may be seeking full-time, full-year employment to a greater extent than foreign-born workers. The Executive Director of the Rhode Island Chamber of Commerce "estimated that Newport gets 3.5 million visitors each year," a market that could not possibly be served with a declining native-born workforce.²⁸ The suggestion here is that there are not enough willing native workers to meet the labor demands of healthy Leisure and Hospitality businesses. This claim is partially supported by noting that there is a relatively low level of penetration by foreign-born workers into occupations that are higher in status or which require vocational training and licensing. The proportion of foreign-born workers in the following occupations within Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts is much lower than the overall ratio of

foreign-born workers: marketing and sales managers; human resources personnel; engineering managers; planners; fire fighters and managers; licensed equipment operators; occupations requiring vocational training and licenses such as pipefitters, plumbers, carpenters, electricians, maintenance and repair workers as well as other occupations.²⁹ Native-born workers are much more present in these kinds of occupations and less so in those which pay less or enjoy lower status.

The issue of worker conditions was raised by some interviewees. One interviewee commented that "We cannot overlook the concerns of our workers. Some of our hardest workers, who might be the quietest, can easily be forgotten. Employers need to be aware and keep this in back of their minds...We look at wage structure, benefits—they have to fit needs of employees." This is a challenge in some businesses that rely on part-time, seasonal or temporary workers. In other businesses there are attempts for workers and management to collaborate regarding working conditions and productivity.

Public policy was raised as often lacking coherency or relevancy to local economic needs. The interviews served to highlight the balancing act of recruiting workers in a context of shifting immigration policies. It was also pointed out by one interviewee that current immigration policies and regulations discourage the building of skills or work longevity in these sectors: "By the time I get them used to what they are doing, they leave...We cannot even get the same employees who have been here for years, obeying the rules, and we have been obeying the rules."

The H-2B Visa program was criticized as inadequate and limiting regarding the need for workers in New England's Leisure and Hospitality businesses. Immigration policies seem out of sync with the shifting demands of these businesses in New England. A review of applications processed and workers requested through the U.S. Department of Labor supports this concern. Table 17 shows that a significant gap exists

Table 17:
H-2B VISA Application Program – Labor Needs
v. Workers Certified (2007)

	Applications Processed	Applications Certified	Workers Requested
Massachusetts	734	570	7,458
New Hampshire	124	103	1,950
Rhode Island	79	64	909
Vermont	127	112	1,913

Source: U.S. Department of Labor. H-2B Summary. http://www.foreignlaborcert.doleta.gov/h-2b_atlanta2007.cfm; U.S. States and Territories, Atlanta National Processing Center Jurisdiction

between the need for workers in New England and the number of H-2B applicants actually granted visas.

Some business representatives claimed that they have been straight-jacketed with restrictive policies that mean they cannot hire the ‘best workers.’ A company is faced with a critical shortage of workers and may not have the opportunity to look for a workforce that might be most productive. Some businesses invest in this workforce through housing and transportation costs. One respondent explained, “Many small employers... have provided safe, decent housing with costs typically subsidized. Some offer daily transportation to work from urban centers.” He adds: “...along with Cape Cod Healthcare,...the Chamber has researched and promoted health insurance products for temporary seasonal workers...” According to some of the interviewees, appreciation for what it means for businesses to take on these kinds of costs to local economies directly and indirectly is not reflected in immigration policies.

Interviewees were critical of the general public’s perception of immigration and attributed it to current immigration policies and practices. Frustration was evident in many of the interviews regarding the general public’s lack of understanding of how immigration impacts not only the health of Leisure and Hospitality businesses but the overall economy as well. One Cambodian entrepreneur pointed out that even illegal immigration represents a fundamental economic resource for the entire nation:

...America became a rich country because of slavery; back in the 19th Century you had slaves... We do not have slaves today, but we have illegal immigrants... If we did not have illegal immigrants in... the U.S... how much would the cost of vegetables be? They would skyrocket, right? Everything would skyrocket.

It is difficult for some businesses to operate effectively when their workers could be perceived as potential criminals, terrorists or parasites seeking only to exploit U.S. society. As observed by one worker, “Sometimes they don’t like when we speak our language. We are confronted by people with negative perceptions about who we are. They want to treat us as though we are ignorant and illegal. This is the result of how we talk about immigration and immigrants.” Immigration policy should be reformed to help citizens understand that immigration is a major economic resource for the nation.

Concern was expressed about the relative absence of training programs and career building opportunities. Part of the issue here has to do with the size of small businesses. While small businesses are prominent in Leisure and Hospitality and employ relatively large numbers of workers in the aggregate, it might be difficult to design career ladders for smaller establishments. Aside from this consideration, however, some interviewees expressed frustration about the lack of training opportunities. Immigrant workers were not singled out as requiring different types of training other than ensuring that language barriers could be overcome. Yet, it was generally believed that training is an important component for keeping Leisure and Hospitality businesses vibrant and competitive: “We need to embrace that we are an industry of education. We hire more high school graduates than any other industry,” according to one key informant.

Related to this matter is the issue of higher education in working with Leisure and Hospitality businesses in providing training opportunities for careers. There is a perception that higher education is lacking in this area. One interviewee noted: “We have to sell the hospitality industry to parents and educators. Because of stereotypes,

most educational institutions do not push students towards the hospitality industry. They don't see the pipeline and road for advancement. They don't see ownership and earning potential." In fact, there are relatively few hospitality programs in institutions of higher education in the New England region and even fewer that are accredited specifically for hospitality programs. The next chart shows the leisure and hospitality programs established in New England and the kinds of degrees offered in areas of study. Only a few programs actually have been accredited by the Accreditation Commission for Programs in Hospitality Administration (ACPHA).

Chart 3:
Hospitality Programs in Higher Education, New England

School By State	Degree	Area of Study
Connecticut		
University of New Haven	BS	Hotel and Restaurant Management
Massachusetts		
Bay State College	AA, BA	Hospitality Management
Bunker Hill Community College	Certificate, AA	Hotel/Restaurant, Travel
Boston University	BA	Hospitality Administration
Endicott College		Hospitality Management
Fisher College	AA, BA	Hospitality & Tourism
Mass Bay Community College	AA, Certificate	
Newbury College		
University of Massachusetts Amherst*	BA, MS	Casino, Food & Beverage, Lodging
New Hampshire		
University of New Hampshire*	BA	
Southern New Hampshire University*	BA	Hotel & Convention Management
Maine		
Husson College	AA	
Southern Maine Community College	AA	Lodging and Restaurant Management
Rhode Island		
Community College of Rhode Island	Certificate	Travel, Tourism and Hospitality
Johnson and Wales	BA, MBA, Certificate	
Vermont		
Champlain College	BA	Hotel, Restaurant Management
Johnson State College	BA	Food Service, Hotel & Lodging
New England Culinary Institute	BA, AA	Hospitality & Restaurant Management
Green Mountain College	BA	Resort & Hospitality Management

*Accredited by the Accreditation Commission for Programs in Hospitality Administration (ACPHA)

Conclusions

This study shows how important immigrant entrepreneurs and the immigrant workforce are to Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts and in other New England states. The findings reported in this study, as well as the personal stories, point to a number of general recommendations. It would be ideal for these recommendations to take place within a national context of immigration reform. But aside from how this national issue evolves, at least five policy goals should be considered by Massachusetts and other New England state governments as well as representatives of Leisure and Hospitality businesses.

1. Expand the availability of training opportunities related to leisure and hospitality occupations at the high school and community college levels. These sectors are probably best equipped to change the negative perceptions that some in the general public have about work in Leisure and Hospitality businesses.
2. Expand ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) services in immigrant communities.
3. Build and sustain career ladders for workers through collaborations between industry representatives and higher education. This might help retain workers, a problem cited by some interviewees. Here, regional Workforce Investment Boards (WIBs) might be key players for the coordination of these kinds of efforts.
4. Expand leadership of WIBs and Chambers of Commerce in helping immigrant entrepreneurs to network and access information and available resources aimed at capacity building of businesses.
5. State governments should utilize their resources to provide technical assistance and capacity building services to small businesses in Leisure and Hospitality. At some point, state governments may want to extensively survey the experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs to ensure that appropriate services for this population are available.

These policy goals would not only expand the workforce and make it more competitive but would enable states to benefit from the strong presence of immigrants. This would keep Leisure and Hospitality businesses competitive and attractive to a host of markets today and in the future.

Methodology

The methodology for this study incorporates several components: identification and collection of literature and reports published by government, foundations and other organizations that focus on immigration in Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts. The study is partially based on a review of data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Census Bureau including information extracted from the American Community Survey's Public Use Microdata samples and Current Population Surveys. Various kinds of data from state labor and workforce agencies and other organizations were utilized by the research team. These agencies include: Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development; Rhode Island Department of Labor and Training; Vermont Department of Labor; Maine Department of Labor and the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. Additionally, proprietary data from sources such as InfoUSA, Claritas and Applied Geographic Solutions were utilized to construct some tables and analyze information.

The team conducted a content analysis of news articles and popular media covering a range of stories on immigration in these New England businesses. A descriptive and informational survey was designed for key informants familiar with issues related to immigration in Leisure and Hospitality businesses in Massachusetts.

Thirty-two individuals were contacted between April and August 2009. Some provided feedback via open-ended interviews; a few responded via email. Potential interviewees were identified through state associations, literature review, content analysis of news reports and targeting specific businesses in various geographic areas. The interviews reflect a range of entrepreneurs, owners, workers and industry representatives. Their immigrant ancestry included Brazilian, Cambodian, Irish, Czech, Vietnamese, Colombian, African, Dominican and Venezuelan. Most of the interviewees are based in Massachusetts but also include representation from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Maine.

Some of the questions used for the open-ended interviews included:

- What is the role of immigrants in your company or industry?
- What kinds of contributions are associated with immigrant workers?
- What kinds of challenges are faced by your company and industry and how are they related to issues of immigration?
- What kinds of programmatic or policy recommendations would you make in terms of immigration and your industry's current and future health?
- How do you respond to the problem of labor availability?
- What are some of the best ways to sustain immigrant worker retention?
- What are the training needs for immigrant workers; are they different than for other workers?
- How do you assess youth perceptions about Hospitality businesses?
- How does the national debate about immigration and federal laws impact your company or industry?
- What kinds of issues related to unauthorized immigrant workers impact your company or the sector?
- Do you know of immigrant entrepreneurs who have started or managed businesses in your sector?

Information about immigrant businesses and the number of employees in Travel and Accommodations in New

England (see Chart 1 in the report) are based on the 2006 Current Population Survey: Annual Social and Economic (ASEC) Supplement Survey. The Census Bureau conducts the ASEC over a three-month period. It is based on survey questions derived from the CPS, a labor force survey that provides estimates of the economic status and activities among individuals in the population as well as a set of supplemental questions tapping, among other things, the number of hours worked per week, work experience, occupation and industry of persons 15 years and older and socio-demographic characteristics.

Footnotes

- 1 The terms “immigrant” and “foreign-born” are used interchangeably in this report. Immigrants can be citizens or non-citizens. An immigrant entrepreneur is defined as someone who was born outside of the United States and has identified him/herself as a class of worker who is self-employed in the American Community Survey or Current Population Survey.
- 2 Foreign-born and immigrant do not include Puerto Ricans, or any persons born in U.S. territories who are citizens by birth.
- 3 See Table 2, “Employment Shares and Location Quotients by Major Industry Sector U.S. and Massachusetts, 2006 Annual Average Private Employment/Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development, LMI Profile: Annual Profile for Massachusetts, March 2008, Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development
- 4 Career Guide to Industries (BLS, 2008). Accessed on September 29, 2009. Available at <http://www.bls.gov/oco/cg/cg1009.htm>
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- 6 See bls.gov/pub/suppl/empst4.txt
- 7 James C. Franklin, “An Overview of BLS Projections to 2016.” Monthly Labor Review, November 2007. See Table 4.
- 8 See, BLS, Career Guide to Industries: Hotels and Other Accommodations Table 1: Employment of wage and salary workers in hotels and other accommodations by occupation, 2006 and projected change, 2006-2016; published March 12, 2008). Occupations within these industries are wide-ranging. Under Food Services and drinking places it can include executives; food service managers; chefs and head cooks; managers of food preparation; cooks for fast foods, institution and cafeterias, restaurants, and short orders; food preparation workers; bartenders; counter attendants; waiters and waitresses; dishwashers; hosts and hostesses; building cleaning workers; cashiers; office and administrative support workers; transportation and material moving workers and others. In addition to these kinds of occupations, and under Hotel and accommodations, workers can be employed as general and operations managers; lodging managers; meeting and convention planners; security guards; janitors and cleaners; maids and housekeeping cleaners; landscaping and grounds keeping workers; gaming supervisors; concierges; recreation workers; sales representatives; switchboard operators; hotel, motel, resort desk clerks; ticket agents; installation, maintenance, and repair workers; laundry and dry-cleaning workers; drivers and chauffeurs; parking lot attendants and others; see BLS, Career Guide, September 24, 2008.
- 9 David L. Bartlett, “Building a Competitive Workforce: Immigration and the U.S. Manufacturing Sector.” Immigration Policy IN FOCUS, vol. 5, Issue 6 (August 2006). See Figure 1 and Figure 2.
- 10 Bureau of Labor Statistics, Table A-11: Unemployed Persons by Industry and Class of Worker, Not Seasonally Adjusted (April 2003).
- 11 “Massachusetts Job Vacancy Survey: Hiring Trends by Industry and Occupation, 2nd Quarter” (Mass DWD, 2008, p. 2).
- 12 Ibid, p. 2.
- 13 Ibid, p. 15.
- 14 The State of Working Massachusetts 2008: Entering a Recession After a Recovery That Missed Many. Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center, January 1, 2009.
- 15 Bo Zhao, “Outlook for Massachusetts Hospitality Industry.” New England Public Policy Center, July 10, 2007.

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- 16 Rhode Island Department of Labor and Training. Leisure, Hospitality, and Tourism in the Ocean State, (2006, p. 1).
- 17 Current Employment Statistics Monthly Survey, Vermont Department of Labor, Labor Market Information Section, December 2008.
- 18 Maine Department of Labor, Labor Market Information Services. Available at http://www.maine.gov/labor/labor_stats/index.html.
- 19 A World of Opportunity, Center for an Urban Future (New York: February 2007).
- 20 See David Turcotte and Linda Silka, "Social Capital in Refugee and Immigrant Communities," in James Jennings, Ed., Race, Neighborhoods, and the Misuse of Social Capital (Palgrave MacMillan: New York, 2007).
- 21 See Ramon Borges-Mendez, et al., Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Neighborhood Revitalization (The Immigrant Learning Center, Inc., December 2005).
- 22 Selected Population Profile in the United States: 2005-2007. American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates (Massachusetts).
- 23 See "Table: Economic Structure of Massachusetts Areas by Industry, 2006 Annual Average" in Labor Market Information Profile: Annual Profile for Massachusetts March 2008, Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development, Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development).
- 24 Labor Market Information Profile: Annual Profile for Massachusetts May 2009, Massachusetts Department of Workforce Development, Executive Office of Labor and Workforce Development, p. 2.
- 25 See Massachusetts Department of Labor and Workforce Development, "CES-790 Selection Criteria: Geographic Area: Massachusetts Industry: Leisure and Hospitality – Seasonally Adjusted."
- 26 Eric Tucker, "Summer employers brace for shortage of foreign workers." Brattleboro Reformer, April 28, 2008.
- 27 Also see, Ellen G. Lahr, "Red Lion Inn helps by helping bridge language gap." The Berkshire Eagle, June 28, 2005. Also, Lynn Ariditi, "New Arrivals: Using informal networks of friends and family, immigrants are finding work in New England's growing service economy." The Providence Journal, August 7, 2005.
- 28 Andy Smith, "Newport may be scrambling for summer help." The Providence Journal, March 14, 2008.
- 29 "NAICS Industrial Codes by Nativity and Occupation," ACS//Public Use Microdata Sample/2007.

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